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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The Century Historical Series

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

(300-1300)

By

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FOREWORD

THIS work is a history of the Middle Ages written from the point of view of economic and social interpretation. It is not a treatise in economics or a study in sociology. I have endeavored throughout to avoid the too often vague abstractions of the former and the sweeping generalizations of the latter kind of literature. The method is one of historical exposition, and narration frequently is the bearer of the argument. In order not to make the book of undue length I have purposely omitted consideration of medieval England, except when and where England's relations touched the Continent. This omission seems justified since there are numerous works on the subject in English.

There is a neo-medievalism in vogue today quite unlike the medievalism popular a hundred years ago during the romantic movement. The development of the economic and social interpretation of history has shown that much of the history of the past has been undervalued or misvalued. The Middle Ages have sometimes been called the "Age of Faith" because of the enormous influence of the Church in them and the long ascendancy of theological thought. But the millions of the workaday population of medieval Europe were interested in gaining a means of livelihood, and their rulers in taxing these resources arising from agriculture, commerce, and industry. The Church, too, had a very great material interest, and was far from being only a spiritual institution. The purpose of this book is to relate the history of these economic and social interests and activities in the Middle Ages.

In substance and form the book is the product of actual classroom teaching. Indeed, much of the material here presented has been worked out with my own students in seminar. It is hoped that the knowledge and experience so gained may be of service to other teachers than myself and to other classes than mine. The format of the series to which this book pertains precludes extensive citation of references, for which some amendment is made by the bibliographies at the end of the book. But it may be added that the work rests upon a large reading of the sources, and not solely upon secondary authorities, however important they may be.

Some of the maps in this book have been designed by the author to illustrate the text in those portions for which suitable maps cannot be found in the usual atlases. They are not intended to enable the student to dispense with an historical atlas, but to supplement such an atlas. The

most useful historical atlas for the student is that prepared by Professor William R. Shepherd, and published by Henry Holt & Company, New York. A new edition has recently appeared. For the convenience of the student, footnotes have been appended to the beginnings of certain chapters indicating the proper maps to be consulted. For fuller study, the *Oxford Historical Atlas*, edited by Reginald Lane-Poole, and the maps appended to each volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (five volumes to date) may be examined. It may be added that admirable illustrations of medieval life—agriculture, industry, commerce, costume and custom—may be found in Parmentier's *Album Historique*, Volume I, published by Armand Colin & Cie., Paris, 1900. For classroom purposes, a large wall map designed by the author is published by A. J. Nystrom & Company, Chicago, Ill. (No. M. M. 4, or E. E. 15).

My thanks are due to my wife for assistance in reading the proof and to Miss Helen G. Robbins for aid in compiling the index.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN PROSPERITY AND DECAY *

It is indispensable to have some knowledge of the economic and social structure of the Roman Empire as a background, for the Roman Empire was not only the historical background of the Middle Ages: the debris of Roman civilization entered largely into the composition of medieval civilization. Rome created a civilization so broad and so deep that although political Rome has passed away, Roman law, the Latin language, Latin literature, and much else of Roman civilization yet abide and exercise their influence upon the world. We must be cautious in thinking that Rome was only a military empire consumed with a passion for war, and that the expansion of Roman civilization was the result of and an abuse of mere martial power. Rome's was an engineering empire.

The great Roman road system played a large part in the commercial development of the Roman Empire, but the sea routes were as important as the land routes. The Mediterranean was a geographical factor in Roman expansion which must not be ignored. This almost tideless sea bound southern Europe, Africa, and Asia together. The European coast especially abounded with harbors. But the African and Syrian coasts were not so well supplied. Then, too, the multitude of islands, great and small, afforded shelter in stress of weather, and commercially were always profitable ports of call.

In twelve days one could reach Alexandria from Neapolis; in seven, from Corinth. With a favorable wind, the voyage from Narbo in Southern Gaul to Africa occupied only five days; from the Syrtes to Alexandria took six days. The journey by land from Ephesus to Antioch in Syria certainly took a month. By the beginning of the Empire Roman ships were on every sea. Horace makes frequent mention of the wandering *mercator* upon the high seas; Pliny regarded the maritime commerce of Rome as its most important trade. The emperor Claudius was intensely interested in Rome's sea-borne commerce and in shipbuilding. Nero and Trajan improved the ports of Ostia, Antium, Civita

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas,* 38–39.

Vecchia, and Ancona; Antoninus Pius repaired the port of Terracina, built a lighthouse at Gaeta and improved the harbor of Puteoli. The Tyrians had a "station" there, a group of warehouses, shops, and offices, like the *fondachi* established by the Italian trading companies in the Levant during the Crusades.

Some remarkable documents have come down to us concerning the gilds of watermen (*collegia navicullariorum*) of the third and fourth centuries when these associations were to be found in most of the maritime cities of the Empire. They were chiefly employed in importing cereals, and operated in conjunction with great capitalistic companies (*societates publicanorum*) in which Roman senators, to whom commerce was forbidden, were often "sleeping" partners. Cato Major invested in this kind of enterprise. In spite of the risks from wave and storm—and, before the establishment of the Empire, from pirates—the profits of this kind of business were very great, though insurance was unknown. Many types of craft were employed, the most notable being those which carried marble, and the fast corn-ships. In Rome, along the Tiber at the foot of the Aventine, ran a long quay with stairs leading down to the river, where there were huge warehouses, granaries, stores, magazines, in which commodities from all quarters of the known world were safeguarded. Rome itself had many markets. From the day when Cato built, in 184 B.C., the first bazaar, the Basilica Porcia, in the Forum, the Forum gradually became like Broadway in New York. Certain streets were wholly given up to certain kinds of trade, as also there were certain quarters in Rome for the various industries and crafts. The wares and showcases which intruded upon the footway finally became such a nuisance that Domitian put a stop to the abuse.

The corn trade, which was under government control, and even a government monopoly, was a huge and lucrative business. Wheat was imported from Sardinia, Sicily, Spain, Africa, and especially from Egypt, which annually furnished 20 million *modii*. The "Isis," an Egyptian corn-ship described by Lucian, was 180 feet long, 45 feet in beam, had three decks, and weighed 1575 tons. It carried a cargo worth $15,000 on the average. There was a whole fleet of these corn-ships, the *classis Alexandrina,* or *Alexandrinus stolus,* whose ships made regular stops at Malta, at Rhegium, and in Sicily. When the corn-ships arrived at Pozzuoli the fact was semaphored to Rome. In addition to the Alexandrian fleet there was also, from the time of Commodus (180–93), an African corn-fleet, a Spanish corn-fleet, and a Sardinian corn-fleet. All these corn-ships were managed by companies under contract with the government. We know some of the conditions of these contracts. In the fourth century the Alexandrian ships made 4 per cent, those from Africa only 1 per cent. But actually the profits were greater than this. For the government furnished the timber for

building the ships and the members of the corporation enjoyed certain privileges and immunities. The effect finally was that they lost their independent character and were converted into an instrument of the public service.

The river and coast trade of the Roman Empire was of less importance than the maritime commerce, yet it was very active. Under the Early Empire Ostia became so silted up that heavily laden ships could not cross the bar, and lightered their cargoes at Pozzuoli instead, which became the most important port of the city of Rome. Later Claudius began the construction of a new port at Ostia, which Trajan completed, called Portus, Portus Urbis, Portus Augusti. Thenceforward Ostia sank more and more into the sand. Both Ostia and the later Portus were crowded with longshoremen, weighers, measurers, porters, carriers, ship-carpenters, chandlers, sealers, notaries, etc., besides merchants of all sorts, and there was a gild of watermen, which had the monopoly of transportation on the Tiber, called the *Codicarii*.

All the coast and river cities of the Roman Empire were commercially organized after the fashion described. At Lyons the watermen formed a famous corporation, whose members were entitled to four benches in the amphitheatre at Nîmes, and upon whom Constantine conferred knightly rank. There were two corporations in Lyons which controlled the river traffic of the Rhone, and one on the Saône. Similar organizations were probably upon every navigable river. We know of them in Gaul on the Durance and the Seine; in Spain on the Ebro and the Guadalquivir; in Italy at Atria and Peschiera, at Riva on Lake Garda, on Lake Como; on Lake Geneva; on the Rhine, and in Dacia on the Maros at Carlsburg.

Thus, to sum up: The union of the whole basin of the Mediterranean was immensely favorable to the interests of commerce and industry. The derangement of old conditions gradually subsided, and after the establishment of the Empire things tended more and more to regulate themselves according to economic laws of supply and demand, without gross upset by artificial measures of government. The producing countries by means of exchange acquired the importance which their natural or manufactured wealth gave them. Undoubtedly the enormous luxury and prodigality of the rich artificially stimulated the production of certain commodities. And yet, even though we have no statistics, in spite of such gross disproportions, it may fairly be assumed that something like an economic equilibrium came to prevail with the founding of the Empire, and remained permanent through the first and second centuries, a condition which accounts for the universally admitted general prosperity of the Roman world until the termination of the Antonine period.

The public improvements to be found not only in Rome, but in

many cities of the provinces, the remains of which are still visible, abide as witnesses of this material prosperity. The charitable foundations of Nerva and Trajan were continued by later emperors into the third century. At least in Italy, towns were required to keep records of births and deaths, and in the third century the jurist Ulpian projected a mortality table.

Even Christian writers like Irenæus and Tertullian, who wrote about 200 A.D., when the Golden Age was waning, testify to the prosperity of this epoch. From the pen of the latter we have this encomium:

> Surely a glance at the world shows that it is daily being more cultivated and better peopled than before. All places are now accessible, well known, open to commerce. Delightful farms have now blotted out every trace of the dreadful wastes; cultivated fields have supplanted woods; flocks and herds have driven out wild beasts; sandy spots are sown; rocks and stones have been cleared away; bogs have been drained. Large towns now occupy land hardly tenanted before by cottages. Islands are no longer dreaded [as abodes of pirates]; houses, people, civil rule, civilization are everywhere [*ubique respublica, ubique vita*]. Thick population meets the eye on all sides. We overcrowd the world. The elements can hardly support us. Our wants increase and our demands are keener.

The establishment of the Empire by Augustus (27 B.C.—14 A.D.) marked for the provinces the beginning of a more favorable epoch, which, save interruptions, continued until the termination of the Antonine period (180 A.D.). The concentration of power in a single hand put an end to the almost unendurable exactions of a crowd of civil and military officials whose ancient practice was to pick the bones of the provincials. Moreover, the Empire effaced more and more the differences between the Roman citizens and the subject provincials, and by assimilating the two classes assured the peoples of the provinces equal protection of the laws, public assistance in case of extraordinary necessity, and the benefits of a regular and efficient administration. The early centuries of the Empire were for some countries the most flourishing period in their history. This is especially true of Syria, Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Egypt; in the last the population notably increased. The benefits of the *pax romana* were not only moral but material, on both land and sea in the suppression of brigandage and piracy, the protection of life and property, and the facilitation of travel.

Even the worst emperors of the first century, as Nero and Domitian, were jealous of maintaining good government in the provinces. It was under a weak but well-intentioned emperor like Claudius that the provincials suffered most. Barring the mad Caligula, there is not an emperor of the first century who was not solicitous for the welfare of the provinces. Tiberius, Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian were notably

concerned for the good government of the provinces. Their severe supervision made misgovernment on the part of the governors a perilous practice. There are many examples under the Early Empire of processes against bad governors. Even Tacitus admits Nero's efficiency in this particular. But the imperial government professed no philanthropic or cultural interest; it had no modern sense of the "White Man's burden." It was solely interested in the material development of the provinces—to make them profitable and paying. Once a country was conquered, agriculture, colonization, road building, port construction, etc., rapidly followed, so that the usual result was the swift material recovery of the devastated land. Everywhere the Romans applied the principles of a systematic public economy, which under the Early Empire struck a balance between production and withdrawal of resources, so that exhaustion of the province would not result. The republican practice of farming the taxes and the merciless pillage of the provinces gradually was abolished, although it was not until the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211) that the practice was wholly done away with. Indirect taxes continued to be farmed in some provinces after farming of direct taxes had ceased. But these considerations were not dictated by any humanitarianism; it was mere efficiency.

It is indispensable, now that the background has been sketched, to devote some words to the particular economy of each country, though not each province, of the Roman Empire. For such a survey we have choice between two methods of exposition, the chronological and the geographical. If we follow the former it will be necessary to distinguish three periods: first, the Republic, second, the Empire from Augustus to Diocletian (27 B.C.–284 A.D.); third, the period of the last centuries of the Empire down to the disappearance of imperial rule in the West (476), and its transformation into the Byzantine Empire in the East after the death of Theodosius in 395. The geographical method seems the preferable one, for it has the advantage of more concrete representation and enables one better to observe the economic and social transformations with clearer understanding of processes, even though it is quite impossible to give a complete survey of the internal commerce of the Roman Empire, owing to the great variety of the objects of exchange, the immense number of markets, the complexity of the road system, and the many important emporiums, both on the Mediterranean littoral and inland.

Of Italy it may be said that Italy was Rome, for it is certain that almost all the produce of Italy which was not locally consumed found its way to the great city on the Tiber. The mass of evidence showing the enormous magnitude of the traffic which found its way to Rome in imperial times, and the infinite variety of the commodities which Rome consumed, is very great. Historians, poets, letter writers, laws, inscriptions,

testify to its volume, its variety, and its value. But no general account has come down to us of the nature and extent of this trade.

The chief port of Rome was Pozzuoli on the Bay of Naples, but some products were brought in through lesser ports, as Antium, Civita Vecchia, Ancona, Ostia, Brindisi, Tarentum, Terracina, and Gaeta. Italy itself, in the time of the Empire, was a land of great *patrimonia* and *latifundia* possessed by grand proprietors who worked their estates with slave labor in enormous gangs, whose wretched members at night were housed in prison pens called *ergastula*. Almost all these magnates were engaged in raising olives and wine and cattle and sheep. The vine and olive especially furnished rich profits, for the Roman government for three hundred years protected Italian vineyards and olive groves—and therefore the Italian growers—by imposing heavy import duties on these commodities when brought in from elsewhere. In Gaul it was even forbidden to plant the grape until Probus (282–84) removed the prohibition.

Padua was the emporium of North Italy; in addition to its agricultural products it was also a textile centre. Aquileia was a base for the purchase of slaves and furs from Germany. Arezzo produced some pottery. Vercellæ was unimportant in Strabo's time, but is mentioned by Tacitus. Verona owed its importance to the proximity of the Brenner Pass after Augustus' organization of the Upper Danube provinces. Augustus founded Tridentum, the modern Trent. Milan was not important until the end of the third century, when Diocletian, for military reasons, made it the capital of the prefecture of Italy, because of its command of the Alpine passes.

Western Sicily was wrested from Carthage by Rome in 241 B.C., and the Syracusan portion of the island was acquired later. Once remarkable for its rich yield of wheat, Sicily, by the middle of the first century B.C., had ceased to be an important granary for Rome. Sardinia and Corsica, on the other hand, are included by Cicero in the number of the *tria frumentaria subsidia reipublicæ*.

The progressive march of Roman influence in Africa and Numidia is more manifest in the material civilization than in the moral culture. After the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. about 6000 Roman citizens were given lands in Africa, a portion of the soil was sold to Roman speculators, and a third part reserved for the fisc. The result was the upgrowth in Roman Africa of an enormously rich and powerful proprietary class, whose *patrimonia* or *latifundia* covered the land. In Nero's time, according to the elder Pliny, six men owned one-half the arable land of the province.

Thabaca, Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerta), Utica, Hadrumentum, Leptis Magna, Horrea Cœlia, and Thapsus, next to Carthage, were the most important towns in Africa. Actually there were many towns. The same

is true also of Numidia. Peutinger's Table mentions sixty ports along the Mediterranean coast of Roman Africa.

Protected by the legions against the nomads of the south and the pillaging tribes of the west (Morocco), governed by officials who administered the country, not for their own enrichment, but in the name of a sovereign always resolutely interested in efficient government, the Africans could give themselves in complete security to the development of their marvelously rich country. Roman roads gridironed the land from east to west, and from the seaboard to the edge of the desert. Some of these were of Carthaginian origin, but the Romans enormously extended them, using the legionaries year in and year out in their construction.

Proconsular Africa reached its zenith in the second century A.D. both in agriculture and in trade. By the great arterial roads the products of the African hinterland reached the coast; by them settlement extended farther and farther inland. At Tacape, Sabracte, Oea, Leptis Magna, terminated roads which came from the remote interior, and which connected with ancient caravan routes across the desert. This hinterland was not penetrated by the Roman until the reign of Trajan when the half-nomadic tribes were reduced and military posts established, some of them in oases, as at Birel Haguef by Commodus, at Bondjen by Septimius Severus, Ghariat and Ghadames by Alexander Severus. Then only were commercial relations intimate between the Mediterranean seaboard and inner Africa.

Even in Augustus' reign Strabo praised Tacape as a trade centre; a century later Pliny boasted of the prosperity of the oasis in which this city was located. Leptis Magna flourished until 364, when it was sacked by the Berbers. It was the special outlet for goods brought from the remote interior, as salt from the famous natural salt mountain near Timbuctoo, hides, ostrich feathers, ivory, gold dust, elephants and other wild animals for the circus, and slaves.

From the time of its conquest in 146 B.C. to its loss in 429 A.D., Africa rivaled Egypt as a granary of the Roman Empire. It was preëminently an agricultural province. Upon the fertile fields, which were systematically irrigated by water brought down from the mountains in canals, grain, grapes, and olive trees flourished prolifically. The wheat, the wine, the raisins of Africa were famous. But wheat held first place. It was harder and fuller than that from Sicily and Egypt. Until the conquest of Egypt, Africa was the greatest granary of Rome and the government took extraordinary measures to maintain order in the province and to protect the desert edge thereof from predatory raids by nomads. In the warehouses and along the wharves of Carthage, besides the local grain, was amassed the wheat from the interior, which came in by the three great roads from Hippo Regius,

Theveste, and Thuburto Majus. The African corn-fleet was looked for in Rome with as much expectation as that of Egypt. This explains why Vespasian promptly deposed the proconsular governor Lucius Piso in 69, who was too slow in recognizing the new emperor, and why for the same reason Septimius Severus hastened to dispatch the legions into Africa at his accession. Hadrumentum rivaled Carthage as a port for grain, while the today sterile plains back from it were covered with olive orchards whence immense quantities of oil were shipped to Rome for the markets, the baths, and the gymnasia.

The thick forests covering the ranges of the Atlas and coming down close to the coast were a rich resource for Rome. As the forests of Italy were cut off African timber replaced Italian timber. In some ports ship-building was an important industry. Gradual deforestation brought no diminishment of the prosperity of Africa, for the bared surfaces were planted with vines and olives. Even the roadsides were lined with olive trees, so thickly that it was said with some exaggeration that one might journey in their shade from Tripoli to Tangier. The Mohammedan historian Ibn Abdel Haken tells an anecdote which lends color to this tale. He relates that when an Arab chieftain took Sufetula, in 647, with an enormous booty, he was curious to learn the source of the place's wealth, at which a bystander handed him an olive.

The most precious wood of Africa was that of the citron tree, which the Greeks called thyine, and the Romans *citreum*. It grew abundantly in the Atlas range and was much prized for its veining, which simulated the eyes of a peacock's tail, the stripes of a tiger or the spots of a leopard. The color varied widely. Seneca had 300 citron tables with ivory feet. It was much used for veneering and small works of art. Numidian marble, especially that of a rich ox-blood color, was highly prized and an important article of commerce. The *naves onerariæ*, or heavy freight ships loaded with Numidian marble, sailed via the island of Galata to Caralis (Cagliari, Sardinia) and thence to Ostia. These ships also carried timber and wild animals. A valuable kind of millstone was quarried in Morocco.

In Africa, as elsewhere in the Roman Empire, the economic and social gradations of society were great, and the tendency was for the rich to grow richer and the poor poorer. In the towns the rich mercantile class was largely Roman and Italian. The small shopkeepers and tradesmen, on the other hand, were usually of Punic descent. Of course in such an intensive commercial and industrial life as that which prevailed in the large towns, the texture of society must have closely approached that of Rome itself. There must have been many gilds of craftsmen, but only that of the fullers is positively known. Like every port town, Carthage, Leptis Magna, and the seaboard cities possessed a large population of longshoremen, dock laborers, porters, etc. Slavery was

widespread. But we know little of either slaves or freedmen in Roman Africa.

Roman Africa was a land of many different peoples, some of which were of native stock, others of which, like the Punic and the Latins, were of outside blood. The primitive population was composed of Libyans and Berbers who, although divided into numerous tribes, yet in language pertained to a single stock. Under the Romans they preserved their name, their religion, and at least a partial autonomy of their tribes. These tribes held chiefly to the hill country, and Rome never succeeded in imposing any municipal organization upon them, a fact which later hindered the spread of Christianity among them. The Punic population for a thousand years had possessed the coast region, and formed the chief population in the towns, many of which were of Punic origin. As long as the province lasted this Phœnician population remained more or less numerically preponderant. The religion remained the ancient Punic cult. The Punic tongue not only persisted but was the popular idiom of Africa down to the Arab conquest. The coinage as late as Tiberius bore Punic inscriptions; the *duumviri* were called *sufetes* in the Punic towns and the Punic tongue not only lasted down to the sixth century but for a long time was the customary language of even those who were educated and of the church in many of the Christian communities. The sister of the emperor Septimius Severus—she was born at Leptis Magna—spoke Latin so badly that the emperor was ashamed to have her in Rome. When St. Augustine, about 423, established a bishopric at Fussala in Numidia he appointed a man *qui et Punica lingua esset instructus;* in one of his own sermons he employs a Punic proverb and adds, "I shall say it in Latin for you because you do not all understand the Punic tongue"; there is an instance of another bishop to whom the Punic idiom was foreign who was compelled to have recourse to an interpreter when preaching.

In spite, however, of the persistence of these Phœnician survivals it would be an error to regard the Romanization of Africa as a superficial one. Besides its commercial importance Carthage was the centre of a literary activity from the beginning of the third century, boasting such men as Apuleius, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyprian, and Augustine.

The decline of Roman Africa dates from the middle of the third century when Capellianus, the Numidian legate for Maximus Thrax, overthrew Gordian I and put the cities which had espoused his cause to sack. From then on, until the accession of Diocletian, Africa was exposed to continuous raids from the outside by Numidian and Moor, and rent within by factional strife. None of the "Barrack Emperors" was able to establish order or to protect the province. Constantine, after the overthrow of Maxentius in 312, labored to restore the country,

especially the port of Cirta, whose name he changed to Constantine, as that of the province was altered to Numidia Constantina, a name which is still preserved in the French Algerian department of Constantine.

East of Roman Africa, between the Libyan desert and modern Tunis, lay the vast and once fertile plateau of Cyrene (modern Italian Tripoli). Originally settled by the Dorians, Cyrene was conquered by Ptolemy in 322 B.C. and fell to Rome with the spoil of Egypt. The Empire hesitated to erect this region into a province, for it was difficult to reach, and liable to predatory raids by the Bedouin of the desert. At first the government contented itself with merely taking possession of the Ptolemaic royal domains and levying a tax upon the chief product of the country, namely silphium, a highly prized medicinal plant. The population was a mixture of Libyans, Jews, Greeks, and Egyptians. The once flourishing trade of Cyrene was impaired with the founding of Constantinople, and the Roman government seems to have done little to arrest the decline, which reached its nadir in the time of Bishop Synesius about 400 A.D., whose letters throw very interesting light upon the decadence of the Roman Empire.

The war by which the various peoples of the Iberian peninsula (Spain) were gradually defeated and reduced to Roman subjection lasted for two hundred years, from the inception of the Second Punic War (218 B.C.) to the final conquest of the Cantabrians in 19 B.C. The first two provinces which were organized were Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior. Cartagena, which at the time of Carthaginian domination was the foremost city in Spain, was the capital of the former, and Corduba (Cordova) of the latter. The extension of Roman power over the whole peninsula was the work of Augustus and Tiberius. In Strabo's time most of the country had become Romanized in manners, customs, and language. The making of roads, notably by Pompey, and after him by the emperors, the immigration of Roman citizens into the conquered country, the imposition of military service upon the Spaniards, all these things accomplished the thorough Romanization of Spain. The municipia of Spain were to be counted by the hundred; there were 400 important towns, and 293 of less importance.

Spain was the California of the Roman Empire. Her mineral resources, gold, silver, copper, iron, which the Carthaginians had first worked, were developed extensively by the Romans. The silver mines near New Carthage employed 40,000 men and produced 25,000 pennyworth per diem. Cinnabar and lead were mined in Bætica; Bilbilis, the modern Bilbao, was famous for its iron from ancient times down through the Middle Ages.

On the high, half-arid plateaux of central and northern Spain enormous flocks of sheep grazed, and Spanish wool and Spanish leather were famous. In the south olive oil was an important commodity and

was exported in large quantities. According to Pliny the olive oil of Bætica (Andalusia) and Histria ranked next to that of Italy. Martial mentions the oil of Cordova as equal to the best Italian oil. The thick oak and beech forests fed thousands of hogs, and the hams of Cantabria commanded a large sale. Under Roman rule Gades (Cadiz) became the most important commercial city of Spain, so wealthy and luxurious that in the second century it was a byword, as Tyre was in remoter times. The fish-market of Cadiz was the admiration of Roman travelers, and smoked and pickled tunny was exported to Rome. The same is true of Abdera and other port towns of southern Spain.

Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres. Gaul, excluding the Mediterranean Riviera, known as the Narbonensis, which had been conquered in 121 B.C., was divided into three grand administrative divisions after Cæsar's conquest in the last century of the Republic, divisions which quite closely corresponded to the ancient historic divisions of Celtic Gaul. These were Lugdunensis, the territory between the Loire, the Seine, and the Saône; Aquitania, the territory between the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Garonne; Belgica, the greatest of the three in extent, was bounded on the west by the Seine, on the north by the sea, on the east by the Rhine. Under the Early Empire the two Germanys were cut off from Belgica. In the fourth century Augusta Trevorum (Trier, Treves) became the capital of the prefecture.

Roman Gaul became the most prosperous country of the whole Roman Empire. It showed few evidences of decline until the middle of the third century. In agriculture, in industry, in commerce, its prosperity was very great. Lyons, Bordeaux, Arles, Toulouse, and Marseilles were the most important commercial places. But "the rise of many flourishing towns in the Narbonensian province and particularly along the course of the Rhone gradually impaired the welfare of Massilia, and Ausonius in the fourth century gave her no place among the brilliant cities (*claræ urbes*) of Gaul." Bourges was famous for its iron work; Cahors for its textile manufactures; government arms factories were maintained at Treves and Autun. Even into remote Brittany Roman commerce penetrated.

Oriental traders, chiefly Syrians, abounded in Marseilles, Lyons, Bordeaux, Orleans, Paris, and their colonies long survived the fall of the Empire. In the progress of excavations recently made with a view to the discovery of archeological inscriptions, old wine has been found in a sarcophagus in a Gallo-Roman and Christian necropolis near Bordeaux. The wine, like the vial, seems to have originated in Syria, for very ancient bottles of the same kind found in Asia Minor are kept in the museum of the Louvre. The form of the vial is the same, and the glass may have been made in the manufactory that furnished the vials in the Louvre. The wines of Syria were known and renowned in

the early days of the Roman Empire, and in those days the commerce between Syria and Bordeaux was brisk. The vial of ancient wine found in Bordeaux is the second found in France. In 1877 a little amphora was discovered in Arles.

Gaul's tribulations began with the revolts in the provinces in the middle of the third century, rebellious movements deeply energized by economic and social strain, which culminated in the great rebellion of the Bagaudæ. It was this internal weakness more than the prowess of the Allemanni which accounted for the successful inroads of the Germans in the reign of Gallienus. Then the shock to trade from the prevalence of anarchy within and invasion from without was great. For example, near Clermont in Auvergne these hordes destroyed the vast pottery works at Lézoux, the shops of which, as modern excavations have shown, were nearly five miles in length. It was the death-blow to this industry, which since the first century had been one of the crowning industries of Gaul.

The Roman conquest of Britain was slowly made. Perhaps the primary reason for this fact is that the country offered few material advantages. Cæsar's two expeditions in 55 and 54 B.C., had no permanent results. In fact the levies which he made upon the vanquished tribes in Britain were not paid for a long time because he left no garrison behind him. Later, at two different times, in 34 and 27 B.C. Augustus planned expeditions into Britain, but nothing came of his projects, and he had to content himself with a kind of vague overlordship only. Certain British chiefs seem to have asked his protection, and others opened their territories to Roman traders. But Britain remained free until 43 A.D., when Claudius' general Agricola made a partial conquest of the island and regular contributions were exacted by Rome. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius completed the reduction of the country.

Iron, lead, and especially tin were among the most important of British products. The Thames valley became a wheat-bearing region whence the grain was exported across the Channel and up the Rhine to feed the legions there, for the absence of any great river in Gaul flowing east prevented cheap transportation of grain out of central Gaul. As to Ireland, although Rome never conquered it, there were probably Roman trade relations with the island.

Under the Early Empire the whole region along the left bank of the Rhine was separated from Gaul and erected into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Germany. The former roughly comprised western Switzerland, Alsace, and the present French and German Rhinelands; the latter modern Luxemburg, eastern Belgium, and southern Holland.

The Romans covered eastern Gaul and the two Germanys with a network of roads which were primarily meant for military purposes,

but which, incidentally, greatly facilitated trade. The system is yet easily traced, although much alteration has been made owing to the fact that modern history has pushed back the seat of road-radiation from Rheims to Paris. In Roman times the roads spread fanwise from Rheims. The first road ran from Rheims to Mainz on the Rhine; the second to Strassburg (Roman Argentoratum) over Metz and Verdun; the third to Toul; the fourth through Langres (Roman Lingones) to Vesontio (Besançon). A grand route running from Lyons up the Saône and down the Moselle, through Metz, Toul, Treves to Mainz and Cologne, cut all these roads transversely, and put them in connection with one another. In Roman Alsace the continuation of the road from Italy over the Alps ran down the Rhine from Basel to Cologne and Utrecht. There were thus two vertical routes following the rivers, connected by cross-roads.

Along the Rhine, however, until late in Roman imperial history, the cities—Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Coblenz, Strassburg, Basel—were more military cantonments than towns. But in course of time these points became the seat of a considerable civil population engaged in agriculture and trade. Mining in Lorraine, wine culture in the Moselle valley, and sheep raising were important activities.

Augustus was the founder of the frontier policy of the Roman Empire. In his political testament he recommended to his successors retention of the frontiers which he had established. After the conquest of Britain by Claudius, the formation of the Decuman Fields by Domitian and the annexation of Dacia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria under Trajan, Hadrian returned to Augustus' policy and contented himself with fortifying the frontier of the Empire by a *Limes Imperii,* where the natural frontiers failed, formed of walls, fosses, redoubts, towers, etc. In addition there were strict frontier regulations. In Germany along the non-Roman side of the Rhine and the Danube a zone of territory was kept unpeopled; no barbarian boat was permitted on either river, and a river fleet patrolled the whole front. Hadrian began the construction of the artificial wall across the angle made by the upper Rhine and Danube, and the huge engineering work was continued and completed by his successors. This artificial frontier consisted of an earth wall (*vallum*) protected by a fosse and palisades, and by a system of towers or castella. The wall began at Kehlheim, southwest of Regensburg, ran westward through Weissenburg and Gunzenhausen in Württemberg to Lorch and Welzheim, then turned toward the north, crossed the Main River at Freudenberg, ran in a curved line south of the Vogelsberg and north of the Taunus to the Lahn, thence down that river to the Rhine opposite Coblenz.

The frontier police exercised strict supervision over the border trade. No person could cross the frontier after dark, nor with arms; instead

he had to have a military escort for which he himself paid; at times even approach to the edge of the frontier was prohibited except to imperial couriers. All schedules of commerce had to pay import duties; even foreign princes or their ambassadors, if they brought merchandise with them, were required to pay duty. On the other hand the exportation of certain articles was prohibited, especially iron, either in ore or worked iron, arms of every sort, wine, oil, grain, salt, and precious metals. There were officially authorized markets at established places on the frontier which were supervised by a military police. The normal tariff rate on all frontiers and of all imports was 12½ per cent except at the Red Sea ports, where the duty was 25 per cent.

We are fortunate to possess a portion of a *lex portus* of A.D. 202 pertaining to the frontiers of Numidia and Mauretania. It has four schedules. The first one applies to slaves, horses, mules, oxen, asses; the second applies to products of the land; the third, to leathers; the fourth deals with various imports. All articles were subject to duty. More interesting than this is a tariff relating to importations from the East in the reign of Commodus. In it there are six classes of merchandise: (1) spices, aromatics, unguents, and drugs; (2) cotton goods, furs, ivory, and Indian iron; (3) precious stones; (4) opium and Indian textiles, silk, either raw or manufactured; (5) slaves, wild beasts for the circus; (6) dyes, woolens, horses.

It is of interest to know that both the Gauls and the Germans resented the presence of these frontier toll stations. At the time of the rebellion of the Batavians under Civilis in 69–71 A.D. the Germans of the right bank of the Rhine joined with the Batavians in demanding their abolition. For all that they were "barbarians" the Germans showed a shrewd understanding of trade. The Roman coinage with which the Germans first came in contact was the silver currency (the *bigati* and *serrati*) of the Republic, which still circulated under the Early Empire. But Nero reduced the weight of the silver *denarius,* which the Germans refused to take, as Tacitus has recorded in a well-known passage, and demanded to be paid in the older and better coin [*formasque quasdem nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt*]. It is a remarkable fact that among the hoards of ancient Roman coins which have been found in Germany these *bigati* and *serrati* outnumber the later *denarii.*

Rætia, which comprehended Bavaria south of the Danube, a part of northern Tyrol and eastern Switzerland, was conquered and organized as a province in 15 B.C. Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) on the Lech, derived its name from Augustus, and became the most important trade centre north of the Alps for interchange of Roman and German wares, owing to its convenience to the Brenner Pass. Below Rætia lay Noricum, whose iron products were famous.

Pannonia was organized as a province in 10 A.D. The native popu-

lation was almost all sold into slavery, and the province was the most Romanized of the three upper Danube provinces. This is attested by the large number of former Roman places in Pannonia. Modern Eszek, Alt-Ofen, Szlankamen, O-szony, Deutsch-Altenburg near Haimburg, Eszeg, Stein on the Anger, Raab (Arrabona), Laibach, Sziszek, Pettau, Petronell (Roman Carnuntum), Treffen Scitarjevo, Oedenburg, in Austria, Hungary, or Serbia are all of Roman origin. The same is true of most of the present important ports along the east coast of the Adriatic. Here Ragusa, Durazzo, and Zara are of Roman foundation.

The organization of the lower Danube provinces, the two Mœsias, pertains to the reign of Tiberius. Here Greek tradition was very strong, and most of the Roman towns had once been emporiums of Greek commerce. The most important of these places, which exist today, were Belgrade, Nicopolis, and Varna. Already under the Republic a Roman road ran along the Black Sea coast from the Hellespont to the Tauric Chersonese. The province of Thrace, however, was created by the Empire. This province (which included modern Bulgaria and Turkey in Europe) naturally harked back for its earlier history to Greek and Macedonian times. The most important points in Thrace under the Roman Empire were Balastra (ancient Abdera), Byzantium, Adrianople, Philippolis, and Sofia (Roman Serdica). Adrianople was an important place for the manufacture of arms, and before the founding of Constantinople the chief emporium of the Roman Balkans. Around the camps grew up *canabæ* (canteens), taverns, where traders and settlers clustered. Such were the beginnings of Belgrade (Singidunum) and Viminacium, at the confluence of the Morava and the Danube. The Morava was an important river valley up which trade flowed from Salonika; Nish was a halfway stop en route.

The most notable extension of Rome's territorial power in the second century was Trajan's conquest of Dacia, the north bank of the lower reach of the Danube, today answering to Rumania and Transylvania. Economically it was an important acquisition on account of the rich mineral deposits there. The native population was almost wholly cut off or sold into slavery so that the country was thoroughly settled by Roman colonists. When the Romans came there was only one important place, Sarmizegetusta, the capital of the Dacian king. Like the similar Decuman Fields this region was protected from barbarian invasion by an artificial wall which supplemented the natural fortification afforded by the curved rampart of the Carpathians. In this part of southeastern Europe, as in southern Germany, most of the important places go back to Roman foundation, as Carlsburg, Thorda (Thoremburg), Klausenburg, Turnu Severinu, Orsova, Tschitluk, and the Banat of Severin in Little Wallachia. In spite of these establishments, however, the occupation of the country was far from being sure, and

Hadrian contemplated withdrawing the Roman arms south of the Danube again; but the protest of the Roman settlers there prevented him from so doing. Dacia endured as a Roman province down to the reign of Gallienus, when (256) much of it was overrun by the Goths. Finally Aurelian sacrificed it in 275.

The Romans had treated Greece more harshly than any other of their conquests save Carthage. Corinth, Thebes, and Chalcis were destroyed. Bœotia and Eubœa were depopulated, and the land converted into *ager publicus*. Heavy taxes were thrown upon the conquered people. There was enormous decline in the population and remarkable displacements of it as well, owing to the concentration of land in the hands of a few great landowners. Pasturage was extended to the destruction of agriculture. The greater part of the free population migrated to the towns, especially to those along the coast where some commerce and industry survived, even if not highly prosperous, and where the poor found support from public largess like the lazzaroni of Rome. Many towns entirely disappeared; others were sparsely inhabited. The islands for the most part became rocky solitudes. Arcadia reverted almost to a state of nature.

Nero had the practical idea of cutting the isthmus of Corinth in order to avoid the long and dangerous route around Cape Malea. If it had been effected it would have been of advantage to Greek navigation and have stimulated the commercial relations between the cities of the eastern and western coasts of Greece. Domitian seriously injured Greece in 92 A.D. by prohibiting grape culture in the interest of Italian wine growers. In the second century, it is true, certain regions of Greece partially recovered, owing to the favorable initiative of some of the emperors, notably Hadrian who had a romantic interest in ancient Hellas. But the general aspect of Greece under the Later Empire is that of an exhausted country.

Roman influence extended around the north shore of the Black Sea, where Greek commercial tradition was strong. The beginnings can be traced to the commercial intercourse which the Greek colonies, settled on the northern shore of the Black Sea, sustained not only with the non-Slavic tribes about them, but also with the ancient Slavs settled about the middle course of the river Dnieper. The principal of these colonies were: Olbia, which emigrated from Miletus in the sixth century B.C.; Chersonesus on the southwestern point of the peninsula of that name; Theodosia and Panticapæum on the southeastern coast; Phanagoria on the eastern side of the Cimmerian Bosporus, and Tanaïs at the mouth of the river bearing the same name, known in modern times as the river Don. This land, which the Romans vaguely called "Scythis" and which we know today as the Crimea, was plentiful

in raw products: cattle and horses, hides, wool, honey, wax, salt, while the vast hinterland furnished thousands of slaves.

Unlike Greece, all Asia Minor under imperial Rome enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. The antiquity and great number of the cities, the denseness of the population, the almost immemorial skill in trade, the intense development of the technical arts and crafts, the natural resources of the country—all these things made for the prosperity of the Roman provinces in Asia Minor. Here were to be found powerful associations of merchants and workingmen.

Ephesus and Smyrna, in the time of Augustus, had each a population of 200,000. Twelve towns in the province of Asia alone were centres of a *conventus*. The number of incorporated towns in the provinces of Asia Minor ran into the hundreds. All through the period of the Byzantine Empire down to the Turkish conquest, almost all Asia Minor retained its commercial and industrial preëminence. By the fourth century, even Galatia was thoroughly Romanized. But Cappadocia in general was slow to accept Roman civilization and it never was fully developed there. Its mountain meadows and deep valleys were famous horse-raising pastures. Rome always found difficulty in governing the central mountainous parts of Asia Minor, for in Pisidia, Phrygia, Isauria, and the Taurus brigandage was endemic.

Syria had a long and important commercial and industrial history before Rome appeared in the East. The economic history of Syria goes back to the Phœnician cities of Tyre and Sidon, whose prosperity was enhanced, not diminished, by the conquest of Alexander. The most important cities of this ancient country had a root which ran far back into ancient history. Among such were Aleppo, Damascus, Laodicea, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and Berœa. From time immemorial—probably before Egypt began economically to influence the eastern Mediterranean lands —the peoples of Syria-Phœnicia had been *the* traders, par excellence, in eastern luxuries; next to them in activity were the Jews, who were all over the ancient Levant. No country of the Empire, not even the provinces of Asia Minor, had a more complex heritage than Syria. It was a palimpsest many times written over. The Syrian nationality and languages did not reach beyond Damascus. In the east and southeast, the population was Arab; in the south, Jewish; along the coast Phœnician. Wedged in between these discordant elements were many towns of Hellenic origin, some of them dating from Alexander and his successors, especially the Seleucids. To these differences of blood, tradition, and language must be added other complications. Southern Syria once pertained to the Ptolemies of Egypt, while northern Syria had been ruled by the Seleucids. This explains the Two Syrias.

The interior of Syria, which primitively was refractory toward urban

life, was urbanized by the Seleucids, and the process was continued by the Romans. Under Seleucus Nicator especially Syria was covered with Greek towns. The Jewish princes imitated them and established Cæsarea, Samaria, and Tiberias. In spite of wars, both external and internal, city building, trade, commerce, industry, and road construction flourished amazingly in Syria. Even the Hauran, which the Jews regarded as the wildest and most desolate part, partook of some Roman culture, which, however, soon vanished again. Neither Greek nor Roman influence ever completely penetrated into Syria. The divers dialects of the country, Syriac, Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Palmyrean, still persisted, as did also the ancient life of the inhabitants in the form of tribes, clans, and villages. And yet the Roman element was a solid factor in the composition of Syria.

Below Palestine, whose only port was Jaffa, was the Roman province of Arabia at the head of the Red Sea. Here Petra, "a red-rose city half as old as Time," was a gathering place for merchants from East and West. The strategic value of the place for trade had been perceived by the Ptolemies, "who wanted to dominate the trade route which crossed Arabia to Gaza, and was an alternative way of communication with India, besides their own water way of the Nile."

No one knows how old Egypt's trade with India and the Orient is. Her double position at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and at the head of the Red Sea gave her a strategic location which enabled her to control the volume of eastern trade which the lands of the West from remotest times had craved. But with the conquests of Alexander the Great Egypt rose to greater influence than ever before. She became a part of Europe, and indispensable to European culture. Possession of Egypt made the power which controlled her the master of the greatest volume of the oriental commerce which flowed into Europe.

It was impossible to think that Rome, as she expanded in the eastern Mediterranean lands, should not at last lay her hand on Egypt. The particular combination of events which precipitated Rome's seizure of Egypt is merely incidental. So it happened that when Cæsar and Antony fell to fighting one another for the mastery of the Mediterranean world, Egypt became the chief bone of contention. Driven from every other place of refuge, Antony found asylum in Egypt, and the Roman conquest of Egypt was certain (30 B.C.).

Egypt presents various exceptions to the usual rules of Rome in the government of the provinces. This was due to its exceptionally long and continuous history as an independent nation, to the physical peculiarities of the country, to the density of its population. Much of the Ptolemaic system found there by the Romans was maintained by them, and relatively little innovation was made.

From remote times Egypt has been famous for the density of its population; in antiquity it was reputed to have from 18,000 to 20,000 villages and towns; under the Ptolemies their number was reputed to be over 30,000. Diodorus estimated the population as seven millions before the Roman occupation, and Josephus put the figure at 7,800,000 in the time of Vespasian, less than today. In this number were a million Jews. The rest of the population was composed of native Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and slaves. The natives and the Greeks were much intermingled, but the large Jewish colony maintained its separate character. It is noteworthy that in the rural areas of Egypt there were few slaves, owing to the enormous number of dependent peasantry or fellaheen.

The Egyptians, habituated to despotism, were famous for their mendacity, their servility, their religious superstitions, their petty quarrelsomeness. Least of all changes instituted by Rome were those which touched the Egyptian cults. The temples remained undisturbed; the hieroglyphic writing of the priests remained in vogue until the reign of Caracalla and even later—into the sixth century. Greek, which had been introduced by the Ptolemies, remained the official idiom. Instead of being ruled by a Roman governor as was the case with other provinces, Egypt was ruled by a viceroy, who maintained the state and dignity of a monarch. Like India in the British Empire, Egypt was subject to a peculiar and distinct type of domination.

In the industrial life of Egypt generally slave labor and capitalism played hardly any part. Not only was the land cultivated exclusively by the tenant peasantry, but most of the manufactures we hear of were in the hands of small craftsmen working on their own account or serving masters for hire.

In addition to its agricultural importance for the Roman Empire, Egypt had also, in Alexandria, the foremost mart of the world. It was the base of Rome's trade with the Far East. Ancient history, like modern history, is very much the history of a struggle for control of trade routes. Though the Suez Canal had not at that time been built, the Red Sea was as important a trade route between Europe and the Orient as it is today.

To the ports of South Arabia and Abyssinia goods seem to have been first conveyed in Indian and Arabian vessels. But the Greeks soon got into the game. Pliny mentions a colony of Greek merchants, established on the Malabar Coast. Thus a more direct trade was established between Europe and the Orient. One of the earliest acts of Augustus, in fact in B.C. 25, six years after the battle of Actium, was an endeavor to capture the control of this trade. To that end the emperor, under the erroneous impression that Arabia, and not India and the Far East, was the country of production, ordered the prefect of Egypt to con-

quer Arabia. The effort failed. Later, having discovered that the trade came from India, the Romans imposed a twenty-five per cent import duty on Eastern goods. The suppression of piracy by the Roman Empire in the Red Sea did much to stimulate this commerce, but of more importance was the discovery, about 48 A.D., of the regular seasonal blowing of the trade winds, or monsoons, in the Indian Ocean. Thenceforth east and west voyages between Egypt and India were regularly made. Until this time all vessels had hugged the long roundabout route along the coast of Persia and the Makran.

Contrary to what one might suppose, the terminus of the Red Sea route was not at the head of the gulf—for the upper end of the Red Sea abounds with shoals and reefs—but at Myos-Hormus (Mussel Harbor), modern Ras Abu Somer, halfway down the African coast of the Red Sea. It was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus in 274 B.C. because of the dangerous nature of the upper Red Sea. In time other adjacent ports sprang up, as Arsinoë, Ptolemais, and Adulis. At these ports goods were transshipped and transported by camel caravan across the desert to Coptos (modern Koft) on the Nile, down which they were floated to the delta. Pliny states that about $20,000,000 in gold was annually withdrawn from the Roman Empire to balance this oriental trade.[1] Thousands of examples of Roman coins found in India and now preserved in museums, attest the truth of this statement.

Rome's commercial enterprise also penetrated deep into Central Africa. In the time of Augustus the farthest south of Rome in Egypt was at Syene (modern Assouan, by the First Cataract). Later it was pushed farther south to Hiera Sycaminos, "the only place ever held by Rome in the tropics." This place was the mart for the trade of inner barbarian Africa, which was pure barter.

Rome, through Egypt, controlled the Red Sea and India route—the sea route—to the Far East. But there was another route. This was the great Overland Trail out of China and India across Bactria and Persia and Mesopotamia, which terminated in the ports of Syria, notably Antioch.

The fact that the western stages of this great Overland Trail crossed Iran and Mesopotamia has always enabled any political power in either of these regions, whether Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Parthians, Arsacid or Sassanid kings of New Persia, or Mohammedan Khalifs, to hold up Europe by exacting tolls for passage of eastern commodities through their lands, and imposing tariffs for all that the traffic would bear. Babylon and Nineveh held up Tyre and Sidon; Persia held up Antioch and the Ionian Greek states in Asia Minor; Parthia held up the Romans; the Arsacid and Sassanid kings, and after them the Baghdad Khalifate, held up Constantinople and the Eastern Roman Empire.

[1] In the reign of Aurelian (270–75) a pound of silk was worth a pound of gold. ["*Libra enim auri tunc libra serici fuit.*"—Vopiscus.]

The revolt of the Ionian cities against Darius between 500 and 494 B.C. and the intervention of the European Greeks in their behalf, which led to Xerxes' futile effort to conquer Greece, and the battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Salamis, was inspired by the resentment of the Ionian cities against Persia's oppressive economic policy toward them. Alexander the Great's conquests were partially inspired by economic motives, namely to break the commercial thraldom of Persia over the West, and eliminate the "middlemen" between Europe and the Far East. For a time it was successful. The Greek and Syrian merchants profited immensely by the fall of Persia, and the prices of oriental luxuries dropped in the marts of the Mediterranean cities.

But the break-up of Alexander's empire and the rise of the Parthian Empire in western Asia reëstablished the old condition. This time Rome became the opponent of Parthian commercial control. The long duel between the two was preëminently a commercial rivalry in ancient history, as the wars of England and France since the reign of Edward III have been a struggle between two great commercial powers. Between 250 B.C. and 226 A.D. the Arsacid kings of Parthia overspread all the lands between the Euphrates and the Indus and formed a formidable dam, first against Hellenistic and later against Roman power, in western Asia. The terrible defeat of Crassus in 53 B.C. rankled long in Roman memory. Every frontal attack the Romans ever made upon Parthia failed—in 36 B.C. Antony was beaten, in 232 A.D. Alexander Severus was beaten, in 258 Valerian was beaten, and made prisoner by Sapor the Great (he was the only Roman emperor to die in captivity); in 364 Julian was beaten and slain on the battlefield. Rome always paid dearly in her Parthian campaigns.

It was vain of Rome to attempt to make a frontal attack upon Parthia. She could not pierce her. Indeed, although Trajan conquered the Land-Between-the-Rivers and organized the provinces of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Assyria there, although Rome might hold possession of Edessa, Nisibis, Zeugma, Samosata, and Palmyra and establish custom houses there, Parthia still remained master of the situation, sitting stride of the Great Road. But Parthia had always found it hard to control the hardy people of the mountainous region of the isthmus between the Caspian and the Euxine, the Armenians and Iberians. This fact suggested to Rome the possibility of circumventing Parthia. Armenia and Iberia offered a means of communication with the Far East unhampered by Parthia. The idea was not new. What was new was the execution of it.

As early as the beginning of the third century B.C., Patrocles, acting under orders from Antiochus I, had explored the Caspian Sea and reported the existence of an important trade route leading from northern India (and China) to the river Oxus, down that river by ship and so into the Caspian Sea, either through a channel of the Oxus flowing into the Cas-

pian, or from the river to the sea by some overland route. Wares were then shipped across the Caspian and up the Kur to the head of navigation. From this point they were carried via Tiflis . . . to the Black Sea. . . . Thus the Oxus valley was a great trade thoroughfare; its means of approach to the western world was by way of the Caspian and Trancaucasia, and with the possession of the isthmus between the Caspian and the Black seas the control of this route came into the hands of the Romans.[2]

Armenia was originally a kingdom on the upper course of the Euphrates, a kingdom of the Caucasus ruled by native dynasts who were in loose vassalage to Parthia. Rome gradually extended her sway over Armenia. Pompey established King Deiotarus as a vassal king; Cæsar put in Ariobarzanes; Augustus, King Archelaus; Nero, King Tigranes. This semi-dependence, however, was soon abolished by Nero, who annexed the territory as Lesser Armenia; Vespasian organized the provincial government and erected a fortress on the Kur River. The Roman conquest of the whole Caspian isthmus rapidly followed until between 115 and 117 A.D. Trajan acquired Greater Armenia and organized it, too, as a province.

Rome was now in a position to circumvent the Parthian monopolistic control of the great trans-Asian trade route, and, aided by the subject peoples of the Caucasus, who had no love for Parthia, opened a new trade route which united with the main transcontinental road east of the Parthian frontier in modern Turkestan, coasted the south edge of the Caspian Sea to the present Baku, whence two alternative routes were open for the Far Asian trade, one straight across the isthmus (five days) up the valley of the Kur to the Black Sea ports of Colchis, Phasis, Dioscurias (modern Iskuriah); the other ran southwest up the Araxes River and down the upper Euphrates to Edessa and Samosata, and so into Syria. Both of these routes circumvented the Parthian control.

The latter of these two routes lost its identity when it entered Syria. But the first became one of the most interesting trade routes in history. These eastern Euxine ports, whose ancient history harked back to the tale of Jason and the Golden Fleece, leaped into great importance commercially. Colchis, which was built in a delta, had 120 bridges in Nero's time. At Dioscurias there were 130 interpreters to facilitate the polyglot handling of trade. It is said 300 languages and dialects were spoken there. The surplusage of these ports went to Trebizond.

The commercial relations between the Far East and the West in the greatest period of the Roman Empire were more expansive than once believed. Modern research has added a large amount of information. In the words of Professor Carl Maria Kaufman:

[2] David Magie, *Annual Report*, American Historical Assoc., 1919, I, 302–303.

A map showing traffic routes between China, India, and Rome about 100 A.D., published in the *Proceedings* of the Institute for Research in Comparative Religion of the University of Leipzig for 1922, contains impressive evidence of the high development of intercommunication throughout the world at that period. The average reader notes with surprise the density of the road net between Europe and Asia—especially the great number of competing trade-routes lying between the tenth and fourteenth parallels of latitude and the numerous connections between Egypt and Asia Minor, and Sogdiana, Bactria, Gandhara, and down the Malabar coast. Besides this network of caravan and sea routes, the map also shows what an important part the valleys of such rivers as the Indus played at that time in world commerce.[3]

It is interesting to know that these efforts of Rome were not without knowledge in China. The Chinese Empire at this time extended much farther west in Asia than now and indeed included Mongolia and stretched to Russian Turkestan. Although China's knowledge of the Mediterranean world was hazy, the Celestial Empire knew of Rome. Chinese annals tell us that in A.D. 97 a certain Kanying was sent as an ambassador to "Ta-ts'in"—by which name Antioch was known in Cathay. But the embassy got no further than the Persian Gulf. Parthian merchants whose interest it was to prevent direct communication between the Roman and the Chinese empires probably were instrumental in frustrating the farther progress of the embassy. For the Chinese annals record that "the kings of Ta-ts'in [*i.e.*, the Roman emperors] always desired to send embassies to China, but the An-shi [Parthians] wished to carry on trade with them in Chinese silks, and it is for this reason that they were cut off from communication."

This repressive diplomacy on the part of Parthia was, however, partially negatived in the second century by Marcus Aurelius' successful war with Parthia, in which Seleucia and Ctesiphon were burned by the Romans and a part of the lost province of Mesopotamia recovered. In 166 A.D. we have mention of the name of a Roman emperor in Chinese annals in indubitable language:

> This [indirect commerce] lasted until the ninth year of the Yen-hei period during the emperor Huan-ti's reign [A.D. 166] when the king of Ta-ts'in, by name An-tun, sent an embassy which, from the frontier of Jih-nan [Annam], offered ivory, rhinoceros horns, and tortoise shell. From that dates the [direct] intercourse [of the empire of Ta-ts'in] with this country.[4]

[3] *Frankfurter Zeitung Wochenblatt*, June 12, 1926, reprinted in *Living Age*.

[4] Quoted in Bury's ed. of Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, IV, 535.

Beyond doubt this ruler called "An-tun" was the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, but whether it was a formal Chinese embassy or a group of Chinese merchants who conveniently used the Celestial Emperor's name it is not possible to say. How far, too, the Overland Trail was used is uncertain, but the *Hou-han-shu,* a Chinese history written in the fifth century, mentions a "flying bridge," by which is probably meant the famous Euphrates bridge at Zeugma. This chronicle also mentions some articles of trade between West and East, as precious stones, glass, rewoven silk and dyes, storax, and other drugs. Antioch is mentioned several times in these Chinese histories as An-tu.

Entire freedom of trade did not exist within the Roman Empire, for there were custom circles on whose edges internal tolls called *portoria* were collected, in addition to which most of the municipalities levied octroi upon comestibles. Some of these douanes were older than Rome, especially in the East. Not every province formed a customs circle, but contiguous provinces were grouped together. The tariff was not uniform, but varied from circle to circle, from 2 per cent to 12 per cent, the latter rate falling upon luxuries. Our information is too meager for us to determine all these circles. Among those we know were Italy, Sicily, Gaul, including the Two Germanys, Britain, the Danube provinces with Illyria. Asia Minor was far from being a single unit. In fact the provinces of Asia, Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia each formed a circle. How the African provinces were grouped we do not know, nor anything of the Balkan Peninsula or Greece or Syria. The rate of the *portoria* increased with the growing impoverishment of the Empire and the growing weight of taxation. In the fourth century a flat rate of 12½ per cent was imposed everywhere.

From the history of Roman commerce we turn to that of industry. Here the thing which at once strikes us is the universality of gild organization (*collegia,* or colleges) in the Roman industrial world. There was nothing new or distinctly novel in this, for associations of artisans and craftsmen engaged in the same or similar crafts were common in antiquity. It is important, however, to observe that these organizations were primarily for social purposes. There is no evidence that they ever, like the medieval gilds, provided technical training for apprentices or, like modern trade unions, endeavored to raise wages, shorten hours of labor, etc. Indeed, such things could not have been possible in ancient times when much of industry was conducted by slave labor. The industrial services of the Roman collegia have been exaggerated. They were local societies among the lowly, formed for social and relief purposes of the members, like modern "lodges" and benefit associations. They provided help in time of illness and assured decent burial in event of death. The court of some temple was their usual place of meeting. Only the largest could afford quarters of their own. Such collegia

usually had a "patron," some richer member who for sake of the honor of being chief official defrayed the expense of a hall. All of them had some god or goddess as a tutelary divinity, just as the gilds in the Middle Ages had their patron saints. They had, too, various officials and an initiatory rite. The inscriptions show that eighty different crafts or trades were so organized in the city of Rome in imperial times. The *navicularii,* or gilds of bargemen upon the rivers, were the most influential and most highly organized. Provided they were quiet and law-abiding and did not "play politics," the collegia were undisturbed by the government, almost unnoticed. Only in a few cities of Asia Minor, where the industrial population was highly skilled and very numerous, do we find instances of labor agitation and industrial strikes.

But in the second century a change of government policy is perceptible. The government saw an economic advantage in regulating those employments in which the state naturally had concern, like the making of arms, the manufacture of army supplies, ship-building, transportation, and the production and circulation of food stuffs. Trajan organized the bakers' colleges, Hadrian those of sailors, under state supervision. On the imperial domains, from which a large portion of the imperial revenues came, labor of all sorts was rapidly organized under state control.

In the third century another change of policy was made, one highly important, even revolutionary in nature. By this time, owing to failing revenues, taxation had become a paramount anxiety of the government. The rate of taxation increased, new taxes were devised, new machinery of enforcement adopted. A tax upon some trades may have been imposed in Caracalla's reign. But in the reign of Alexander Severus (224–35), all industrial arts and crafts were forcibly agglutinated and put under state control, and the gild itself made a unit of taxation. The array of employments includes tailors, all textile and metal workers, furriers, leather workers, saddlers, potters, bakers, porters, longshoremen, freight-handlers, carpenters, masons, tradesmen and merchants, innkeepers, even prostitutes. A law of Diocletian later required every municipality to keep a register of all such.

Various names were given to the tax so imposed, according to the kind of group which was taxed. But the common and most general name was that of *chrysargyrum,* from the two Greek words for gold and silver, because the tax was exacted in specie and could not be defrayed in produce, as many Roman taxes were. Henceforth the government regulated supply, and fixed wages, prices, and hours of labor. It was one of the heaviest, most unpopular, and most deleterious taxes of later Roman times, for it fell almost wholly upon the middle class, which already had burdens enough; and undoubtedly it was a factor in the ultimate disappearance of this class. The emperor Anastasius abolished the chrysargyrum in 500, but by that time its vicious work had been

accomplished. Only retired soldiers engaged in petty commerce and the priest class were exempt from it; the Christian clergy were included in the latter class after the recognition of Christianity.

Only one further step was necessary in state regulation to bring about the industrial enslavement of the Roman world by government, and that soon came. This was the notorious law making all crafts hereditary, providing that the son must follow in his father's employment. No more effective dissuader of initiative and destroyer of natural talent can be conceived. The son of a tailor or a saddler, no matter how much imagination and artistic or literary ability he may have possessed, was doomed to stick to his father's needle or awl; a potter's son was bound to his father's wheel. Only the "liberal" professions of law, medicine, teaching, the fine arts, were exempted. This is the origin of the medieval and modern distinction between the mechanical and the liberal arts.

Owing to low wages, long hours of work, heavy taxation, or distaste for the occupation, thousands by the fifth century were found deserting their occupations. They fled from the city in which they lived into other provinces, and even among the barbarians along the frontier. A law directed to the prefect of Gaul reads:

> Communities deprived of the proper services have lost the splendor for which formerly they were renowned, especially where very many of the members of the colleges, leaving the care of the cities, and seeking a country life, have hidden themselves in secret and desert places, but we have put a stop to such devices by commanding that wherever in the world fugitives may be found, they be dragged back to their duties without a single exception.

From the foregoing pages it is evident that commerce and industry were important economic and social phenomena of the civilization of the Roman Empire. Yet in extent, production, and influence the importance of agriculture was far greater.

Our forms of land tenure, methods of farming, and system of rural economy are a mixture of practices derived from the Romans of the Empire, and from the German tribes which invaded the Roman Empire and settled within its borders in the fourth and fifth centuries. In the early days of the Roman Republic, till the Second War with Carthage, which ended in 201 B.C., the Roman people were chiefly a nation of cattle-raisers. In the early days of Rome agriculture was still primitive and undeveloped. Enormous droves of hogs fed upon the mast in the extensive forests; cattle were pastured in summer and fed on straw and roots in winter; just enough grain was grown for bread. The body of the Roman people was composed of a free farming class. The nobles, at once a landed gentry and a military official class, largely controlled the government. But apart from the burden of military service exacted

of every freeman, the weight of government was not heavy on the people. There were few slaves. Farming was regarded as an honorable occupation. The story of Cincinnatus leaving his plow to become one of the greatest generals of his age, like Putnam in the American Revolution, illustrates the simple, democratic conditions of the time. Farms were small, and worked by the owner and his sons, with the aid of a few slaves. "When our ancestors," said Cato the Elder, "paid their eulogies to a good man, they praised him as a good agriculturist, a good husbandman. He was considered to receive the highest meed of praise who was thus praised. It is from the farmers that come the most stalwart men and the most unflinching soldiers."

But in the second century B.C. a profound economic revolution took place in Italy, which ruined much of this simple peasant life. The conquest of Greece between 200 and 146 B.C. and the overthrow of the great Carthaginian empire, also in the year 146, added rich and populous provinces to Rome, where a highly developed system of farming had prevailed for centuries. Rome was quick to learn from her conquered enemies.

The famous treatise on agriculture, written by the Carthaginian Mago, was promptly translated into Latin by the order of the senate. Cato the Elder, the famous censor, urged the Roman farmers to apply the new methods here explained, and himself wrote a manual of farm management, which is the earliest in Roman literature of a long line of similar works dealing with farming, cattle breeding, fruit culture, vine-dressing, bee-keeping, and the like. As a result, the Roman land-owners began to experiment with more intensive methods of farming, and to import skilled farmhands, vine-dressers, and orchardists into Italy, along with improved cattle and new kinds of fruits and vegetables. The study of soils and crops and the introduction of methods of fertilization and drainage went hand in hand with the erection of better barns and other farm buildings.

In the last century of the Republic and under the early Empire we find other writers on agriculture, the most important of whom were Varro, Columella, and Palladius. Varro was born in the country where the famous Sabine Farm of the poet Horace was situated later; for he was of the earlier generation, having lived in the great days of Cæsar and Pompey. In the civil war between these two he espoused the cause of the latter, but after Cæsar's triumph was fortunate enough to be among the amnestied. Later he secured the protection of Cæsar's heir and successor, the first Roman emperor Augustus, and henceforth devoted himself wholly to learning. His erudition was tremendous; he is probably the most fecund writer of antiquity. According to a list which he himself compiled in the last years of his life—he lived to be nearly ninety years of age—he was the author of seventy-four large works.

He made all literature his province—history, rhetoric, geography, science, law, education, drama.

Of this enormous product only a grammatical treatise and his *Three Books of Agriculture* (*Rerum rusticarum libri III*) have come down to us. It was written when he was eighty years of age, in the form of a dialogue. The first book dealt with farming, the second with cattle raising, the third with fowls and fish-keeping. But Varro was more a man of letters than a farmer. Like many wealthy Romans he was fond of his country estate and had some practical knowledge of farm management. But his chief interest in farm life was that it enabled him to get out of the noisy and crowded capital and commune with nature and enjoy a simple life. The work is romantically, not practically, rural.

Columella was much superior to Varro as an agricultural writer. He was a Romanized Spaniard, born near Cadiz in the first century A.D. His father died in his early manhood leaving him estates in both Spain and Italy, in the cultivation of which he became intensely interested. He not only diligently studied all the current treatises on farming and cattle raising, but traveled far and wide in search of new knowledge. Spain was famous in antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages for its sheep, and Columella was particularly interested in improving the breed of the native Iberian sheep by crossing it with imported merinos from the Mount Atlas region in Africa. He is said by some authors to have died in Syria, whither he had gone to purchase rams of the famous Syrian breed. His *De re rustica,* in twelve books, was the fruit of diligent study, wide travel, and practical observation and experience. Fortunately it has come down to us intact. It is written with both literary grace and technical skill, and illuminated by a pleasant philosophical moralizing at times. For Columella believed in "the good old times" and deplored the growing luxury and artificiality of his age. For example, he says that a land-owner got better service from tenants and slaves on his estates than from outside tenants coming in or slaves purchased in remote and foreign markets. Columella had an important influence upon the monastery farms in the Middle Ages.

Palladius, the third of the trio, was probably born in Gaul at Poitiers about 400 A.D. He wrote fourteen books on husbandry. The principal part (Books 1–12) is arranged in the form of a calendar or almanac, and deals with the occupations of the successive months in order. He used the writings of his predecessors freely, especially Columella, and the Latin translation of the treatise by Mago of Carthage. In one respect, however, Palladius broke new ground as a Roman writer. For he made considerable use of Greek agricultural treatises. Unfortunately he generally refers to these sources merely as "Greek authors." The exception is a mention of a manual of husbandry by Anatolios of Beirut in Syria. The practical nature of his arrangement and the brevity of his instruc-

tions made the treatise of Palladius a favorite one in medieval times.

The Roman law forbade members of the senatorial class or privileged aristocracy from going into trade. In consequence the effect of the law was to exaggerate land-holding among them. Nevertheless the prohibition against going into trade was evaded by doing so indirectly through the use of a clever slave or freedman who acted as an agent. This explains why commercial activity was almost wholly in their hands. "To be as rich as a freedman" was a proverb. Many *nouveaux riches* were of this class and rose to hold high government posts, like Pallas in the time of Claudius and Narcissus in that of Nero. Petronius' satire, *Trimalchio's Dinner,* is a skit upon these upstarts. After Nero's time the emperors began to entrust the important administrative offices to men of free condition, and particularly to members of the equestrian order. By Hadrian's time freedmen had almost completely disappeared from all offices of state save those of finance. They were, however, continued in subordinate posts, both in the government offices and at court, but they had to compete with a crowd of provincials, Greeks and Syrians especially. The only late example of a freedman of marked political influence is Cleander, who was prætorian prefect under Commodus (192 A.D.).

Slavery was an important institution. While a strong argument can be made for the necessity of its existence in early Rome from the view of economic necessity of raw labor, there is no denying that under the Empire it was a deleterious factor. The Romans had had slaves from earliest times but in slight numbers at first. The Roman peasant who tilled the ground in early times had little need of other labor than his own; a few slaves were sufficient. There were four causes which tended to the increase of slavery: the abandonment of direct cultivation by the peasantry and the growth of great proprietorship, bringing with it exploitation of the soil by slave labor, which was preferable to that of free men because the slave was not liable to military service and could be forced to labor uninterruptedly; the growth of luxury, which introduced into Roman life a host of new necessities, many of which required the possession of slaves for their gratification; the growth of the practice of using slaves in manufacturing industry, a practice which was old in the East but only adopted by Rome late in republican history; and finally, the natural increase in the slave population, an increase which grew greater as the economic work of slaves increased and their lot was ameliorated by legislation.

Slaves were divided into two broad classes, urban and country, of those pertaining to the city establishment and to the country home of the owner (*familia urbana, familia rustica*). The slaves in each of these groups were subdivided into various classes, according to the nature of their employment. The acute remark of a Greek that the great resource of the Romans was agriculture and that they had less need than the

Greeks to employ their slaves in industries, ceased to be true under the Empire, when we find hosts of them employed in working mines and quarries, in brickyards, glass factories, as weavers, dyers, fullers, servants, etc. The more agriculture declined, the more capital tended to exploit industry and the importance of urban slavery increased. Slaves represented an investment of capital and the small farmer was gradually driven to the wall. The more enterprising of those thus dispossessed too often vainly emigrated to other provinces, especially new ones on the frontier; but many gave up the struggle and drifted to the towns, there to become dependents or clients of the rich, or to be engulfed in the increasing idle proletariat of the cities fed at public expense (the *annona*) and amused with the baths and the circus. It was increasingly difficult for an impoverished farmer to find work even as a hired hand. The New Testament, which reflects conditions at the end of the first century A. D. shows this to have been the case even in Palestine, which was peopled by a farming peasantry and whose economic and social structure was much simpler than in many other Roman provinces. In Matthew 20: 3, 5–7, we find reference to workers standing idle in the market-place waiting to be hired; Zebedee had a hired crew on his fishing boat on the Sea of Galilee, as the Greek word *misthotoi* shows (Mark 1: 20); in general it is evident that in New Testament times hired workers were lightly esteemed—"the hireling flees because he is a hireling" (John 10: 13).

Exploitation of the soil by slave labor became the order of the day. The farms of the proprietors were sometimes of huge extent, embracing thousands of acres under the administration of an overseer, often an unusually intelligent slave himself, who had the supervision of hundreds, and even thousands, of slave workers. Gaius Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus, who died in 8 B. C., in his will, after reciting that he had suffered great losses in the civil wars of the century, yet left behind him 4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, and 257,000 head of other cattle, besides a fortune of $2,500,000 in cash. The lot of these slaves on the great farms was hard. They were kept in big barracks, when not in the fields; their hours of work were long; and they were driven to labor by the whip of the overseer. As a consequence, the mortality among them was heavy; but the slave markets were continually recruited by Rome's wars. It was almost a maxim of early Roman farm economy that it was more profitable to work a slave to death and to buy a new one than to be tender of him. The crop was worth more than the man. Cato is a type of this hard-headed, hard-fisted utilitarianism. To him slaves were nothing more than highly intelligent cattle, and he treated them as such.

Grand landed proprietorship increased enormously, especially in Italy and Africa. The small farmer could not compete with the altered conditions. He was liable to military service, while the rich land-owner could

keep his slaves at work without interruption. The big farmer could undersell him, both in cattle and in produce, in the market. The result was that in course of time the small, independent farmer was driven to the wall. First he was compelled to mortgage a part, and finally all his farm. Generally the mortgage broker sold the mortgage to some adjacent grand proprietor, who was eager to increase his acreage, and for years had looked with covetous eyes upon his neighbor's little farm. The day came when the small, independent farmer was evicted from his ancestral acres, which went to swell the already huge holdings of the local magnate. Latin literature abounds with complaints regarding this evil, which thinking men saw was sapping the vitality of the nation. The rich were growing richer and the poor poorer. Cicero lived modestly, judged by Roman standards of extravagance, in the last century of the republic. But he owned a palace which cost him, with the ground, over $480,000. The free yeoman class, that middle class which is the bone and sinew of every healthy society, was gradually being crushed out. But the protests of these enlightened citizens went for naught. The government was controlled by an oligarchy of rich capitalists, government contractors, army sutlers, and wealthy land-owners. Their words fell on deaf ears. The Roman historian Appian has given a vivid description of this agrarian crisis.

The evil of land monopoly was spread over the whole Roman Empire. The legal restriction against the possession of a domain of more than a fixed area was evaded by the acquisition of many estates scattered in various provinces. Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer of the fourth century, in his *Roman History,* xxvii, 11, 1, penned a famous phrase: "*patrimonia sparsa per orbem*—patrimonies over all the world." This is said of Sextus Petronius Probus, the prætorian prefect. Symmachus, another incumbent of the same office, owned three great palaces in Rome and fifteen country estates. We do not know what their extent was, but they must have been vast in the aggregate, for his annual income has been computed at $900,000—and this when the rate of interest was 12 per cent legally, and as much more as a man could exact. The evil was greatest in central Italy, Africa, and Gaul. As we learned before, six proprietors owned one-half of the arable land of the province of Africa in Nero's time. Frontinus records that private properties in Africa in the time of Nerva (d. 98) were as large as the territory of cities.

These great farms sometimes covered a whole county, and the owner exercised the functions of the former local administration in his private capacity. The government of the *pagus* and the government of the domain became identical in the hands of the rich magnate. The legal form of government continued to exist in theory only, or actually was supplanted. By the fifth century the Empire was reduced to a shell. Its once great and centralized sovereignty was dissipated and divided among a

a swarm of powerful private land-owners who administered justice, collected taxes, kept up the roads (when they were kept up), and even made war as occasion or whim demanded, much as they pleased. In a word, feudalism reigned.

Modern place-names in France still show evidences of this state of things in the fourth and fifth centuries. Aubigny derives its name from a Roman noble named Albinus, and the germ of the town was the agglomerated population upon his vast patrimonium in the fifth century. Solignac comes from one named Solemnis; Fleury from one named Florus. These estates must have varied in extent. But even those then rated small would seem large to us today, and the "great farms" must have been huge. A wealthy writer of the fourth century describes a "modest" patrimony which he possessed in southern France. In his eyes it was not large; yet it included 400 acres of grain, 100 of vineyard, 50 of meadow and 700 of woodland. Such was the condition of the western Roman world when the Germans came into the Roman Empire. This was the prevailing state which the West Goths found in Spain, the East Goths in Italy, the Vandals in Africa, the Franks in Gaul. How did their own form of land tenure and their own farming methods modify this order? How did Rome influence them? These are questions which are to be answered in another chapter.

By the fifth century, when the Germans began to invade the Empire, the evil of land monopoly had become so great that practically the whole Empire was owned by a powerful landed aristocracy. The free farmer and the free artisan had almost vanished away. They were reduced to serfdom on the great patrimonies, where they dwelt in huddled villages of wretched cottages, often side by side with the "quarters" of the slave class on the estate. The latter farmed the original estate in gangs under an overseer. The serfs farmed the rest of the property, which had been acquired by steady foreclosure of mortgages upon the former free farms roundabout. In other words, the serf was a former free farmer, who had lost the title to his land, but who was permitted still to remain upon it as a tenant, working it for the great land-owner. But he was a tenant who never could recover his freedom. In the theory of the law his labor was the "rent" exacted by the lord. The land had been his own once upon a time; now it was owned by the lord, who had become his master. He was "bound to the glebe," as the phrase went; for he was in the bondage of a perpetual debt upon which he was continually paying by his toil, but which he could never wholly discharge, for the rent accumulated as fast as he worked it off. If he ran away, the serf could be seized and brought back for trying to evade a debt. If declared guilty, he might then lose his freedom utterly, and be reduced to the status of a slave, for he had no property to levy upon, and his body might be sold in order to pay

the fine. In such circumstances, the runaway serf was lucky if he got off with a hard beating.

Often in desperation serfs, and even those who were actually free, fled to the Germans, and even the Huns. In 448 an ambassador of the emperor Theodosius II who had been sent to Attila, encountered such a refugee in the country beyond the Danube. The report of their conversation makes interesting reading:

"He considered his new life among the Huns better than his old life among the Romans. The condition of Roman subjects in time of peace is far more grievous than the evils of war, for the exaction of the taxes is very severe, and unprincipled men inflict injuries on others because the laws are practically not valid against all classes. A transgressor who is rich is not punished for his injustice, while a poor man undergoes the legal penalty."

By the side of this we may put the testimany of another writer, just a century earlier, which points to the same thing:

"The many are oppressed by the few. None but the strong is safe against these plundering brigands. The poor are despoiled, the widows sigh, the orphans are oppressed, until many of them, though born of good families, flee to our enemies. They seek Roman humanity among the barbarians because they cannot bear barbarian humanity among the Romans."

Broadly, at the inception of the fifth century, the whole of western Europe was controlled by a powerful landed aristocracy, possessed of huge patrimonies, sometimes compact, more frequently widely scattered, which were farmed by a double class of laborers, part slave, part serf. The displacements of population due to these processes were enormous in the aggregate. The cities declined in population, owing to the decay of commerce and industry. Agriculture became the dominant, almost the sole, form of production. Wealth was represented by land, and by little else. As the cities decayed, a multitude of new communities arose in the country, composed of serfs and slaves, dwelling on the huge farms of the rich magnates. The great patrimonies tended to become units of local government in the hands of a private proprietor, thus effacing the legal authority.

There probably never was a time, however, even in the worst days of later Rome, when the free or yeoman farmer utterly disappeared. In the immediate neighborhood of Rome there is no doubt that the small proprietors were early supplanted and it is equally certain that Campania and most of southern Italy were changed into latifundia. But northern Italy partially escaped this change. It preserved a large proportion of small proprietors. The evil of the latifundia has been exaggerated by many historians. The sweeping generalizations of the past must be taken

with caution. The word *latifundium* is a relative term. In Africa and parts of the East the institution existed before the Roman conquest. In certain countries latifundia were formed without the expulsion of the peasantry and continued to exist in the Roman world side by side with others of a very different character, such as those of Latium, Etruria, and Campania. These latter are the ones which Roman writers have particularly deplored, but they did not perceive that there were other latifundia of different origin and character. In Gaul, Africa, and other provinces, although the latifundia played a great part, it is impossible to determine their extent with accuracy. There is ground to believe also that the latifundia of the provinces were very different in character from those of Italy. In some of the provinces, the great land-owners seem to have exacted revenues in service or in kind from the peasantry, like feudal nobles. In Gaul, for example, the Roman aristocracy displaced the old proprietorships in such a way that the farming class hardly perceived the change of masters. Probably similar conditions existed in certain parts of Italy, especially in the north; such without doubt were the *coloni* of whom Pliny speaks who paid in kind and cultivated the land with their own tools.

One finds various words in Roman historical and legal documents to describe a large landed property. The words are synonyms, but the meaning is not identical. If the properties did not essentially differ in kind, economic and social conditions yet varied considerably upon them. A *patrimonium* was a union of several properties or separate farms often widely scattered, into a great estate; a single estate was known as a *fundus;* it contained but one collection of buildings with the land pertaining to them; a *saltus* was an area of pasture or wooded or uncultivated land, in part of which a farm may or may not have been included. In the former case it was often called a *fundus;* the word *villa* originally designated the country-house or manor-house of the proprietor; later it was also used to signify the whole estate. By the fifth century the rural habitation regularly presented itself already under the triple aspect of the isolated farm or *mansus,* the dependent hamlet (*vicus*), and the villa. The word *villa* can be equally applied and really was applied to each of these two latter aspects. A *villa* without land was called an *ædificium.* The word *vicus* was a flexible one; in towns it meant a street, or a quarter; in the country a village; in very late usage it rarely indicated a great country house and thus became equivalent to *villa.*

The emperor was by far the largest landed proprietor in the Roman Empire, and was possessed of estates in almost every province. In the case of Egypt the whole country was imperial property. Some of these properties had reverted to the Empire with the fall of the Republic; the enormous heritage of the Julian house contributed others; Agrippa's vast

domains—he married Augustus' daughter Julia—passed to the emperor after his death. In every newly conquered region portions of territory were reserved for the crown; confiscation, forfeiture, and escheat increased the number. In its entirety the imperial domains were known as *res familiaris,* or the fisc. Certain kinds of properties by their very nature pertained to the fisc, such as mines, quarries, salt springs, immense tracts of forest. The imperial government kept its hand upon the important natural resources of the Empire. But wheat lands, farm lands, olive orchards, vineyards, etc., in profusion and in almost every province were also comprised in the fisc. The empress Livia owned four towns in Palestine, one of them being Ascalon.

All of these domains were under the direction of the emperor, who had a separate administrative staff for their supervision. Some were managed directly, others were leased or farmed out on shares. It would be an error to regard the vast revenues arising from these properties exactly as a private income. They rather answered to appropriations in a modern monarchical state for the support of the royal family, upkeep of the court, and support of the civil list. Part of the British sovereign's income is derived from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, which is royal domain. Only vicious or prodigal emperors wasted the incomes of the imperial domains. The wastefulness of Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius in the first century accounts for the retrenchment and parsimony of Vespasian, at whose accession in 69 A.D. there is said to have been a deficit of forty millions. What Vespasian saved Domitian squandered again. Under the enlightened Antonine emperors of the second century the management of the imperial fisc was honest, efficient, and profitable. Most of it was once more wasted by Commodus and Caracalla. From the inception of the third century until the end of imperial Rome the condition of the imperial fisc was always a precarious one. It suffered, along with everything else, from deterioration and decay in the latter centuries.

For the people dwelling on the imperial estates life was no whit different from life elsewhere. On a rustic domain the inhabitants were tenant or serf farmers; if the domain was a town or a city they were tradesmen and artisans. But they were not subject to the ordinary administrative officials or magistrates of the government, but to the emperor's private manager, a *procurator* or *conductor.*

In the Roman Empire as in modern states all important sources and forms of wealth were subject to taxation. But in the case of the Later Empire the question of taxation became the paramount interest of the government. There were many reasons for this: the increasing cost of administration, rise of prices, decline of purchasing power and corruption of the coinage, the escape of the rich from taxation by privilege or evasion which necessarily increased the burden on those who were not

so successful, monopolies and unfair competition, consumption of capital and impossibility of saving, growing poverty of the masses, indolence of the proletariat, decline of production owing to the increasing discouragement and apathy of the producing classes, whether farmers, tradesmen, or artisans, decay of civic spirit, political turmoil like revolts of upstart emperors in the provinces, sometimes culminating in the secession of many provinces for years together, peasant rebellions, brigandage, expensive wars like those with Persia, almost all of which were disastrous. Some of these factors were exceedingly complex, and it is often difficult to distinguish between those which were causal and those which were resultant.

Antiquity had little perception of the nature or working of economic and social forces, although it cannot be boasted that modern governments have advanced far in these matters. But such economic terms as capital, credit, consumption, value, distribution, value in use, value in exchange, circulation, inflation, indirect taxes, unearned increment, occupational industries, and even the simple word industry, would have puzzled a Roman. Did the paucity of Latin to express what to us seem simple and familiar economic processes arise from the relative simplicity of Roman life when contrasted with the present, or was it due to poverty of thought, economic imperception? The word *merces* in classical Latin may mean wages, land rent, house rent, interest, a price; it depends upon the context. *Reditus* might mean either public or private revenue. Tacitus made an advance when he coined the phrase *reditus publici* to distinguish the former.

It has already been intimated that the growing burden of taxes was a serious economic and social matter in the time of the later Roman Empire, we may say from 200 A.D.; and something has been written concerning the taxes upon commerce and industry. It is incumbent now to consider the subject of Roman imperial taxation at some length, and especially the taxes upon land, since, as said, agriculture was the chief source of wealth in the Roman Empire.

In the broad sense, two kinds of taxes are to be found: direct (*tributa*) and indirect (*vectigalia*), though no Roman official would have understood this distinction. The chief *tributa* were the poll tax imposed upon all who had not Roman or Latin citizenship, and the land tax (*tributum soli*). In those provinces known as imperial because they were under the sole jurisdiction of the emperor, the land tax was a fixed quota of the yearly yield; in senatorial provinces it was a settled sum annually imposed on every community in the province (*stipendium*). The chief indirect taxes were the customs duties (*portoria*) and, from the third century forward, the *chrysargyrum*. These two kinds of taxes have been already explained. Less general indirect taxes were a 1 per cent tax on sales, a tax on emancipation of slaves, and a 5 per cent inher-

itance tax levied only on Roman citizens. Many of these taxes were collected in the produce itself or the property taxed, if movable, although in the returns made by the collector these impositions were expressed in monetary terms. Even in Egypt this was the case, where glass, textiles, papyrus, etc., were collected and stored in government warehouses until disposed of.

The Roman Empire also imposed upon its subjects the requirement to support certain public services without compensation. These were called *munera.* The heaviest of these was upkeep by every province and municipality of the *cursus* or imperial post, which meant maintenance of horses both for courier and for draught purposes, riders, grooms, stablemen, and the entertainment of traveling officials. Other compulsory obligations were the *aurum coronarium,* theoretically a voluntary, practically a compulsory, contribution exacted of municipal officials every five years; the *aurum oblaticium,* a similar tax imposed upon the senatorial order of the Empire, which really meant upon the great land-owning aristocracy. The senatorial class in the provinces had nothing to do with the Roman senate. Many of its members never went to Rome. The title of senator by the fourth century had become a badge of social dignity, of aristocratic position; it was the outward symbol of great landed proprietorship. To sum up: the land tax was paid by the land-owning class; the taxes on commerce and industry, by the middle class; the capitation tax, by the lower masses of the people. But this would, after all, be a superficial aspect. For ultimately the burden of taxation got back to the body of the people. The landed class passed on the tax imposed upon them to their tenantry in the form of increased rents or increased exactions from their serfs and slaves. The merchant and manufacturer raised the prices of his wares to the consumer.

It can hardly be denied that imperial Rome was unscientific and crude in the way in which it collected some taxes. For example, the value of a mine was estimated in terms of the number of miners employed. Similarly land was taxed according to its area without regard to natural fertility, ease or difficulty of working or location.

The slow decline of the Roman Empire, which began in the third century and continued with little interruption until the end—the reasons and process of this decline will be considered farther on—more and more pushed the question of taxation to the fore. New kinds of taxes were resorted to by the government to meet the chronic deficits in the treasury; the old kinds of taxes were spread more widely, as when Caracalla in 218 extended the capitation tax; the rate of taxation was steadily increased.

The crisis in the third century brought things to a head. Certain of the better emperors of that century, like Aurelian and Probus, had unsuccessfully endeavored to make this or that reform. Permanent and thor-

ough reform did not come until the reigns of Diocletian (284–305) and Constantine (311–337), whose drastic administrative changes gave the Empire a longer lease of life. Diocletian extended the exaction of the tribute to Italy, which had hitherto always been exempted from it. Besides the economic justice in this measure, the act marks the passing of privilege and the prestige of the distinctly Roman and Latin aristocracy, whose elevated status had already been leveled down by Caracalla's widening of Roman citizenship.

But the most important tax reform made by Diocletian was his revision of the tax upon land. A new cadastral survey was made and a new method of assessment instituted. The unit of land taxation had always been the *jugerum* (so named from the word for yoke and roughly the area of land which a yoke of oxen was able to plow in a day). The government had formerly taxed land according to area and without distinction as to differences in value. Diocletian created various classifications of *jugera,* according as they differed in fertility, situation, and usage, as for instance orchards, vineyards, meadows. Moreover, he made the *jugerum* convertible for estimation into a fixed number of cattle or laborers. Thus the unit of labor (*caput*), regarded as the equivalent of the *jugerum,* was set down to be one man or two women field hands. The great landed proprietors made a loud outcry against these changes. This is easy to understand when we consider the enormous wealth of the patrimonial aristocracy. But the scheme was intelligent, just, and, while Diocletian ruled, thorough.

The rise in prices or, to put it in other terms, the decline in the purchasing power of money, began to be acutely felt about the time of Nero. Rome had for generations drawn to itself and monopolized the money which circulated in the Mediterranean. The millions won by exploitation of the provinces established the permanence of Roman methods of speculation and a triumphant usury. The prodigality of the rich was responsible for an immense consumption of articles of luxury and the effect of this kind of commerce was that enormous quantities of the precious metals, silver especially, flowed across the frontiers into Asia, India, and even to China. Importation into the Empire was not balanced by a corresponding home production and, as a result, the balance of trade was always against Rome. Neither the foodstuffs nor manufactures of the Empire found a market in the civilized countries of eastern Asia. The importations from India were beyond any comparison greater than the exportation of the Empire to India, and these Asiatics had then, as now, a marked tendency to hoarding treasure.

The very great and of course absolutely unproductive consumption of the precious metals by the Romans in the arts of course also reduced the quantity of gold and silver. Moreover, the barbarian legions on the frontier, especially those in the Rhine and Danube valleys, hoarded and

buried a large amount of gold and silver. The output of the mines could not fill the void after the middle of the third century.

In the time of the Republic silver had been the ruling metal. The Early Empire coined the gold *aureus,* with lesser silver coins: the *denarius* (penny), of which there were 96 to the pound, and the *sestertium* or *sesterce,* which was equal to a quarter of the *denarius* in value. In the first and second centuries the silver penny was worth about 18 cents. In the time of Alexander Severus (died 235) it was hardly worth 7 cents, and was from 50 to 60 per cent alloy. Accordingly gold appreciated and prices rose, as the money got worse. After 250, when copper coins and a mixture of copper, tin, and lead were current, the government required payment of taxes in gold or silver (*chrysargyrum*), although it sometimes paid its own expenses in depreciated currency.

Diocletian's monetary reforms, in connection with his maximum law, restored the silver penny (*denarius*), introduced some new copper coins, and coined a new gold piece (*aureus*). The relation of silver to gold in 300 A.D. seems to have been slightly over 14 : 1. It is one of the glories of Constantine that he attempted and partially succeeded in putting the currency of the Roman Empire upon a gold basis and reduced the rate of interest from as high as 48 per cent to 12½. But the reform was not permanent. The fiscal problems, like its economic and social problems, proved insoluble. The whole civilization continued to lapse.

The most famous and most popular economic reform made by Diocletian was his so-called Edict of Prices (301) which was not strictly such a measure, but a maximum law. The preamble of the act explicitly so declares: "We have determined to fix, not the price of these articles, which would be unjust; but the amount which in each case they will not be permitted to exceed." Primarily the law was intended to protect the government against exorbitant charges for supplies. "Through the avarice of monopolists the supplying of our armies has become impossible. Prices have reached four and even eight times their real value," complains the emperor. But the general effect of the act must have been to reduce extortion to others outside government circles. Indeed, the act lists many items, employments, and commodities, which could not have been of immediate administrative interest. The primary purpose of the edict was to prevent exorbitant increase in the price of foodstuffs and other necessities, such as clothing and shoes, by forestallers of grain, wool, and leather. Whether the edict applied, or was intended to apply, to the whole Empire is a disputed point. But historians are agreed that in practice it obtained only in the Greek and Oriental half of the Empire.

It is impossible to say what the actual prices were in terms of modern currency, although there is reason to suspect that, for the fourth century (not in terms of today) prices still remained high. The only satisfactory

method of determining probable prices is by comparing various items in the edict with each other. A bushel of rye was worth more than three pairs of shoes; a pound of meat cost as much as many manufactured articles which among us cost double or treble the price of a pound of meat. Such values indicate that food was high. Why? Because labor was lacking in the fields? or because productivity was declining, whether on account of diminishing fertility, or inefficient methods of tillage? Was servile farming less profitable than free farming? Had there been a drift for many years of the rural population into the towns, which would account for lack of labor for the fields? If so, how are we to explain the low wages of rural industry when compared with town industry? By the competition of slavery and serfdom? It is easier to ask than to answer such questions. In comparison with the field hands, the edict shows that free workingmen in the towns were well paid. Evidently the tendency to sink to serfdom was greater among the peasantry than among workmen in the towns. We are dealing with complex and elusive phenomena, partly economic, partly social, partly political, which interact in a perplexing way.

The prosperity in Diocletian's reign, although even hostile contemporaries like Lactantius admit it, was due more to administrative reform and firm government than to economic improvement. The reforms themselves were expensive, notably the orientalization of the court; the division of the Empire into four prefectures, each prefect having a court which fell short only of that of the emperor in magnificence; the increase in the number of officials both of the court and of the provincial administration. Beyond doubt the burden of taxation was increased under Diocletian, not diminished.

From the time of Constantine the question of taxation became the pressing interest of both government and people. When this emperor established the *sordida munera* and imposed a super-tribute, the rush for immunity and exemption on the part of the rich exceeded anything known before. The chase for church orders or for religious office amid many of the pagan religions became a scandal. It was successful, for Constantine discovered that he had to purchase the favor of the richer class in order to gain their political support. "Very many rich are to be found," complained Salvian, a writer of the fourth century, "whose tributes the poor are compelled to bear, while in addition the rich make new exactions which the poor have to pay."

Constantine preserved all the monopolies which had gradually been established from the time of Septimius Severus (198–211) to Diocletian (284–305). A notable change in tax administration made by Constantine was the establishment of the indiction. This was not a tax but a determination of the rate of taxation and a revaluation of the unit of assessment i.e. the *jugerum*. It was first ordained in 313. Originally it

was intended that valuations and assessments should not be changed except every fifteen years. But in actuality the term was soon reduced to ten or five or even three years. One may measure the importance of the tax issue in the fourth century when it is said that the indiction gave rise to an entirely new system of chronology, which reckoned time according to fifteen-year periods, denominated as first, second or third, etc., indiction, an event being said to have happened in such and such a year of an indiction. This novel chronology survived the fall of the Roman Empire and was used by medieval historians until as late as the eleventh century.[5]

The burden of taxes steadily increased through the fourth and fifth centuries, and this at a time when the Empire was becoming more and more impoverished. St. Basil compared the evil to a man "overloading with additional luggage some boatman managing a new boat in very rough water, when all the while he ought to lighten the cargo and do his best to ease the craft." Remission of tax arrearages and reduction of assessments in province after province had to be made. Constantine in 311 remitted five years of arrears of taxes to the Æduans and reduced the assessment upon them for the future by one quarter. Julian in 356 did something similar for Gaul, although precisely what was done is difficult to determine owing to the obscure nature of the account which Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 5, 14, has given of it. Valentinian I deplored the burden of taxes his government was compelled to impose. In 422 Honorius made a great remission of taxes in Africa, where the country was half destroyed by the Donatist uprising and Numidian invasion.

Ever since the Punic wars an intimate relation had persisted in Rome between private fiscal and banking interests and politics. Neither republican nor imperial Rome was different in this particular from modern states. In the recent book on Cæsar by Georg Brandes we read:

> During the last two centuries of the republic, its wealth exerted an increasing influence both on legislation and private and public affairs. In all that had to do with politics the financiers occupied a more and more important place. Innumerable powerful companies were organized to carry on the business of the state, and these companies not only rivaled in importance the political, but sometimes overshadowed them. . . . Money was all-powerful in Rome. Cicero often mentions stocks (*partes*). . . . The elder Cato lent his money at extortionate rates to innumerable debtors. Brutus lent money at forty-eight per cent and made five Senators starve to death when they could not repay him. Pompeius used his army and his authority

[5] To find the indiction, add 3 to the number of the year in the vulgar era and divide the sum by 15. The remainder is the indiction. If there is no remainder, the indiction is 15. Another way to determine the indiction is to subtract 312 from the number of the year and divide by 15. This obsolete method is valuable for the historian but baffling to the layman, especially since the year according to this reckoning, must be made to begin on September 1, and terminate on August 31.

to force harsh bargains upon cities that were obliged to borrow money of him and used that power to collect these loans and the millions of interest he expected.

The evil practice of the Republic of farming the taxes of the provinces, the vicious custom of putting unscrupulous politicians and successful military commanders in as provincial governors, aggravated this relation between political and banking interest.

The able emperors, especially Augustus, Tiberius, Trajan, Hadrian, abolished these abuses and put the fiscal administration upon an honest and efficient basis. The relation between the government and the bankers still continued, but the operations of the banks were carefully supervised by the government, in Rome itself by the prefect of the city, in the provinces by the local governor, who was directly responsible either to the emperor or the senate, according as his province was an imperial one or a senatorial one. The banks had to open their accounts (*rationes cdere*) to inspectors and to submit proof of their operations. These books were of three sorts. The first was a day-book (*adversaria*) in which were recorded all daily receipts and expenditures. The second was a book of current accounts (*liber rationum*) in which the credits and debits of every person or firm were manifest. The third, and most important book, was the *Codex accepti et expensi,* in which every fiscal operation and investment was recorded, with the name of the person interested.

The decadence of the Roman Empire is further strikingly manifest in the material and moral deterioration of the cities. It must be remembered, if the importance of this degeneration is to be fully appreciated, that the Roman Empire was organically a vast fusion of municipalities or city-states. The *municipia* were as the cells in the human body, the smallest yet the most vital organisms. Local civic pride was far more intense in the Roman world than in ours. National sentiment did not exist. Racial feelings were not keen. The Empire, save as its machinery touched the people locally, was an abstraction. Patriotic feeling found expression in loyalty and devotion to one's city or town.

Private gifts to towns and cities for public purposes made by rich citizens were common in the first and second centuries. Under Augustus a rich citizen of Atina left his fellow citizens a legacy of twelve thousand *sestertii.* Some years later a citizen of Marseilles left all his property to the city. Pliny the Younger, who complained one time of not being a rich man, during his life gave his native town of Como six hundred thousand *sestertii,* over $75,000. Five-sixths of this was devoted to a foundation for supplying food free to the poor, the rest for the establishment of a public library. When he died he left by will half a million more for the construction of baths and the relief of the poor, be-

sides a life pension to a hundred freedmen. Another citizen left four hundred thousand *sestertii* to his birthplace.

In the palmy times of the Empire distinguished citizens had vied with one another to acquire municipal office. Such were usually rich men who could afford to sustain the expenses of the office in providing public entertainment like games and the circus. The fact that the law made them liable for any deficiency in the revenue imposed upon the municipality by the central government was not a deterrent. They felt sufficiently honored for such possible loss in the honor of the office. Indeed, the word "honor" was a synonym for a public office. But in the third century the situation changed. Then we find the Latin word *onus*, meaning a burden, employed in the meaning of public office. This change first appears in the reign of Septimius Severus, who died in 211. But signs of decay of the municipalities were apparent as far back as Trajan's reign (98–117), for we find a letter of that emperor to Pliny the Younger mentioning those who unwillingly are made decurions. However, the *municipia* themselves were often responsible for the deficits, and not the exorbitant impositions of the government. For they frequently were extravagant in making public improvements, building theatres, baths, etc. The bankruptcy of many municipalities became so serious that Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius appointed *correctores* to audit their books and put a check upon their extravagance. Mismanagement sometimes brought about the abrogation of local liberties and the assimilation of town government with that of the province, a process of centralization which, while it may have been regrettable, was unavoidable. Critics of this tendency would do well to keep in mind that here in the United States the growth of the power of the federal government is partly due to the corruption and incapacity of the state governments.

The decurions, of course, when their private fortunes were jeopardized, naturally endeavored to save themselves from ruin by squeezing the local tradesmen and shopkeepers, with the result that burdensome taxation slowly depressed the middle class of the whole Empire. Sometimes in order to make up the deficiency the government seized the communal lands of the municipality and sold them, usually to some neighboring rich landed proprietor whose descendants in course of time might become feudal lords of the town and all the territory round about. The emperor Julian distinguished himself by restoring confiscated municipal lands to the towns. In the fourth century municipal conditions reached such a pitch that the government compelled the well-to-do to be office holders and systematically consumed private wealth to balance its own budget. The office was made hereditary in rich families to this end. If a decurion fled, he was brought back and punished; he was forbidden to leave the city.

The progress of public misery in country and town is revealed also

in insurrections of peasantry in the provinces and the growth of piracy along the coasts. Provincial governors often could not wrestle with such problems. Many cities which had no walls hastily built them, while rich land-owners converted their villas in the country into walled or moated granges. Local military commanders or ambitious nobles capitalized this unrest, and in the third century some provinces practically were in a state of secession from the Empire for years together, notably Gaul. The speeches of the younger Posthumus, a son of one of these Gallic "tyrants," are illuminating for the economic and social grievances to which they give utterance. He declaims that the rich are getting richer, the poor poorer. He almost seems to foresee the great peasant revolt of the Bagaudæ in 284. "Once we had law courts and judges," he cries. "Now the weak are oppressed. Woe to the rich. If life be not worth living for the poor, beware lest they make it disastrous for you." There is much of demagogic appeal in these declamations, but the underlying truth of the conditions he pictures is unmistakable. Diocletian crushed the revolt of the Bagaudæ in the first year of his reign, and made heroic effort to grapple with the economic problems of the government. But he succeeded only in arresting the progress of decline. He did not remedy the situation permanently.

The only ways of escape for the curial class from the burden were either to climb up into the senatorial class or to enter the clergy. We may be sure that the "conversion" of many of the upper middle class in the fourth century was due more to self-interest than to any religious conviction. Benefit of clergy was a profitable privilege. But senatorial privilege was more coveted than clerical for the reason that the privilege was hereditary. The French historian Fustel de Coulanges has contended that more of the upper middle class escaped by climbing into senatorial rank than were depressed, and that it was only the lower middle class which suffered social depression and impoverishment.

There is much to support this argument. As the rich grew richer and the poor poorer in the later Roman Empire the emperors more and more leaned upon the rich. But the converse of this statement is also true; the rich more and more gained control of the government, or else became strong enough to set the government at naught. The emperors were always anxious to maintain the dignity of the senatorial order, and sometimes curiously legislated to protect the prestige of this class. The anxiety of the upper middle class to attain senatorial rank proves that the privileges of the class must have been greater than its burdens, and we know, in fact, that it enjoyed very generous exemptions. These exemptions varied from time to time, and sometimes were curtailed; for example, after 387 the senatorial class was required to contribute to the repair of roads and bridges; billeting of troops, at first voluntary, little by little was extended save to the privileged few; the furnishing of con-

scripts, which was not at first obligatory, in 375 was extended to the senatorial class.

The exemptions of government functionaries were even greater. These officials at the same time were generally great landed proprietors. The emperors displayed great vigilance in protecting them against revindications of the fisc and great interest in aiding them to pay taxes. Senatorial proprietors were not subject to the exactions of the fisc. The owners of senatorial domains had in their personnel regular merchants who, aided by the money, the credit, and the names of their masters, could utterly overwhelm with ruin the competition of ordinary licensed merchants. A novel of Justinian shows us that the private manufactures of the church, of magistrates, and of high senators ruined the regular industrial corporations because they were not required to pay taxes. Justinian abolished this abuse in Constantinople, but it probably continued to exist elsewhere.

Yet the senatorial class was not entirely exempt from taxation, in spite of the privileges it enjoyed. Constantine imposed two new kinds of taxes upon it, partly for the increase of revenue and partly, perhaps, in order to differentiate the senatorial class. For social dignity may be conferred even by taxes. We find plenty of complaint from this class against the imperial policy, for example, Zosimus' reproach of Constantine in Book II, Chap. 38. But Olympiodorus tells us that in the middle of the fifth century many of the Roman families had still immense annual revenues. The aristocracy, which owned the greatest part of the land, almost wholly disposed of the available capital in the Empire, and by the constant reduction of the number of the great families through alliances between families of the same class, these immense fortunes, instead of being subdivided, were more and more united into the hands of the few. Among the great land-owning class the tendency was toward the formation of larger and fewer estates. The villa of the fifth century greatly differed from that of the first, although not all historians have so perceived.

The great domanial proprietors enjoyed an increasing wealth and an increasing independence of the government. In depriving the old Roman nobility of power, in reducing their ancient privilege of blood, the Roman Emperors augmented the advantages of wealth, and in the long run the possession of great fortunes turned the scale against the government. The rich seized political control and exercised it in a quasi-private and quasi-public capacity. Even at the end of the second century we find provincial governors complaining of private usurpation. The protection of the grandees even shielded criminals from pursuit. Claudius Gothicus at the end of the third century labored to curtail the abuse of the practice of patronage. The curial sought the protection of the great to evade taxes; and the emperors unsuccessfully attempted to restrain

the process. It is at once pitiful and ludicrous to see the growing decay of central authority. Theodosius I created a kind of rural constabulary, the *assertores pacis,* but in 409 Theodosius II had to suppress this police on account of its brigandage, and—a very important fact—entrusted local police duty to the great proprietors themselves. In other words, public administration had passed into private hands. In the Theodosian Code judges were forbidden to hold court on private lands and when there were criminals subject to arrest, not the state official but the lord's bailiff made the arrest. Only when the lord refused did the imperial authority employ force. The state could not lay its hands upon a criminous slave save with the consent of the master. Majorian complained that many of the great domains were closed to tax collectors. Under the later Empire grand proprietors often protected fugitive slaves. St. Augustine mentions a *fundus* as a unit practically independent. The exercise of public law as private right is abundantly evident in Justinian's novels and the historical texts. Seizure of the property of the weaker by the stronger was common. Private property had little security. Men plundered the property of those absent and that of widows and orphans with effrontery. A Roman prefect advised a friend of the opportunity to seize the property of a rich widow in her absence, at the same time that he himself complained of the damage to his own property in Mauretania by the governor there. In Cappadocia armies of slaves in the service of the grandees pillaged the imperial domains. The small proprietor was at the mercy of the rich, as Salvian shows on every page.

The grand domains more and more grew into semi-states within the state, islets of local sovereignty, to which the lower classes of country and town more and more gravitated in search of protection against brigandage, barbarian foray, or relief from the exactions of the fisc. From tyranny of all sorts small proprietors and colons in East and West sought protection (*patrocinium*), that of a great land-owner or of a public official or of a military commander, or even of an official of the imperial domain. Patronage became an institution. Libanius the orator, in the fourth century, devoted a whole oration to the disastrous influence of this practice. Entire villages even entered into it, especially in Egypt. The effect was to estop the imperial authority, to arrest the administration of justice, and collection of taxes, and to bring the government to naught. In spite of imperial endeavors to restrain the spread of the practice, it continued to flourish in both East and West. It is found in Asia Minor and in Spain, in Egypt and in Gaul.

This engrossing of the small properties around them by the great land-owners, and the increase of the economic and political power of the proprietary class owing to the spread of patronage, is the cardinal feature in the transformation of the later Roman Empire. For these proc-

esses destroyed the integrity of the imperial government and profoundly altered the texture of society.

These grand domains were economic entities as well as political entities. The serfs found upon the domain everything necessary for them. Every great domain, like every large plantation in the South before the war, had its store. The legal texts and the inscriptions often mention *tabernæ* and *negotiatores* established upon the domains for the accommodation of the *plebs fundi*. Each domain had its *nundinæ*, or market, exactly as if its community were a town. Already in Pliny's time we find evidence that these markets of the grand proprietors were authorized. Two inscriptions from Roman Africa are particulary illuminating in regard to these domanial markets. The first is the text of a *Senatus Consultum de nundinis saltus Beguensis* of 138 A.D. which authorizes the great land-owner Lucius Africanus to establish a market upon his lands for two days in each month, on the 2nd and the 20th. The second inscription mentions a similar market established on her domain by a woman named Antonia. There are other mentions of proprietary markets elsewhere. As the *saltus* was distinct politically and socially from the city and often of vast extent, it frequently had its own church or churches, its own priests, and (in Africa) even its own bishop.

These observations bring us to consideration of the economic and social condition of the vast mass of the rural peasantry living upon the great estates of the patrimonial aristocracy, in other words—excluding slaves—the origin, nature, and extension of the colonate. The word *colonus* first appears in a rescript of Constantine of the year 332. But the origin and development of this class in Roman society is of earlier date. The colonate had more than one source of origin. Any all exclusive and inclusive theory is historically untenable. At least three sources may be distinguished; impoverished and depressed small free farmers; partially emancipated slaves, barbarian settlers in waste or unoccupied lands. Some writers think that heavy taxation and the pressure of government was the cause of its formation. Others find the causes in the operation of less specific and more elusive economic and social forces.

The *coloni* were dependent peasantry who tilled soil pertaining to another and who paid rent in money, in service, or in produce. Technically they were freemen (*ingenui*), but practically they were bound to the soil under obligation of debt which they were never able to lift. This obligation passed on to their heirs so that in this wise an hereditary servile class was developed. Such a man differed in historical origin and in status from the true Roman serf, who was a former slave whom his master had permitted to cultivate a plot of ground by himself, apart from the large tract, which was cultivated by the gang-labor of slaves.

The status of a colon in the Roman Empire was that of a man who

was technically free before the law—that is, not a slave—but economically a bondman. If the land were sold he and his family went with the title to the new owner, for his obligation of debt was primarily to the land he lived on, not to the owner thereof. So long as he paid his rent by services, which were gradually fixed by convention, he could not be evicted from the estate, nor could he or any member of his family be sold into slavery. In this particular the colon's condition was much superior to that of the slave, who was a mere chattel who could be sold himself, or separated from his family by the sale of its members to another master.

But although the legal status of the colonus and the slave was thus sharply distinguished, the social status of the two tended to blur together. Both were menial laborers under the domination of the same man, who was at once a master and a landlord, in the stiffest sense of that term. The cottages of the coloni adjoined the hovels of the slaves' quarters. Their daily life and interests were similar. The son of a colonus inherited his father's condition; the son of a slave inherited his father's condition. In course of time the children of the two groups, as they grew up together, tended to intermarry. So usual was this that finally the law provided that the children of such a double union should follow the status of the mother; for example, if a colonus married a slave woman the children were slave too. The drastic legislation of Constantine's fiscal policy, which permitted no man to abandon the calling into which he had been born, hardened the colonate into perpetual serfdom. As industrial work earlier, so now agricultural labor was made rigorously hereditary in the fourth century.[6] As time progresses we find whole villages of *coloni* (*vici colonorum*).

The drift of the rural working population toward the towns until stopped by compulsory hereditability of the colonate, shrinking capital, confiscatory taxation, competition of rich land-owners, soil exhaustion, waste of natural resources (St. Ambrose in 387 looked "with pity on the wastes of the Apennines"), insecurity, brigandage, occasional forays of

[6] G. T. Lapsley, "The Origin of Property in Land," *American Historical Review*, VIII, 430. "The new agricultural conditions were better met by serfdom than by slavery. . . . First the government, then the cities, then the church adopted the practice of long leases, and finally the emperor Zeno made it lawful for private proprietors to do so also. In the sixth and seventh centuries the most usual form of rural economy met with is the estate divided into two parts, the *curtis* of the lord farmed by slaves and the rest farmed by dependent tenants in allotments, whether free or dependent. . . . Thus they became assimilated with coloni. Anastasius ordained that the freeman who occupied the land of another automatically became bound to the soil."

barbarians—all these forces operated by the third century to create the problem of abandoned farms (*agri deserti*), a problem which stirred the solicitude of the best emperors from that time forth. Even as early as the reign of Hadrian (117–138) we find German settlers introduced to colonize these abandoned areas. Marcus Aurelius made large use of the system. "He settled an infinite number of barbarians on Roman soil," his biographer records. The reforming emperors of the third century carried the method to the highest degree of development, notably Probus (276–82), of whom it has been said that "he Germanized the Roman provinces." He settled Vandals in Britain, Allemanni in Alsace, Gepids and Guthungi (Goths) in Mœsia, Franks in Anjou and even in Pontus on the Black Sea, and a hundred thousand Basternæ, the last of the Celts left east of the Rhine, with their wives and children, in Thrace. His biographer wrote: "For us the barbarians labor, for us they sow." One panegyrist of Constantine boasts: "The Frank cultivates our fields," and another declares: "The Chamavian and the Frisian plow for us."

The economic intention in establishment of these German colonists is clearly expressed in a law of Theodosius II (440 A.D.) which recites that any land-owner may apply to the *præfectus prætorio* for laborers from the lately conquered Scyri. Zosimus also, a writer of the fifth century, testifies to the same effect: "The native population had become so reduced in many of the provinces that the barbarians were settled there in their stead, so much so that even place-names have been changed." This last observation is as interesting as it is true.

In certain provinces of the East the abandonment of agriculture was caused by protracted and permanent drought. This was especially the case in Arabia (the province), in Palestine and Cyrenaica.

Along with these formal attempts to promote redemption of abandoned farms we find a great deal of "squatter occupation." The abandoned farm and squatter occupation raised a new point in Roman law. A fundamental principle of that law was the inviolability of private property. Yet in 193 the emperor Pertinax in a decree applying to the provinces of Arabia and Syria ordained that if a man undertook to cultivate an abandoned farm the property became his. If the former owner within two years wished to recover it, he had to reimburse the occupant for all improvements made. If the occupant had been in possession for two years without protest from the owner, he acquired title to the property. Other rescripts, after that of Pertinax in 193, are those of Valentinian I, Arcadius and Honorius. An interesting historical fact is that this new legislation reflects Arabic customary practice from long before Mohammed's time with reference to "dead" lands. Indeed, the constitution of Valentinian specifically says that it is intended for the maintenance of Arabic land custom among them.

The simultaneous operation of these many adverse forces, and some-

times their combination, gradually wrought a diminution of the population. The decline of population in Italy was noticeable even in the first century B.C. In the provinces it appears under the Early Empire. The plague in 166 A.D and again in 251–53 especially affected the eastern half of the Empire. In the fourth century the destitution of the Campagna was pronounced, although the population may have migrated rather than perished. Even Egypt's population shrunk, and if this country, so exempt from drought and so densely populated, experienced diminution, what shall we think of the condition of other, less favored lands? A document preserved by Eusebius, the fourth century historian, indicates this reduction. In Alexandria, he says, the number of persons from forty to eighty years of age inscribed on the register of the *annona,* or charity distribution bureau, was not greater than the number of those between forty and seventy who had formerly received public doles. It is evident that the population of Alexandria was declining.

Through devious paths and the analysis and consideration of many perplexing phenomena we are at last brought face to face with the question: What were the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire?

Many and excellent attempts have been made by historians to answer this question. And yet in a very recent work we read: "The two greatest problems in history, how to account for the rise of Rome and how to account for her fall, never have been, perhaps never will be, thoroughly solved." A comparative study of the views and opinions of historians since Gibbon wrote is impressive; for there is wide disagreement. Here is one of the best descriptions of the Roman Empire in its latter days which I know. Yet how much remains inexplicable!

The economical condition of the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era was for the most part one of intense strain. . . . Hardly any of the elements of an unsound state of society were absent. Large tracts of country had gone out of cultivation. The capital which should have rendered them productive was employed to a great extent not in agriculture but in luxury. The absentee landlords of the great estates wasted their substance in the encouragement of a debased art, in demoralizing largesses and in the vanishing parade of official rank. The smaller land-owners were crushed by the weight of an unequal and oppressive taxation. Wealth tended to accumulate in fewer hands, and the lines which separated the poor from the rich became more and more sharply defined until the old distinction between citizen and foreigner, or citizen and freedman, was merged in a new distinction between the upper classes and the lower classes. The municipalities vied with one another in the erection of the massive buildings whose ruins survive not only to tell the traveler or historian of a departed greatness, but also to point the moral of the economist as to the results of wasteful expenditure. In order to pay for them they sometimes ran heavily into debt; sometimes they endeavored to make the future pay for the present by borrowing at usurious interest; some-

times they debased the coinage. So great was the mischief that the emperors were often obliged to send commissioners with extraordinary powers to rearrange municipal finances, and that at last they asserted the right of veto upon projected public works, and took the coinage into their own hands. But this action on the part of the emperors was palliative and not remedial. It may have postponed but it did not avert the final decay. In the meantime, in the age which preceded the final decay, the pressure of poverty was severely felt. There was not that kind of distress which is caused by a great famine or a great pestilence; but there was that terrible tension of the fibres of the social organism which many of us can see in our own society. There grew and multiplied a new class in Græco-Roman society—the class of paupers.[7]

Categorical judgments and sweeping generalizations in explanation of the decline of the Roman Empire are beside the mark and meaningless. Not merely are the phenomena complex. One is compelled often by the nature of the phenomena to use different weights and measures of estimation. Physical phenomena like the corruption of the currency and the drain of the gold supply to India are very different from moral, economic, and social phenomena, which by their nature are impalpable and intangible forces. Then also one must distinguish between causes and symptoms. It is often impossible to determine in a given phenomenon whether we are dealing with a cause or an effect. Effects themselves create new conditions and causes. It is easy to make broad statements, as that the primary cause was political or economic or social or moral; or even to be more specific and to say that the chief cause is to be found in militarism, or administrative corruption, or the burden of the fisc, or decline of agriculture, or slavery, or increasing poverty of the masses and increasing wealth of the domanial aristocracy, or shrinkage of capital, or the growth of patronage, or loss of civic spirit, or immorality, or luxury, or race mixture—the breakdown of the rugged Roman stock and the increasing proportion of men of slave and servile ancestry—or the penetration of oriental influences which revolutionized the Roman spirit. But if one reflects, every one of these alleged causes itself was due to other and precedent causes or conditions. Was depopulation a cause, or a result? Was poverty a cause, or a result? Sir Henry Maine has declared that "there can be no greater delusion than that the Roman Empire was pauperized by over-taxation." Was the decay of the municipia and the curial classes a cause, or a result? Sir Gilbert Murray has said that the ancient world declined because of "loss of nerve." But what is meant by such a phrase? And *why* did ancient society lose its nerve? Did agriculture decline because of soil exhaustion? or because of over-taxation of the farming class and diminishing capital? or because of the engrossment of land by the patrimonial aristocracy and the re-

[7] Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, 32.

duction of the farming population to serfdom? or because of rural insecurity and brigandage? Otto Seeck affirms that the primary cause is to be found in the "Ausrottung der Besten," the destruction of the best. In this opinion he reflects Ernest Renan, who was inclined to regard the history of Judea, Greece, and Rome as exemplifying a law of history according to which nations and civilizations are weakened and exhausted by the services which they render to humanity; that they die that a new civilization may be born. But if this proposition is true, then the survival of the fittest is not a law of history, whatever it may be of biology. Or is it that human stock is like fruit trees, in which the best kind tend to grow barren after several generations?

We may safely discard the judgments of Christian moralists from St. Jerome to Mr. Hodgkin, that paganism and immorality were the primary factors in the decline of the Roman world. To say that ancient civilization lapsed because it was the will of God is puerile and futile. The same may be said of the alleged influence of slavery. In similar wise we may eliminate such alleged causes as militarism, tyranny, the German invasions. But whatever the cause or causes, the decline of the Roman Empire was a great tragedy.

Coulanges, and many other French writers with him, find the primary cause in the ascendancy of the great landed aristocracy. It is argued that by increasing the number of senators, by enlarging their privileges, and by instituting minute social distinctions among the upper classes, the emperors created a society profoundly aristocratic in spirit. The burden of carrying this huge aristocracy broke down the middle class in the towns and the small farmers of the country. The result was that we find corporations of workingmen chained to their tasks and the mass of the agricultural population bound to the glebe. Roman society did not know that class which, in modern states, has given birth to commerce, industry, and the liberal professions—the only factors which could have been a counterpoise to the weight of a great landed aristocracy.

The Italian historian Ferrero finds the prime cause in the action of Septimius Severus when he made the army superior to the senate as a political power. Simkhovitch finds the decay of ancient civilization in economic reasons, which in their turn were primarily caused by soil exhaustion. Ellsworth Huntington finds the primary cause in diminishing returns of agriculture due to a process of progressive desiccation in the ancient world. Professor Rostovtzeff believes that this thesis of soil exhaustion is "completely wrong," and points out that "...it is not true of Egypt nor of many, if not most, of the other provinces." To him the decay of agriculture is a symptom, not a cause. To M. Rostovtzeff, whose *The Roman Empire: Social and Economic Development* (1926) is the latest utterance on this subject, the primary cause of the decline of the

Roman Empire seems to have been the excessive fiscality of the government.

I think that the gradual decay of the vital forces of the Empire may be explained by . . . the supremacy of the interests of the State over those of the population, . . . which had to a large extent undermined the prosperity of the Oriental monarchies and of the Greek city-states, and which was the chief cause of the weakness of the Hellenistic monarchies, the immediate predecessors of the Roman Empire. As soon as this supremacy became decided and succeeded in subordinating the interests of individuals and of social groups, it was bound to act as a depressing influence on the masses, and to cause them to lose all interest in their work. But the pressure of the State on the people was never so heavily felt as under the Roman Empire. The acute consciousness of it had become the most marked feature of social and economic life as early as the second century A.D., and it steadily increased thereafter . . . The Romans . . . found it cheaper and more convenient to reduce the number of salaried officials and to increase the number of those who were required to give their services to the State without remuneration, thus introducing a sort of compulsory work for the higher and richer classes . . . In the first half of the second century A.D. the system was already fully developed and almost all official posts in Egypt were "liturgies" . . . In the financial administration this meant responsibility for loss suffered by the state. If a tax was not paid and the payment could not be exacted from the tax-payer, the official was forced to pay. If he was unable to do so, his property was confiscated and sold.

In fine, the liturgical system, or the exaction of compulsory work by the government without compensation, combined with "the practice of imposing on those who did the state's work the liability for the state's losses," was the evil source whence almost all other evils issued, the most important of which was—if I read his thought aright—the destruction of the middle class, and with it that of commerce and industry. The Roman Empire became the symbol of oppression and in destroying its subjects destroyed itself.

And still one may be skeptical. The Byzantine Empire throughout its long history was an oppressive and avaricious state, seemingly as much as the Later Roman Empire. Yet it endured for a thousand years and when it perished in 1453 it was not of internal distress but of outside violence. What are we to think? Why did the Roman Empire pass away? To this question Clio vouchsafes no clear answer.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND EARLY MIDDLE AGES

THE study of the comparative history of religions in the nineteenth century revealed an historical truth unseen by previous scholars; namely, that all great religions have owed their establishment more to social reasons and economic conditions than to theology. The spread of Buddhism was not due to the popularity of its doctrine of *nirvana,* but to the abolition of caste. While the aristocratic and cultivated upper classes of Hinduism despised and rejected it, Buddhism got a following among the lowly and the outcast. Much the same principle accounts for the spread of early Christianity. No field of history has yielded a greater harvest of new information and new understanding to modern methods of economic and social interpretation than has that of the history of the Early Church. The facts of Church history do not differ in kind from the facts of secular history. Existing forces of society have operated in the history of the Church as in other fields of history. The rise and spread and influence of Christianity cannot be understood without an understanding of the economic and social conditions and ideals which prevailed in the Roman world in the first four centuries of our era. Early Christianity was a religion of towns and cities; it was urban, not rural. It spread from city to city, from province to province, along the highways of trade and commerce by land and by sea. "Christianity had fitted itself into the town life which formed the characteristic feature in the organization of society in all countries comprised within the area of Roman administration." [1]

The transition of Christianity from a religion of a rural Galilean peasantry, as it was in the time of Jesus, to what it became in Pauline times is sharply marked in the New Testament. Vineyards, olive orchards, fig trees, the harvest, the animals of the fields, the birds of the air, the wind, a red sunset, afforded Jesus familiar illustrations. But Paul's figures of speech are of the city, the market-place, the camp. One has merely to follow the itinerary of Paul's travels to discover this important fact. It was "in Antioch that they were first called Christians." Almost all the Pauline epistles were written to urban congregations: to the Ephesians, Thessalonians, Corinthians, Romans. The "seven churches" mentioned in Revelation were all in cities of Asia Minor. In the second

[1] A. J. MacDonald, *Lanfranc,* 100.

century when Christianity began to spread into Africa, Spain, and Gaul, it was in Carthage, Cadiz, Lyons that the first Christian communities were found; and the first Christians were small artisans, craftsmen, shopkeepers, tradesmen, whether converted Jews or gentile proselytes, dwelling in the "quarters" of the great cities where every craft had its special street. Paul himself was a tent-maker from Tarsus in Cilicia, a city so famous for its manufacture of canvas that the Latin word for canvas was *cilicium;* when in Corinth he dwelt in the house of Aquila "because he was of the same craft."

Sir Gilbert Murray in a remarkable book has pointed out this urban nature of early Christianity. He has written:

> It always appears to me that, historically speaking, the character of Christianity in these early centuries is to be sought not so much in the doctrines which it professed, nearly all of which had their roots and their close parallels in older Hellenistic or Hebrew thought, but in the organization on which it rested. For my own part, when I try to understand Christianity as a mass of doctrines, Gnostic, Trinitarian, Monophysite, Arian and the rest, I get no further. When I try to realize it as a sort of semi-secret society for mutual help with a mystical religious basis, resting first on the proletariates of Antioch and the great commercial and manufacturing towns of the Levant, then spreading by instinctive sympathy to similar classes in Rome and the West, and rising in influence, like certain other mystical cults, by the special appeal it made to women, the various historical puzzles begin to fall into place.[2]

To the toiling, sweating masses of the ancient lowly, slave or freemen, dwelling in the densely populated quarters of the great cities, whose margin of living was a narrow one, whose hours of labor were long, whose wages were low, whose conditions of livelihood were hard and often brutal, the social gospel of brotherly love "to provoke unto love and to good works," the economic justice in the teaching that the laborer was worthy of his hire, made a potent appeal.

Sometimes, however, the teachings of Christianity roused the resentment of the working classes, notably in cases in which tradesmen were liable to suffer business loss. Time and again it will be found, in times when religious issues are paramount, that motives of economic self-interest are actually the primary cause of intolerance. Men are intolerant of doctrines which prejudice their interest, but they do not attack them on these grounds. Demetrius the silversmith at Ephesus roused his fellow craftsmen to riot against Paul. The great temple of Diana there was one of the wonders of the ancient world and a shrine of pilgrimage unto tens of thousands from almost every country of the East. The population of the city and the villages in the plain roundabout lived in large

[2] *Four Stages of Greek Religion,* 179.

measure upon these tourists and pilgrims and the economy of the temple. Great stock farms were devoted to the raising of cattle and sheep for the altars; leather work, woolen goods, tanning, dyeing, weaving were important industries. Within the city were workers in marble, terra cotta and mosaic, together with "workmen of life occupation," gold and silver smiths who made a living by manufacturing figurines of the goddess which were sold for souvenirs to the pilgrims. These industrial groups resented Paul's preaching "that they be no gods which are made with hands" not only on account of their religious prejudice, but because of economic self-interest. Demetrius touched that interest on the quick when he cried out that "this our craft is in danger to be set at nought." In the trial of the Christians in Bithynia in 113 before Pliny the Younger, one of the local complaints made against them was the falling off in the sales of fodder for the cattle which were awaiting sacrifice, which suggests that the original complaint was made by stockraisers of the neighborhood. In this case in Bithynia we have a remarkable example of how history sometimes repeats itself. "For the first person who publicly attacked Socrates, Aristophanes the comedian, was the mouthpiece of the rural classes of Attica. Socrates was the victim of commercial priests and of those who are now called 'agrarians.'" [3]

On the other hand, the injunctions of Christianity sometimes entailed economic hardship. The question of one's occupation often became a crucial matter. The pagan temples furnished employment for thousands of workmen, carpenters, tile and marble workers, slaters, mosaic makers, brass-workers, gold and silver smiths, painters and decorators, all of which crafts were closed to conscientious Christians; yet some of those who professed Christianity were manufacturers of idols and sacred trinkets. Tertullian complained that some such actually were elected to church office, who sheltered themselves behind the Pauline text, "Let every man abide in the calling wherein he was called," and argued that Moses made a brazen serpent in the wilderness. The interdiction of so many of the arts to Christians undoubtedly was an influential factor in the decay of the fine arts in the last centuries of the Roman Empire.

All civil and military offices were practically barred to Christians. For in that capacity they had to attend and even participate in spectacles, celebrations, fêtes which were repugnant to the teachings of Christianity. Local magistrates had to attend the games of the circus, the gladiatorial combats in the arena, they farmed out the supply of animals for sacrifice in the temples, they supervised temple revenues. By the third century Christians were to be found in every line of life, in every class of society, yet unless they compromised with the world—as they did—they might not only find it hard to make a living, but also incur popular resentment for their aloofness and "unsocial" ways.

[3] Reinach, *Orpheus*, 90.

From remote times, in the empires of the ancient Orient, the lower working classes in the great cities had been wont to form associations of kindred crafts. From Egypt and Syria these organizations spread all over the Greek and Roman world. Usually these lodges were of an eleemosynary nature, benefit and burial societies (*collegia tenuiorum*) whose members paid monthly dues into a common fund; they had their own place of meeting, a ritualistic and quasi-religious form of initiation and their own social recreations. After the conspiracy of Catiline the Roman government grew alarmed over these collegia and endeavored to suppress all secret associations for fear they might become centres of dissidence or conspiracy. Trajan ordered the dissolution of a private fire-fighting company in Bithynia. But the associative impulse was too strong to be repressed, and the government at least freely permitted the existence of burial associations. These collegia played a not unimportant part in the organization and spread of early Christianity; for since the first Christians themselves were drawn from the lower industrial stratum of Roman society, the collegia often became the *loci* of early church organization. The lodge sometimes was the place of meeting when all its members had become Christian. The religious rites of the collegia influenced early Christian worship, and were one of the means by which the pagan cults modified Christianity.

The earliest form of Christian property ownership was that of possessing a cemetery. In Roman law the tombs of the dead everywhere and of every class were rigorously protected. Even victims of the persecutions were not denied burial. As rites for the dead were universal, the chapel in the cemetery often became the place of worship of a local group of Christians. In times of persecution the cemeteries were often the first places attacked by the mob. But on the other hand, Roman reverence for property rights and for the abode of the dead was so great that in spite of the fact that their religion was illegal, the rights of the Christians to cemetery property were sustained. Thus Alexander Severus (died 235) refused to allow a tavern-keeper to destroy a Christian burial ground in order to build an inn there. Such property, of course, was technically not church property, but the property of a collegium or of the bishop as a private citizen, though it answered for that purpose. Until Constantine's time there was no such thing as church property in a *de jure* sense, but only *de facto*. The Edict of Milan in 313 for the first time legally created church property and admitted a new category of property, foundational or institutional property, into Roman law. Even then the right to own property was at first limited to churches and cemeteries and other structures used for worship or similar purposes. It was not until 321 that the law granted Christian churches the right to receive property given or bequeathed for endowment.

The widely spread idea that the early Christians lived a troglodyte

life, hidden away in cellars, underground galleries, catacombs, is a romantic and fantastic hallucination. They mixed and commingled with the world like other men, "living in company with the latter similar in respect to foods, dress, surroundings, and appliances, frequenting the same forum, market, baths, docks, fairs, etc. We cannot doubt that the shop people or trader who was converted did not as a rule alter the outward appearance of his life. People might converse with him in the street or in the forum and observe no reason to suspect him of Christianity."

There can be no doubt that, contrasted with the established order of things economic and social in the Roman world, the teachings of early Christianity were intensely radical, and if applied would have been subversive of the most stable things in ancient civilization. But, however radical the economic and social ideas which the Early Church cherished, it never attempted to carry them out in practice. It confined its operation to actual conditions. The gospel of love and charity found expression in alms, relieving the distress of widows, orphans, the sick, infirm, disabled, ministering to Christian prisoners in quarries and mines whither they were sent in the third century, ransoming captives made by the raids of the Moors in Africa, giving relief in time of calamity, supporting teachers, caring for those Christians who were journeying, for the duty of hospitality was enjoined. In these social services the labors of the early Christians were beneficent. Yet the Church did little toward betterment of conditions outside its own sphere. It condemned many activities of the business world on religious grounds solely, but in spite of criticism and condemnation it failed to suggest a constructive amelioration. In some respects

> the Christian communities tended to intensify the evils which they cured. In the ordinary course of society orphan girls would have married, and many widows would have found themselves a second home. But there grew up in the Christian communities a tendency, which many of the great preachers fostered, towards perpetual virginity and perpetual widowhood. To marry was indeed not a sin, but it was a confession of weakness: to marry a second time was almost to lapse from grace. The number of virgins and widows for whom the Church had to provide consequently multiplied in an increasing ratio.[4]

It is a mistake to think that the Early Church initiated any movement of a revolutionary social nature, or even of a thoroughgoing reforming nature. In the most critical period of ancient civilization the Church accepted things as they were in principle and in practice. It may have endeavored to relieve incidental cases of hardship among the slave class; it never denied the validity of slavery as an institution. It offered con-

[4] Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, p. 47.

solation to the slave, material and moral; it accepted slavery as a matter of course. The oft-quoted words of Lactantius, "Among us there is no difference between masters and slaves; there is no reason why we call them by the name of brothers except that we believe them to be equal with us," are either rhetorical gesture or mere doctrinairism. The Church never challenged the justice of the relation of master and servant. It did far less than is usually believed in regard to the contempt of the ancient world for labor. It did not assert the "dignity of labor," as is often said; what it enjoined was the duty of honest labor and that the laborer was worthy of his hire. The great period of the Church as a social agency was the Middle Ages, not the early period.

Those historians who have regarded the early church as the advocate and practitioner of a grandiose humanitarian and social-economic program calculated to make a new and better society on earth, have been led away by romantic sentiment or pious emotionalism. Moreover, they ignore the great and similar influence of much of pagan thought, notably that of the Stoics, in ameliorating some of the grosser social abuses of the age. It was Stoicism, not Christianity, which refined the Roman law in the third century and moderated some of its most inhumane features. Stoicism again taught the value of human life, no matter what the class to which one might belong, and inculcated the dignity and duty of Roman citizenship. Stoicism was more universal in its aspect of humanity than early Christianity. It is true that it appealed to the upper classes and not to the lower. But that was because it was a gospel of reason and not one of emotion and feeling. And it did not make that appeal to class consciousness and class antagonism which Christianity invoked. Stoicism as much as Christianity enjoined the duty of honest labor and honest remuneration for labor done. It did not practise an active, material, outward charity, like Christianity. But it did cultivate an inward, spiritual, and intellectual charity which Christianity did not harbor. Stoicism was not intolerant; Christianity was. Stoicism never ridiculed; Christianity did. Stoicism taught love of all humanity; the love of the early Christians was for and among themselves only. Judged by any standard, Stoicism was high, noble, civilized, enlightened, and some of its teachings are still vivid and helpful in the forward groping of the race. No thinking person fails to have reverence for Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus.

In not a few respects Christianity was a new reflection of that pessimism which pervaded the ancient world in the centuries immediately before and immediately after the beginning of the Christian era. It adopted, but transformed in so adopting them, many of the characteristic sentiments of Greek and Roman philosophic pessimism, as contempt of human nature and distrust of reason, the teaching that search for earthly happiness was futile; and followed up these teachings by cultivating

certain practices like asceticism, mortification, and celibacy. To such votaries it was well to suffer evil that good might come, life was travail, the vanity and injustice of things the mark of reality and the evidence of a superior justice, despair a sort of new cause for hope beyond. Ancient pessimism through Christianity ended by being converted into its contrary.

An important question in the history of the Ante-Nicene Church, that is to say of Christianity before the time of Constantine, is its vertical expansion from the slave and lower industrial classes upward into the ranks of the well-to-do and the rich aristocracy of the Roman Empire. For the first two centuries of the Christian era the converts were almost wholly from among the humbler folk, slaves, freedmen, artisans, tradesmen. St. Paul described these aptly: "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble." The conversion of a rich man or one of high social position always was made an object of special gratulation by the patristic writers. A case in point is that of Marcion, a rich ship-owner of Pontus.

It was not until the very end of the second century that Christianity began to make a rapid advance among the upper classes of Roman society, an advance steadily sustained in the third in spite of the fact that the general persecutions then began. Pope Cornelius, who perished in the Valerian persecution in 253, belonged to the famous Cornelian *gens*, one of the oldest Roman families. The edict of Valerian shows the higher social and richer element which had by this time embraced Christianity by the penalties imposed of forfeiture of property, social degradation, exile. Naturally the eastern half of the Mediterranean world was more Christian than the western part. The Christians were most numerous in Syria and Asia Minor. In Pontus whole villages went over to Christianity. But Greece long remained obdurately pagan. Tertullian, writing about 200 A.D., claimed that one-tenth of the population of Carthage was Christian. In Italy in the middle of the third century there were sixty organized parishes. The church in Rome in 251 had 46 priests, 7 deacons, 42 acolytes, 52 readers, and supported 1500 widows and orphans; hence there were perhaps from 30,000 to 40,000 Christians in Rome. The number of slaves and freedmen among these was very great.

The financial power of the church in Rome in the third century was an important factor in the development of the papal authority.

> Considering the active intercourse between the various churches and the metropolis [Rome], it was of the utmost importance to all, especially so long as they required financial aid, to be in connection with that of Rome, to receive support from her, to know she would entertain traveling brethren and to have the power of recommending prisoners and those pining in the mines to her influential intervention. . . . No community in the empire

could regard with indifference its relationship to the great Roman Church. . . . Even far distant congregations . . . were bound . . . to the Roman Church through financial support.[5]

Many attempts have been made by historians to estimate the number of Christians in the Roman Empire, especially in the third and fourth centuries, when Christianity began to be a power. But paucity of evidence makes such estimates little more than conjectures. Gibbon estimated the population of the Empire in 250 A.D. to have been 120 millions, with 6 million Christians, or one-twentieth. Both these figures are certainly too high. Schultze for the same date computed 100 millions for the Empire, one-tenth of whom were Christians. Harnack, in his *Mission and Expansion of Christianity,* recognizes the limitations of the evidence and refrains from generalization. "It was during the fifty or sixty years previous to Diocletian's persecution (303 A.D)," he says, "that the first notable expansion of the Church took place." By an analysis of the evidence at command he distinguishes four classes of provinces or districts. (1) those in which Christianity numbered nearly one-half of the population, and represented, at the opening of the fourth century, the most widely spread religion; (2) those in which Christianity formed a very material portion of the population, influencing the leading classes; (3) those in which Christianity was sparsely scattered; (4) those in which the spread of Christianity was extremely weak.

The relative weight of the various causes which account for the rapid expansion and ultimate triumph of Christianity eludes determination. But economic and social forces were potent among these factors. Again to quote Harnack:

> It baffles us to determine the relative amount of impetus exerted by each of the forces which characterized Christianity: to ascertain, *e.g.,* how much was due to its spiritual monotheism, to its preaching of Jesus Christ, to its hope of immortality, to its active charity and system of social aid, to its discipline and organization, to its syncretistic capacity and contour, or to the skill which it developed in the third century for surpassing the fascinations of any superstition whatsoever.[6]

It may have been that the comparative increase or decrease of the birth-rate in the respective pagan and Christian population was an important determinant. For the pagans practised infanticide, while the exposure of infants was prohibited to Christians.

The Church came through the last great persecution under Diocletian stronger than before. The very failure of the imperial government was a triumph for the Church. Yet morally the church had suffered im-

[5] Harnack, *History of Dogma,* II, 159, 164.
[6] *Op. cit.,* II, 336.

pairment. Many of the bravest and best spirits had perished. Too many of the survivors were of that marginal class of men too weak to be brave, too disposed to sacrifice principle to policy, who compromised and even relapsed in order to save their lives and their property.

Ten years later in 313 Constantine, in the Edict of Milan, granted religious toleration. Christianity became a *religio licita.* Christian persons and Christian property were protected by law. But the triumph of the Church in the fourth century was one of the dearest bought victories in the history of humanity. With Constantine the governing classes, the rich, the worldly came into the fold in numbers, bringing with them their normal moral qualities and social standards, their normal ways of conduct. The result was a blurring of the line between the Church and the world, the subordination of religion to policy and politics, the invasion of "marginal" men and women into the Church, the lowering of ideals, the corrupting influence of great and sudden wealth, spiritual sclerosis.

The characteristic fact which distinguishes the history of the Church in the fourth century is its rapid transformation. It ceased to be a religious society composed of poor and middleclass people and became hierarchic and bureaucratic in form of government, luxurious in taste, seeking wealth and influence. The church yielded to the world in order to gain support of and acquire the property of the rich and influential pagan aristocracy. The increase of its authority was paid for by a loss of spiritual vitality. The speed of this degeneration is as astonishing as the magnitude of the corruption. It was so great that before a century had passed there were not a few of those more spiritually minded who declared that the Church had more reason to deplore its prosperity than the adversity and persecution which it had suffered in the third century. A comparison of primitive Christianity with that of the fourth century must lead to a discouraging conclusion. Historical analysis sometimes is a diagnosis. A study of the moral and religious physiology of the Church in the fourth century is a study not of health but of disease; of moral lesions, corruptions, abuses.

The Christian clergy, like the pagan priests, university professors, rhetoricians, and physicians, were exempted from the *personalia et sordida munera,* taxes which weighed heavily on many, with the result that there was "an ungodly rush for holy orders" in order to escape taxation, especially upon the part of the burdened curial class. The offices of the church were invaded by seekers after orders and place-hunters, who clamored for preferments, and brought political "pull," social influence, and even bribery to bear upon church and government in order to secure their ends.

In consequence of this unexpected state of things, within a year the government, in alarm because of the depletion of its revenues, was

compelled to throw restraints around the privileges of the clergy in order to prevent the tax-payer from eluding taxation. "I do not complain of the law," wrote St. Jerome, "but of the causes which have made it necessary." But how could the government restrain such abuses when it exempted the Church from the requirement of making income-tax returns as other rich had to do, and compelled no taxes of it except for roads and bridges? That the government's efforts in restraint of economic abuse met with ill success is evident from the amount of supplementary legislation, both secular and ecclesiastical, which we find upon this question throughout the next two centuries, especially that instituted by Valentinian I, Theodosius the Great and his son, in the years 360–361 and 398, forbidding the ordination of curials. In 439, Valentinian III in one of the last endeavors of the western emperors to prevent men evading their obligations to the State by becoming clerics restricted orders to those whose wealth was less than 300 solidi (about $1000). But all such repressive legislation failed of enforcement. This abuse was unremedied as long as the Roman Empire endured. St. Augustine complained in the fifth century that many entered the Church merely because they hoped to gain some temporal advantage. Justinian finally sought to solve the problem by reversing the government's policy and invested the bishops with control of the finances of the cities. The bishop's civil prerogatives were extended even farther than this. He supervised the lesser municipal magistrates, interposed the veto once exercised by the defensor, superintended public improvements and city appropriations, audited the accounts of the city, and finally himself chose the curators of the city. It is significant that *episcopos* (whence English *bishop*) was the word used in some cases for the financial officer of pagan temples.

The effect of this development of the political influence and wealth of the bishops upon the church naturally was to blur the line between the Church and the world more than ever. It has been claimed that the Church deprecated this affiliation between ecclesiastical and secular functions and welcomed the efforts of the government to prevent the intrusion of the rich into her ministry "as a protection against unworthy ministers." But I am at loss to find the evidence for this statement. The Church, having tasted the sweets of power, was loath to leave the secular board.

Legislation restraining the bishops from soliciting imperial influence made its appearance early. Athanasius deplored the fierce competition for lucrative posts in the Church. In the council of Sardica (344) Osius inveighed against bishops running after "*sæculares, dignitates et functiones*" at court, and the seventh canon of this council attempted to restrain such practice. Jerome is still complaining of the same evil a half century later. The African bishops were notorious for this per-

nicious practice. The lesser bishops as a whole were scandalously active in seeking imperial favor in order to acquire more lucrative preferments. The lower bishops often sought to circumvent the authority of the metropolitan by resort to court influence, and even presbyters did the same in order to escape episcopal jurisdiction.

There is good ground for the belief that the number and kinds of church offices were excessively multiplied in the fourth century. Part of this increase in the number of the clergy undoubtedly was legitimate and due to the greater opportunity and wider field opened to the Church under the new dispensation. Nevertheless, the honors and emoluments enjoyed by the higher clergy were undeniably a potent factor in drawing many into the ranks of the clergy. Richter estimates that there were as many as 1800 presbyters in the 120 provinces of the Empire after Constantine's time. While we have nothing like statistics to point to, yet there are enough data preserved to enable us to measure at least approximately the extent of this enormous increase. In the time of Pope Cornelius (250) the church in Rome supported 154 clerics. If such a cathedral staff was maintained in the time of the Decian persecution, what must have been the numbers after 313? There were 16 presbyters and 24 deacons attached to the churches in Alexandria in 322, according to Athanasius; even after the Arian defection there remained 16 presbyters and 5 deacons in 335. Canonical legislation early sought to restrict unnecessary multiplication of the clergy. Yet Athanasius in 335 appeared at the council of Tyre with 50 bishops in his train. Honorius in 400 stipulated that the Church should call upon monastic assistance for clerical help. But evidently such restraining legislation failed of its purpose, for Sozomen, who lived in the middle of the fifth century, says: "Different customs prevail in many churches. . . . There are for instance many cities in Syria which possess but one bishop between them; whereas in other nations a bishop is appointed even over a village, as I have myself observed in Arabia and in Cyprus, and among the Novatians and Montanists of Phrygia." Uniformity in this particular was far from prevailing. Even in the time of Leo the Great (440–61) we find the pope complaining that bishops are installed over churches where a presbyter would suffice. When we consider the enormous expense incurred by the Church to sustain this army of priests, especially the bishops who imitated the pomp and ceremonial of the courts of the provincial governors, it is no wonder that Basil ruefully complained of the cost of ecclesiastical administration.

But even more disastrous for the morale of the Church than privilege and exemption was the enormous and rapid increase of the Church's wealth. The clergy came to have "the privilege of a favored class and the power of the moneyed class" in the fourth century. Before Con-

stantine Christianity was a religion of poor people and the Church was poor. Charity relief absorbed nearly all the collections from the faithful. The lower clergy labored daily in market and shop for their sustenance and were unsalaried. The real property of the Church was chiefly in cemeteries and meeting-houses disguised as lodges of industrial *collegia*. These edifices were often small and frail, so that they were sometimes removed from an old site to a new. In the long peace between the Valerian and the Diocletian persecutions (258–303), as the Christians grew in numbers their churches increased both in number and in size. But the maintenance both of the clergy and of the church buildings was still dependent upon contributions. There was and there could be no endowment.

But wealth came with a rush after 313. Not only was private and ecclesiastical Christian property which had been confiscated under Diocletian restored, but rich new endowments were showered upon the Church. One of the first decrees of Constantine ordered the restoration to the Christians of "the places in which they were formerly accustomed to assemble," whether the property had been confiscated to the imperial fisc, or had passed into private hands. In the latter case the possessor was to be indemnified out of the state treasury. He even appropriated public moneys for the repair of old church edifices and the erection of new churches. But it may be that these donations were out of the private purse of the emperor. Whatever the source, it is certain that Constantine and his mother Helena were lavish in their benefactions to the Church. The *Life* of Pope Sylvester I contains a long list of the churches in Rome and elsewhere in Italy which were given grants of land out of the imperial fisc by Constantine. Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Heliopolis, Nicomedia, Antioch, Bethlehem, Carthage, and other places were adorned with churches through the imperial patronage. Numbers of these churches were not newly constructed edifices, but structures belonging to the emperor, like the Lateran palace in Rome which is said to have been presented to the pope by Constantine. As early as 324 there is a rent roll in which are specified "some houses, shops, gardens, and farms situated in Italy, Africa, and the East which belonged to the three basilicas of Rome—St. Peter's, St. Paul-Without-the-Walls, and St. John Lateran." By the time of Gelasius I (492–96) the papal patrimony is clearly extensive, and administered after the manner of organization so fully revealed in the letters of Gregory the Great (590–604).

The Church was invested with unlimited capacity to receive legacies. *Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo catholico venerabilique concilio, decedens bonorum quod optavit relinquere.* Legacies to the Church became a form of religious obligation. Many Christians deprived their families of their property in order to enrich the Church. The better-

minded bishops restrained abuse of such donations, but affirmed the principle while reproving abuse of it. St. Augustine in one of his sermons recommended that faithful Christians "consider Christ among their children and make Him a partitioner in their inheritance." According to Eusebius, Constantine decreed that the property of all martyrs who had perished without heirs should be given to the Church. Valentinian I and Theodosius the Great assigned to that church or that monastery to which a deceased priest or monk belonged the property of which he died possessed if he died intestate or without heirs. One of the novels reserves to the Church and charity all the property of a deceased bishop except what he had acquired before his elevation or had inherited from his parents. Fines or confiscations for apostasy and heresy by the letter of Roman law accrued to the fisc; but in practice many of them were diverted into the coffers of the clergy. The real property of the Church was declared inalienable, and it was against the law for the Church to rent real estate beyond the duration of three lives.

The endowments of the Church increased in the fifth century. The ecclesiastical historians abound with evidence. Sozomen says that it would take a long time to describe the magnificent houses of prayer which Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II, erected, the hospitals for the relief of the poor and strangers and the monastic establishments which she founded. "God, the priests, and all the subjects of the Roman Empire are witnesses of her generosity." She gave a table, elaborately adorned with gold and precious stones, to the church of Constantinople. "If any one doubt my statements," he adds, "let him examine the registers kept by the treasurers of the princess." The munificence of Melania, a rich heiress of Spain, married at twelve years of age and widowed at twenty, was on a more than princely scale. The contemporary historian Palladius says that:

> She bestowed all her raiment of silk upon the holy altars and the remainder of her silk apparel she cut up and made it suitable for the service of the Church in other ways. Her silver and gold she entrusted to an elder who was a monk from Dalmatia, and she sent it by sea to Egypt and the Thebaid to the amount of ten thousand darics; she sent ten thousand darics to Antioch, but to Palestine she sent fifteen thousand darics. To the churches which were on the islands and to the people which were in exile she sent ten thousand darics and to those who were in the West, I mean in the churches and the monasteries there, and the houses for the reception of strangers, and to all those who were in want she distributed her gift with her own hand. She must have given away four times these amounts besides.

An interesting phenomenon of the history of the Church in the fourth century is the passion for erecting churches. The Church was struck with a positive "building fever." Part of this activity was un-

doubtedly a legitimate aspiration for expansion to meet the new need due to increasing numbers; but in part it was unwholesome zeal for ostentation and display. Even early monasticism was affected by this spirit. Eusebius writes of "churches again rising from the earth to a lofty height and receiving a splendor far exceeding those which had formerly been destroyed." Within a short time the craze reached such proportions that sober, thinking churchmen like St. Jerome protested against the extravagance as needless waste of funds which might better be expended in other ways. Jerome not without reason complained that the churches were becoming too costly and that more attention was given to their outward adornment than to the character of the clergy who ministered in them. "Many build churches nowadays, their walls and pillars of glowing marble, their ceilings glittering with gold, their altars studded with jewels. Yet to the choice of Christ's ministers no heed is paid."

But the sympathy of the age was in harmony with Ambrose, who wrote: "It becomes the priest especially to adorn the temple of God with fitting splendor, so that the court of the Lord may be made glorious." Duchesne gives a list of twenty-three churches either founded or restored in the space of two hundred years within the city of Rome, and no less than fifty extra-mural ones between the pontificate of Sylvester I (314) and that of Hormisdas (514) and admits that this information is incomplete. From the information which we have upon the early building activities of the Church the conclusion is unavoidable that the expenditure was much in excess of legitimate needs, and that much of it was waste and extravagance. The burden of the cost of these hundreds of edifices must have been very great in spite of private gifts and the generosity of the government.

Another evil with which the Church had to contend was the invasion of its membership by the idle rich with whom Christianity became a fad.

> While the Church was kept purified by the fires of persecution, it offered few attractions for the worldly and ambitious. Its ministry was too dangerous to be sought except by the pure and zealous Christian. . . . When, however, its temporal position was incalculably improved by its domination throughout the Empire, it became the avenue through which ambition might attain its ends, while its wealth held out prospects of idle self-indulgence to the slothful and the sensual.[7]

Men and women of light mind, and sometimes lighter morals, who had languidly dallied with the worship of Isis and Osiris, or the Phrygian mysteries, or some other of the numerous oriental religions which

[7] Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, p. 63.

held sway in the later Roman Empire, like Lady Clara Vere de Vere, wearied of the rolling hours, and in search of another novelty to stir their jaded imaginations, sought to find a new diversion in Christianity. Now that the danger of persecution was over and the empress-mother vouchsafed her patronage to the newly recognized cult the Church was thronged with social climbers. The aristocracy of the Later Roman Empire abandoned nothing of its ideas of the world, of class, of life, of its traditions and prejudices when it joined the Church; and the Church compromised with the world and made the worldly feel at home in its midst. The picture of this Christian aristocracy of the fourth century is not an attractive one.

While this light and frivolous class of the idle rich invaded the Church from above, at the same time a horde of beggars and impostors poured into the Church from below, feigning poverty and faith, attracted by the new wealth and charitable practices of Christianity. The proletariat of the great cities, accustomed to public doles, scented a new quarter of supply. In a sense the Church was victimized by this corrupt class which Rome's vicious social and economic policy over centuries had fostered; but it is a question whether the Church did not aggravate the evil which it professed to relieve by promoting a vast system of organized mendicity through a deceived philanthropy. "Never was the greed of beggars greater than it is now," complained St. Ambrose. "They come in full vigor. They come with no reason, but that they are on the tramp." St. Basil complained of the difficulty of distinguishing between the needy poor and these impostors. Mendicancy became a profession within the circle of the Church, as it long had been practised by thousands outside in the pagan world. By the end of the fourth century the Christian beggars in Rome almost formed a caste apart. Ammianus Marcellinus relates that when, in 367, Lampadius the prætor "was celebrating some splendid games and giving abundant largesses, being unable to bear the tumult of the populace which was often urgent to have gifts distributed to those who were unworthy, in order to show his liberality and his contempt for the multitude, he sent for a crowd of beggars from the Vatican and enriched them with great presents."

There can be little doubt that the resources of the Church were amply able to provide for its legitimate needs in the fourth century. But the growing avarice of the clergy and the disposition of the municipalities to shoulder off upon the Church the maintenance of the idle proletariat in the cities combined to make the Church an eager seeker of new wealth. Economic self-interest was undoubtedly a factor in the Church's campaign for the destruction of paganism. Most of the pagan priests were rich landed proprietors. The clergy coveted possession of the great endowments of the pagan temples of various

faiths which were to be found in every city and province of the Roman world. The Church's campaign to despoil the pagan temples of their property began in the time of the sons of Constantine. Constantine had established a parity between Christianity and other religions of the empire. The pagan cults were not proscribed, their temples were unmolested, their property protected, their privileges preserved. In 341 Constans forbade sacrifices in the cities. Constantius gave the Temple of the Sun in Alexandria, with all its treasures and revenues, to the Alexandrian church; Theodosius added all the endowments of the Serapeum. About 347 a writer named Firmicus Maternus (who is not to be confounded with an earlier pagan writer of the same name) published a pamphlet entitled *De errore profanarum religionum,* in which he advocated the confiscation of all temple property for the benefit of the Church, and even urged and justified the robbery of pagan fanes.

The cupidity of the emperors was cleverly played upon by advocates of confiscation. The landed endowments, the gold plate and altar vessels of the pagan temples represented an enormous wealth. The indulgence and profligacy of the rulers, the tremendous increase in the cost of government after the orientalization of the administrative system, the luxury of the court, made it increasingly difficult for the government to meet its expenses in spite of redoubled taxation. Grafting government and court officials who were Christians, and who itched for money, urged the emperor on toward this course of spoliation, pointing out that the emperor had the legal right to put his hands upon temple property, for in Roman law all *loca sacra* were theoretically parts of the imperial domains, since the emperor was ex officio the secular head of every cult within the Roman Empire and so might "assimilate" whatever temple property he chose to the imperial fisc. The unorganized nature of the pagan cults was an additional weakness of their position. The fact that these cults were many and various, were not possessed of a common faith, and lacked that universality which Christianity manifested, made them easy victims of this policy of spoliation. They could not stand together.

The emperor Julian, whose efforts to reinvigorate the waning influence of paganism made him the object of obloquy for many centuries, and whose character has only recently been rescued by scholarship from the injustice heaped upon it, keenly discerned the weaknesses in the pagan cults and labored to resuscitate them. He saw the strength which Christianity possessed in the socialized nature of its religion, and in a famous letter reproached the pagan priesthood for not dispensing charity, relieving the poor and afflicted, maintaining hospitals and schools as the Christians did. He condemned the cruelties of the arena, the obscenities of the stage. But paganism was incapable of responding to the imperial call, of adapting itself to the changed con-

ditions, of socializing its religions. This was its greatest weakness and perhaps the fundamental reason for its failure. The slothful priests too often practically secularized the endowments of the temples, used them for their own indulgence, and let the temple rot.

There was nothing essentially unjust either in theory or in practice in the legislation of Julian which abolished the unique privileges and immunities enjoyed by the clergy; in removing Christian pensioners from the public lists to which they clung like leeches; in forbidding free use of the government's courier system to the bishops, who coursed over land and sea at imperial expense under the enjoyment of franking privileges denied to others; in compelling the Church to restore pagan temple property which it had acquired by corrupt influence at court, or had boldly seized; in requiring the performance of civic and military duties of Christians as of other citizens of the Empire.

But Julian's legislation in restraint of the Church's abuses, instead of acting as a tonic to the Church and eliminating some of the dross and corruption within it, merely hardened the Church's opposition to paganism. Like the spoliation of the monasteries in England by Henry VIII, the spoliation of paganism was a gradual process which covered some years of time. It was begun by the sons of Constantine, in whose court we are told were "some who had been fed on the spoils of the temples and so raised themselves from the lowest poverty to great affluence." But having tasted of plunder bishops and courtiers alike thirsted for more wealth. In the East Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, was the leader of this iconoclastic movement. In the West its most earnest advocate was St. Ambrose of Milan, who quoted at length the conduct of the Jews in the time of Antiochus, as recorded in the Book of the Maccabees, as a precedent which the Church ought to follow.

The issue came to a climax in the reign of Theodosius I, two years after the elevation of Christianity to the State religion of the Empire. The decree of 392 had not legally proscribed paganism, but the pagan party saw the handwriting on the wall in the clamor of the Church for proscription and the growing pro-Christian inclination of the emperor. In 394, Valentinian II having been murdered by Arbogast, a Frankish general in the Roman army, the latter, not venturing to usurp the purple in the West, set up Eugenius, whose cause the pagans speedily acclaimed, and who at once sought to secure a following among the pagans by the restoration of their former revenues to the pagan temples, which Gratian and Valentinian had before refused to do. The rebellion was crushed by Theodosius, and a general proscription of paganism, a general confiscation of all pagan property followed. The religious and material triumph of Christianity was complete. Fortune has preserved the manuscript of a Christian pæan of victory in celebration of this event. The temples themselves, however, were not generally destroyed;

only their property was confiscated and they were closed. There was no demolition such as the church in England suffered under Henry VIII. "The only accounts that we possess of the destruction of specific temples are of those with whose services some notorious rites were connected, or whose existence was a distinct outrage to Christian sentiment in the community." The Church already had as many edifices as it needed. Moreover, there may have been some compunction about converting a pagan fane into a Christian sanctuary. Only when church building was renewed in the seventh century were the temples dismantled and destroyed and their stone used to erect new edifices. The Pantheon is a remarkable instance of an ancient pagan temple which was preserved and transformed into a church. Eastern Christianity, where the monks contributed to popular fanaticism, and fanned the mobs to fury, was far more iconoclastic than Latin Christianity. St. John Chrysostom in Constantinople and Cyril of Alexandria, of whom Hypatia was a victim, illustrate the temper of those who strenuously advocated the destruction of paganism. However, even after the pagan temples in the provinces were closed, the altars demolished, the priesthood deprived of its revenues and scattered, pagan worship still furtively survived without priests in remoter regions until the seventh century.

Undoubtedly the worst source of corruption of the Church in the fourth century was its enormously and rapidly acquired wealth. This has ever been so in its history. Unfortunately there was no St. Francis then to call the Church away from its gross and materialistic ways. The "saving remnant" in the Church has never been large. But it may be doubted if Christianity ever sank so low as in the centuries between 300 and 800. The avarice of the high clergy, their eager legacy-hunting, their worldliness, their profligacy, their nepotism and graft became the theme of Christian moralists and satirists. St. Jerome's witty and sarcastic description of "the day of a bishop" in 400 A. D. is of a piece with Juvenal and Lucian.

It is almost with a feeling of dismay that one observes in the ecclesiastic literature of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries how deeply the bulk of the population of a nominally now Christian Europe was sunk in polytheistic morals, pagan mythology, practices, customs, fetishism, belief in amulets. Harnack has penned these hard, but true words:

> The theologians had always the clergy, the officials, "good" society in their minds. . . . The people . . . did not live in this faith, but in that Christianity of the second rank which is represented in the legends of the saints, in image-worship, in the veneration of angels and martyrs, in crosses and amulets, in the Mass regarded as magical worship. . . . Christianity as it meets us in Gregory the Great and in the final decisions of the seventh council, presents itself as the most intimate union of Christianity of the first order with that subterranean, thoroughly superstitious and

polytheistic "Christianity"; and the centuries from the third to the eighth mark the stages in the process of fusion.[8]

The Church paid the price for compromising with average morality, and for the enforcement of this average morality the Church possessed an instrument unknown in antiquity and of peculiar social agency. Gibbon said of the people of antiquity that "their conduct in this life was never regulated by any serious conviction of the rewards or punishments of a future state." But under sway of the Church doers of socially injurious acts might be threatened with punishment in the life to come. A religious sanction was potently introduced by Christianity as a sort of moral police authority, hitherto unknown to the world, for the maintenance of public order and the protection of property. It is impossible to estimate the measure of influence exerted for the regulation of society through the medium of the Church's disciplinary and punitive system; but the force and effectiveness of the system cannot be denied.

On the whole the verdict of history must be an adverse one with reference to the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries. One of the greatest scholars living or dead in the history of the Early Church has recorded this opinion as his deliberate verdict:

> Christianity itself contributed in the most effective fashion towards the decomposition of society; but having done this, it was not able to elevate the masses and to build up a Christian society in the most moderate sense of the word; on the contrary it made one concession after another to the many requirements and wishes of the masses. Many factors contributed to this final result, and above all, the stern march of political history and the economic distress. Closely connected with this was the abolition of the old distinctions between aristocrats, freemen and slaves, and following upon this the penetration into the higher ranks of the religious and intellectual barbarism which had never been overcome in the lower ranks.[9]

The Dark Ages were at least as much due to the corruption of the Church as to the decay of Roman civilization or the barbarian invasions.

So far from being constructive in its influence, the Church in the Roman Empire was a dissolving and disintegrating influence of the first magnitude. In this it worked like all the oriental religions toward undermining the whole fabric of ancient society, but as the greatest of the oriental cults, its effect, therefore, was greater. Sir James Frazer, that incomparable master of the history of comparative religion, has written as follows:

[8] Harnack, *History of Dogma,* IV, 106, 304–05.
[9] *Ibid. Op. cit.,* IV, 270.

Greek and Roman society was built on the conception of the subordination of the individual to the state; it set the safety of the commonwealth as the supreme end of conduct, above the safety of the individual. . . . All this was changed by the spread of oriental religions which inculcated the communion of the soul with God and its eternal salvation as the only objects worth living for, objects in comparison with which the prosperity and even the existence of the state sank into insignificance. The inevitable result . . . was to withdraw the devotee more and more from the public service, to concentrate his thoughts on his own spiritual emotions, and to breed in him a contempt for the present life, which he regarded merely as a probation for a better and an eternal. The saint and the recluse disdainful of earth and rapt in ecstatic contemplation of heaven, became in popular opinion the highest ideal of humanity, displacing the old ideal of the patriot and hero who, forgetful of self, lives and is ready to die for the good of his country. . . . Thus the centre of gravity, so to say, was shifted from the present to the future life, and however much the other world may have gained, there can be little doubt that this one lost heavily by the change. A general disintegration of the body politic set in. The ties of the state and the family were loosened; the structure of society tended to resolve itself into its individual elements and thereby to relapse into barbarism; for civilization is only possible through the active coöperation of the citizens and their willingness to subordinate their private interests to the common good. Men refused to defend their country, and even to continue their kind. In their anxiety to save their own souls . . . they were content to leave the material world, which they identified with the principle of evil, to perish around them.[10]

As one reads the writings of the earliest of the Post-Nicene Fathers and turns page after page filled with dogmatic controversy, or hot with words of scorn and vituperation for the manners and morals of those who were the accredited espousers and guardians of the message out of Galilee, or redolent of superstition, a sense of futility and disillusionment comes over one. In the East the three great Cappadocians, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, brothers in the flesh and twins of the spirit, with Gregory of Nazianzen, and in the West St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine upheld the flag of a desperate fidelity to Christianity with more of honor and less reason for reproach than any others.

The Montanists were the first sect who proposed to pay the clergy a fixed salary.

For as the clergy gravitated more and more toward becoming a separate class or caste in the community, the older economy of the Church was found incompatible with the new condition. In apostolic times, the clergy were self-supporting, and this ideal of economic independence lingered on even into the fourth century. Finally, the revolution in the Church wrought by Constantine and Theodosius rapidly developed a

[10] Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris,* I, 299–301.

new principle, namely, that they who ministered at the altar should live by the altar. Consequently the necessity of supporting the clergy was thrust upon the Church, and the change in the Church was enormous.

One might reasonably think that the stipends of the clergy after 313 would have been sufficient for their needs when the great increase in the wealth of the Church is considered. Probably they would have been in most cases if the avarice of the clergy had not emboldened them to enlarge their incomes by outside practices of commercialism and high finance. There are few cases like Zeno, bishop of Majuma, in the reign of Theodosius I, who successfully combined the life of a linen weaver with his episcopal duties, or Leo the wool-carder in the time of Arcadius, or the clergy of Cappadocia whom Basil made to practise sedentary trades. St. Jerome, in 394, wrote: "It is the glory of a bishop to make provision for the wants of the poor, but it is the shame of priests to amass private fortunes in trade." St. Ambrose in his treatise on *Duties of Ministers* warns: "Let love of money be destroyed. Holy men engage not in trade. Profits are signs of cunning." He advised the priesthood to engage in agriculture and not commerce. The cultivation of the ascetic ideal in the Church was not solely due to belief in the singular virtue of a celibate life. It was partly as a means to check the growth of sensualism and worldliness among the clergy, and partly to prevent the diversion of church funds into private channels by an indulgent cleric, priest or bishop.

From the third century the administration of church property was in the hands of the bishop, assisted by the deacons. Not every bishop was as conscientious as Bishop John of Narnia who gave an account of his stewardship. The abuses which crept in compelled the council of Antioch in 341 to require that priests and deacons should have knowledge of financial administration. A case of episcopal embezzlement placed before the council of Chalcedon brought the whole matter of administration of church property to an issue. Here it was formally decided that every bishop should appoint one of the clergy as *economicus* to administer the property of the diocese under his direction. Church legislation in restraint of the demoralizing effect of trade upon the clergy is voluminous. Clerics should not frequent crossroads and market-places, nor hang around taverns, nor go "drumming," nor try to make money in another's name, nor act as guardians of property, nor be executors of wills, nor go legacy-hunting. In 451 the council of Chalcedon went on record in a blanket series of canons of this nature. But avarice for centuries was to be the besetting sin of the Church. The famous verse "As water extinguisheth fire, so charity extinguisheth sin" was flagrantly abused to solicit gifts from the faithful. This sentiment is to be found time and again in medieval donations of land

or goods. The Christians of the patristic age gave out of their poverty —for they had little wealth—to expand the gospel, to relieve the sick, to help the poor. But from the fourth century onward too many of the donations made to the Church were not primarily for the benefit of others, but to save the souls of the givers. It was a selfish unselfishness. The day was to come when a man was required in his will to leave a portion of his property to the Church, and if he had no heirs to leave it all to the Church. The mercenary ring in the 103d canon of the council of Carthage in 398 that *rich* widows must be zealous in the service of God is unmistakable.

It is a disputable question whether Ammianus Marcellinus, the last Latin historian, was a pagan or a Christian. But few deny that he was an honest writer. Certainly Ammianus is the most neutral observer of all the writers of the fourth century, and his portraits of the bishops of his time are far from flattering pictures; they sustain the judgment that these official representatives of the cross of Christ were hardly men of moral edification. In the conflict for the papacy between Damasus and Ursinus in 367, each recruited bravos and banditti from the Roman proletariat. It was a fight to a finish and when the event was over, 137 dead bodies were prone upon the pavement of the basilica of Sicininus, "which is a Christian church," Ammianus adds with a touch of scorn in the words.

What is one to think of George of Cappadocia, the broker-banker and bishop of Alexandria? No bishop of the fourth century so grasped the material opportunity which the new dispensation of Constantine and Theodosius I offered, or used it to greater advantage. He capitalized Christianity, he transformed authority into dividends and made the Church an instrument of business with an effectiveness and a daring that would make him today the envy of every wolf in Wall Street. He had once been in the imperial financial service and abandoned it during the Arian controversy for the wider field of economic exploitation offered by the Church. When he became Arian bishop of Alexandria after the exile of Athanasius, he displayed unusual gifts as a captain of industry. He speculated in the wheat market, formed a "trust" for the development of the nitre deposits of the Egyptian desert, "cornered" the salt trade, acquired possession of immense tracts of marsh land where papyrus and calamus were grown for the manufacture of paper and pens, and finally formed a company for the monopoly of the funeral business in Alexandria.

George of Cappadocia is an extreme example, perhaps. Fortunately there were also bishops possessed with a real sense of duty. As the imperial government more and more declined, the episcopate by the very default of government was compelled to take over the exercise of functions formerly pertaining to the governors of the provinces. It

is recorded of Theodoretus, bishop of Cyprus, that out of the revenues of his see he built two bridges, looked after the public baths, erected an aqueduct to supply his city with water. Epiphanius, another bishop in the same island, spent his own patrimony and then applied the treasures of the Church to relieve the poor and shipwrecked. Many a bishop took the part of the oppressed curials. One of the most attractive of such intelligent and energetic bishops was Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont in Gaul in the fifth century, who

> believed in a Christianity which kept in touch with the world to renovate it and to govern it. . . . In the early morning hours he received all comers, heard complaints, composed differences, performed many of the duties of a civil magistrate. . . . He had important functions in connection with the municipal council. . . . He had to superintend the cultivation of the lands of his see. . . . The real leader of the municipal community in the fifth century, alike in temporal and in spiritual things, was often the great churchman. The power of the senatorial class, with all their broad lands and culture, did not extend usually beyond the serfs of their estates.[11]

As today among public men there are men of probity and even idealists side by side with self-seeking politicians, whose conduct belies the fine phrases in which they indulge, so in the Church of the fifth century there were some dreamers among ambitious and worldly prelates, office-seekers, and social climbers. The most magnificent dreamer of them all and the most intensely spiritual Christian of these early ages of the Church, was St. Augustine. He was at once a utopian, an idealist, a traditionalist, and a passionate catholic. He lacked a sense of historical perspective, yet had a greater influence upon the history of the Church than any other man of the patristic age save Gregory the Great. By force of circumstances, by genius and temperament, Augustine was qualified as no other, to demonstrate to the world the abiding worth of the Church to humanity. In *De civitate Dei—The City of God,* he sought to convince his generation that without ideals the future would hang before men in tatters; that all things of human device, even the Roman state and the imperial government, were incapable of ministering to the welfare of society even temporally, as successfully as the Church. Organic society to Augustine was an ecclesiastically organized and governed society. What Karl Marx is to modern state socialism, that Augustine was to the fifth century. Both higher soul and better laws came from the Church. The State should be servant to the Church; civic and municipal institutions, commerce, industry, in short every human energy, physical and moral, found in service through the Church, as the guiding influence and authority, its

[11] Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire,* 214–15.

means of service to humanity. Service to society could only be through service to God, whose divine instrument the Church was. The social function of the visionary never has had a fairer exponent.

But despite such fair showings, the history of the Church as a whole in the fifth century indicates that, if anything, there was an increase, not a decrease, in corruption. Prior to 313 there does not seem to have been much complaint of simony and clerical immorality in the Church, for the general condition of poverty and peril in the Church prevented its development. But the rapid accretion of wealth by the Church and the rush of office-seekers into her midst soon made simony an important issue. The supplementary canons of Nicæa provided that "no one shall dare to receive any gift from him who is ordained a bishop or presbyter, and he who shall give or receive a reward shall be ejected from holy office. Whoever shall contravene this canon, let the fathers of the synod excommunicate him." The council of Sardica legislated in like manner. The old apostolic canons are to the same effect. The long epistle of Basil as metropolitan to the bishops under him is illuminating as to the illicit practices of the clergy in the matter of office-seeking.

An example may serve to show both the nature and the extent of this flagitious manipulation of Church offices. In the spring of 400, in a council presided over by St. John Chrysostom, and composed for the most part of bishops from Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, Eusebius, bishop of Valentinopolis, preferred charges of simony—the barter and sale of the offices of the Church—against his metropolitan, Antoninus of Ephesus, who was sitting in the council at the time. Chrysostom appointed a commission of three bishops to go to Ephesus to investigate. But the intrigues of Antoninus thwarted the inquisition and the offending prelate died unpunished. A violent competition at once ensued between two rival factions, each having its own candidate for the empty seat and each using every means in its power to secure the place.

Within that very century which saw its triumph, as Monsignor Duchesne has written, "the Church had become an impossible dwelling-place for any one who wished to live a really Christian life." The inevitable reaction was bound to come. Purer hearts fled into the desert. Monasticism, with its idealization of poverty and asceticism, came as a reproach of the Church's worldliness and grossness. The history of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries illustrates the pregnant observation of Goethe that "every idea operates tyrannically as soon as it has emerged into public recognition. The advantages it brings with it are transformed all too soon into disadvantages."

After Christianity became the established religion of the Roman Empire, whatever social and economic program of reform the Church may have cherished went by the board. Wealth and political power made it conservative. Moreover, almost the whole energy of the Church be-

came absorbed in doctrinal controversies. In our own day, when almost every one has a theory for social betterment, and the Church has become so active a social agent, it is difficult to realize this intense concentration of the public mind upon things so far from ordinary social interest as theology and doctrine. But if we think a moment the explanation is clear. The natural tendency of the times toward religious discussion was accentuated by the government's repression of free political discussion and the increasing atrophy of healthy local political activity. As a consequence the minds of men found a field of speculation and inquiry in the religious issues of the day. Men of every class debated the current theological tenets of the time as hotly as men nowadays discuss politics. This interest extended from the highest to the lowest ranges of society. Gregory of Nyssa has preserved for us an amusing description of this popular interest in theology. He wrote of Constantinople in the fourth century:

> This city is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound theologians, and preach in the shops and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told by way of reply that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is that the Son was made out of nothing.

Although all these heresies had a doctrinal character, if we look below the surface we find that numbers of them were tinged with economic and social color. It is at first difficult for a modern mind to understand how these barren theological controversies could evoke such popular interest. But if we reflect, the explanation is forthcoming. As there were economic motives in the Church's campaign against paganism, so also economic factors are to be found in the great conflicts over heresy in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The enormous wealth of the Church, of which the bishops increasingly became the sole custodians and dispensers, of itself was a security for the orthodoxy of the bishops, few of whom were willing to risk the loss of such a lucrative control by espousing dubious teachings. "All heretics are open to conviction when they are in danger of losing power." No bishop was likely to turn heretic. It did not pay. For privileges were granted by the government only to the clergy of the Catholic or Great Church, as distinguished from schismatics and heretics. Orthodoxy was a profitable course for the bishops. But on the other hand, the attraction of the Church's wealth often excited the ambition and cupidity of others among the clergy who sought to dispossess the bishop and themselves gain control of the funds. For such an aspirant either of two ways was possible: either to charge the bishop with heresy

and unseat him, or to start the advocacy of a current heresy and hope to carry the crowd with one.

Some heresies, like that of the Montanists in Phrygia and the Priscillianists in Spain were, economically speaking, revolts against the corrupting influence of riches in the Church and the luxury of the bishops, and advocated a puritan simplicity and austerity of ecclesiastical life. Another type were those heresies which harked back to the apostolic days of the Church when a brotherly communism obtained in some congregations. Radicals and dreamers of this kind were advocates of a species of church socialism.

The heresies prevalent in the Church, especially the bitter controversy over Arianism, not only deranged the teachings of the Church but demoralized the Church as a social organism. Orthodoxy, not moral character, became too often the criterion in the choice of a bishop. Moreover, the secession from the ranks of the orthodox depleted the number of the clergy; and the Church, in order to fill its offices and keep its machinery going, often could not be too fastidious in its choice of new incumbents, while at the same time a horde of applicants, like modern office-seekers after a party triumph, pressed its doors for jobs. St. Basil sadly wrote to one of his correspondents: "The laws of the Church are in confusion. The ambition of men who have no fear of God, rushes into high posts, and exalted office is now publicly known as the prize of impiety. The result is that the harder a man swears the fitter men think him to be a bishop."

It is not without significance that the most popular and formidable heresies which the orthodox Church combated were in Arian Egypt, Monophysite Syria, and Donatist Africa, in other words, in countries in which the Hellenistic or Latin culture of the Roman Empire was an exotic, having been imposed by conquest. Each of these lands had once possessed an independence and a civilization older than that of either Greece or Rome. The Egyptians, the Syrians, the Carthaginians, although Christian, nevertheless represented submerged nationalities within the Roman Empire, which, as the ties of empire gradually relaxed and the burden and corruption of government increased, aspired to independent nationality. The dogmatic and theological controversies set free the centrifugal and nationalistic forces in the oriental countries of the Empire. The union of the State with the orthodox Church brought this opposition to a head. Arianism, Monophysitism, Donatism became vehicles of popular expression of nationalism in the countries concerned, popular protests against heavy taxation, the great landed proprietorship of Latin masters, administrative abuses, partiality or unjust exemptions and immunities enjoyed by the privileged orthodox and ruling class who were as exploitive as British nabobs in India in the eighteenth century. The clergy, more than the aristocracy, were hated by the

masses in these countries, although Church and State were hand in glove. For the Church was the greatest landed proprietor, whose acres were tilled by a servile peasantry or actual slaves. When the historian perceives that these heresies were motivated by a sense of economic injustice and social wrong, that they had in them the seeds of an agrarian-social revolution, he discovers a new interest in them and understands their popularity and their power with the masses. He understands, too, why Mohammedanism made such an easy conquest of these disaffected lands. Like the Roman Empire, which the Church was slowly and gradually supplanting as the ruling force in society, "the orthodox Church was strenuously opposed to national distinctions, whereas heresies and schisms proved favorable to them."

As the united orthodox Empire and orthodox Church hardened their policy of coercion, it came to pass that at times local pagans made common cause with heretics. Social injustice and burdensome taxation also were factors in this action. Fear of peasant uprisings, which some upstart military commander might foster, made government and Church cautious about proscribing paganism in the country areas until 407, when the drastic law went forth ordering the demolition of altars and statues and the closure of the rural temples and shrines.

When one passes over from the fourth century into the fifth, the most material change to be noticed in the Church is the invasion of the countryside and rural areas where paganism still had many adherents among the peasantry and rural slave and serf population living on the patrimonies of the great landowners. Hitherto Christianity had been, as pointed out before, an urban movement. But by 400 the Church had nearly extirpated paganism in the cities and began the so-called "evangelization of the fields." The movement was initiated by wheedling or persuading the emperors to make donations to the Church of the vast rural properties of the imperial fisc, by which the Church got a footing in the country districts. So successful was this effort, especially in the East, that in Asia Minor many new bishoprics were simply former great imperial estates. The bishop of Cappadocia owned almost all the land in the province of Cappadocia. In the West the African bishops manifested the strongest appetite for crown lands, and did not hesitate to use fraudulent methods to acquire them. We find the historian Zosimus, one of the few non-ecclesiastical writers of the time, deploring the impoverishment of the fisc for the enrichment of the Church. It was not long before the great landowners, either out of sentiment or out of policy, also began to shower the Church with villas and patrimonies. The *Letters* of Sidonius Apollinaris, written in the middle of the fifth century, show that the Church was already a heavy land-owner in the provinces of Gaul. While it is true that the Visigothic settlement resulted in momentary spoliation of Church

property, because the West Goths were Arian, in the long run the Church was more than indemnified by the catholic Franks for the losses it sustained, as we shall see later on.

The spread of Christianity into the rural areas, where the great landed proprietors enjoyed almost completely independent sway upon and within their gigantic patrimonies (*fundi*), gave rise to the institution of patronage, or the right of advowson in the Church. Country parishes were often identical with these patrimonies, just as a country parish in the Cotton Belt of the South might be identical with a great plantation. Proprietors had long been used to compelling their tenantry to profess the same religion which they professed, whether they were pagan, or orthodox, or pertained to any one of the many current heresies. The correspondence of St. Augustine shows that in the fourth and fifth centuries the patrimonial proprietors applied locally upon their estates the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio—i.e.,* they required that their serfs and slaves pertain to the same belief as themselves. In one letter Augustine congratulates a proprietor because he has compelled his serfs to adhere to orthodoxy. In another he complains of a proprietor who compelled his serfs to espouse Donatism with himself. The constitutions of the orthodox emperors and the legislation of the Church councils laid it down as a duty that landed proprietors should compel their serfs and slaves to be orthodox.

Naturally with such tradition of independence the proprietors were disposed to make advantageous terms with the neighboring bishop who wished to organize a parish in their domains, and the bishops conceded these. The proprietor, as "patron," appointed the priest, often one of his own tenantry whom he emancipated for the purpose; he retained the right to use a portion of the revenues of the parish church for his own ends, not only the revenues from endowments but those from marriage, burial, and christening fees. If the church grew in wealth from gifts of the faithful, he still had the right to the original percentage of income, which, of course, might become a very large one in the lapse of years. We know the history of the origin and spread of these rural churches and the organization of the rural parishes quite fully. A law of Arcadius and Honorius speaks explicitly of these proprietary churches. In the barbarian period the rural churches fell in great numbers under control of the proprietary class. This appropriation of churches by private persons was a result of the general proprietary independence which developed with the decline of the Roman state. The lord, master of his domains, whence he rigorously excluded every authority save his own, wished to have his own church, his own priest. His domain had its local church as it had its local market, its local mill, its local brewery. The local church was a money-making device for the lord.

Although the Gothic, Burgundian, and Lombard kings were Arian in religion, they did not specifically prohibit the gift of property to the catholic churches in their kingdoms. Nevertheless the effect of heresy was to reduce donations to the catholic clergy, whose antagonism was the greater against Arianism and the German kings because of the property with which the Arian church in the Germanic kingdoms was endowed. Undoubtedly this envy was a factor in the resentment that existed between the two sects. Consequently when the Frankish king Clovis (481–511) embraced Christianity in 496 the rejoicing of the orthodox clergy in other Barbarian kingdoms was great. Clovis's conquest of Visigothic and Burgundian Gaul was ardently advocated by the catholic clergy in those parts, who reaped the reward of their efforts. For the entire property of the fallen Arian Church was given to them.

The conversion of the Franks to catholic Christianity greatly enlarged the fortune of the Church in Gaul. Long before the German conquests the clergy had become experts in securing ecclesiastical donations, and the development of dogma, of worship, and of discipline tended to exalt the merit of pious works and to establish the sanctity and inviolability of church property. These teachings were readily accepted by the new converts who were more inclined to favor compositions of penance than to practise the essential principles of the Christian religion. In the partition of lands in northern Gaul which followed the Frankish occupation, the possessions of the Church were sedulously protected, and after the conversion of the Franks enormously augmented. The Merovingian kings were munificent in their gifts to the Church. St. Remi was given a great quantity of land by Clovis; Dagobert I (629–39) gave all the revenues of Tours to the church of St. Martin there. The landed aristocracy imitated the royal policy. By the seventh century many churches were possessed of seven or eight thousand manors; those which had not more than two thousand manors were regarded as only moderately well off. When Benedictine monasticism began to spread over Gaul the Frankish clergy resented the coming of the monks because they competed with them for endowments.

The landed possessions of the Church were huge farms identical in form and in nature of administration with those *patrimonia sparsa per orbem* of the Roman aristocracy; indeed, they had once belonged to that aristocracy. The Church borrowed intact the system of management which obtained upon them. In fact it is from the administrative system of the ecclesiastical patrimonies that we learn much of the previous Roman system. Hundreds and sometimes thousands of slaves and serfs lived in huddled villages on these vast estates, tilling the fields under the direction of a *conductor,* or bailiff, exactly as the landed estates of the nobles were administered. Each great farm was an eco-

nomic unit. Stock barns, granaries, cattle pens were on each estate; among the servile workers, besides tillers of the soil and herders, were blacksmiths, wheelwrights, masons, so that each farm was economically self-sufficient. The revenues of the Church lands were used for the salaries of the clergy, building of church edifices, maintenance of schools and hospitals, support of the poor, etc. The surplus produce was disposed of in the open market, for which purpose every bishop had an agent, sometimes several of them. We see, therefore, how the Church, as a landed proprietor, became a competitor of the rich nobles, and also how its competition—the greater because of its privileges—depressed the small, struggling farmer, who could not hold his own in the economic rivalry. Often when he was compelled to mortgage his lands, the local bishop took the mortgage and foreclosed as inexorably as the rich noble did.

This enormous economic revolution in the Church from poverty to affluence changed the spirit and temper of the Church, too. The clergy still professed to idealize poverty and talked about the "blessed poor" and the "blessed meek" and preached homilies on charity; but in fact the Church had become a rich and aristocratic corporation, largely wearing its professions on its sleeve, and actually a prodigious institution for the exploitation of its own resources. In the second and third centuries the Church had displayed a real humanitarianism, a real desire to relieve the poor and the sick and to ameliorate the condition of the slave class. But from the fourth century onwards two distinct groups may be discerned in the Church: the genuinely religious and kindly; and the worldly, covetous element whose charity was ostentatious and politic. This latter class inculcated the virtue of "meekness" in order to keep the discontented and oppressed servile and slave class in a state of submission. The blessings and bliss of heaven, which the Church so expatiated upon to the lowly peasant and slave classes of medieval Europe, constituted an excellent argument to reconcile them to the oppressions of the social and economic system under which they labored. Ratherius, bishop of Verona in the tenth century, while sanctimoniously assuring the serf and the slave that all men are brothers, exhorts them to see an ordinance of divine providence in their bondage. "God has mercifully destined those to slavery for whom He saw that freedom was not fitting."

In the interest of exploiting its vast properties the Church now became an upholder of both serfdom and slavery; it opposed emancipation and even extended slavery where it had not been before. Its professions of love and charity for one's fellow men, the "natural freedom," of which Gregory the Great prated, but which he did not practise, were conventional expressions intended for the consumption of the pious, and did not deceive the initiated.

There is no evidence that many shared the religious views which found expression in these utterances. Whatever may have influenced the hearts of some of the best and noblest persons, they were powerless against the majority, powerless in the face of the incalculable economic importance of slavery in the medieval world. Indeed, there is no trace of serious effort, on any considerable scale, to change conditions.[12]

The Church sometimes complained of the slave trade, but not of slavery. But then it was because it was largely in the hands of the Jews and enriched them and, later, the Mohammedans. There is not a word of protest against selling Christian slaves, to say nothing of pagan German and Slavonic captives in war, to Christians. The *Penitential* of Theodore of Canterbury permits a father to sell his son provided the latter is over fourteen years of age. Charlemagne endeavored in 779 to regulate the slave trade by ordaining that all sales must be made in the presence of either a civil or an ecclesiastical officer; but there is not a word in condemnation of the practice. Indeed by law every parish priest had the right to two slaves, a man and a woman. The monasteries were great slave owners. We find Church slaves in Spain, France, Germany, Italy, England, all through the Middle Ages. Bishops could not emancipate the slaves of the Church unless they reimbursed the Church out of their own property. There are instances of ex-slaves who had taken orders and become priests being degraded and reduced to slavery again. Worst of all the Church created slavery where it had never existed under Roman law. It made conspiracy and treason punishable not only by the enslavement of the culprits, but also by condemnation of their descendants to perpetual slavery. In Spain, women convicted of immoral intercourse were condemned to slavery. If a woman of noble rank deserted her husband three times she was put under penance and forbidden to marry again in the event of her husband's decease; but a woman of the common people was sold as a slave. Soothsayers and diviners, according to the laws of Charlemagne, were given to the Church as slaves. The right of asylum was sometimes denied to slaves. No slave could be a plaintiff in court. Even an emancipated slave was so incapacitated. Only in the third generation was this bar removed. As for the treatment of slaves, the clergy were as brutal as lay masters. It is a hideous fact that there are cases of churchmen mutilating or starving their slaves to death. If of two married slaves belonging to the same master one was freed, that one was allowed to marry again if the freedom of the other could not be purchased.

[12] Pyper, "The Church and Slavery in the Middle Ages," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XIV, 677.

CHAPTER III

THE BARBARIAN WORLD AND THE GREAT MIGRATIONS *

The barbarian world in the time of the later Roman Empire, say the fourth century, covered all northern Europe east of the Rhine and north of the Danube and the Euxine and extended indefinitely into Asia. Of the welter of races, nations, and tribes in this vast area the history of the Germans, the Slavs, and the Huns is most important.

There is evidence of primitive nomadism and pastoralism to be found in early Germanic institutions, notably in the "hundred," which seems originally to have been a division of land imposed by pastoral conditions before the reduction of the tribe to military organization converted the "hundred" into a recruiting area, and a political unit. It has been estimated that a German family in the pastoral stage required 30 cows to supply it with milk, butter, meat, and that in a German square mile (about 21 of ours) of wild land, not more than six families nor more than 180 head of cattle could find support. A "hundred," figured as a pastoral area capable of furnishing 100 warriors, fathers and sons, would therefore perhaps be the area sufficing for 20 families, and be approximately a tract of territory measuring 3 German or about 63 American square miles, more or less, according to pasturage. This would make the ancient "hundred" as an economic, military, and political unit almost twice as large as an American township (36 square miles). Within this area, the life of the community reflected the conditions.

> The cattle of the nomadic encampment cannot wander about in the wilderness unshepherded; they must be grouped in herds and the places where the herds pasture must be guarded against robbers and wild animals by armed herdsmen. The milch kine must be kept near the encampments of women and children; the rest must be driven far off by herdsmen, who will not return to the camp except at long intervals. A certain number of men are required for the chase; some must protect the camp; a little tillage must be done.[1]

Gradually the ancient Germans passed from the pastoral stage into that of a more settled nature, and a rudimentary agriculture was developed, a perhaps earlier sporadic cultivation growing into a permanent

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas,* 45 and 48.

[1] *English Historical Review,* XII (a review of Meitzen).

practice. This change seems to have taken place between the time of Cæsar (50 B.C.) and Strabo (1 A.D.) and that of Tacitus (100 A.D.) The two former describe the Suevi, Lombards, and Hermunduri as mainly nomadic—*agriculturæ non student*. A century later Tacitus describes them all as possessing a settled agricultural life.

Both the nature of early German farming methods, and the degree of development are moot points among historians. In and of itself the subject is a difficult one, and is made all the more complex by the intrusion of Celtic and later Roman practices into it. But it is necessary to try to understand it, for as it was and whatever it was, it profoundly conditioned medieval economic history and social structure.

When the Germans formed regular agricultural settlements they seem at first to have made constant use of one area of land for grazing and of another for crops. Gradually, however, they discovered, though they did not understand the phenomenon, that continual cropping of the same soil leads to exhaustion of the soil. Hence, from an experience which must have embraced many, many years, they adopted the practice of letting half the arable land lie fallow each year, and alternating field and fallow each season. This is what is known as the "Field-Grass" system, or convertible husbandry. Gradually also came a clearer vision of the necessity of rotating crops, a discovery which must have required years to learn.

It is easy to describe these changes in general terms. But baffling questions arise when one endeavors to be specific. For example, in a famous passage, Tacitus says of the Germans of his time, *arva per annos mutant*. Is he referring to the alternation of field and fallow, or to the rotation of crops? If the former, then the Germans in 100 A. D. were in a much less developed stage than would be the case if he means the latter. Again, were these changes discovered by the Germans out of their own agricultural experience? or did they owe something to the example of the Celts? or the Romans? And if so, what was the specific nature and degree of either of these influences? Whole libraries have been written in answer to these queries.

The requirements of agricultural life necessitated that each settlement should have determined limits. This was the Mark. But a perplexing question arises: Some of the early Germans lived in an unenclosed or open village (*Dorf*), others dwelt in an isolated homestead surrounded by the farm acres (*Einzelhof*). This difference in social grouping also points to a difference in historical influences and contacts, evidences for which may be traced far down into the Middle Ages in houses, hamlets, streets, fields, fences, woods, land measures, place-names, and in registers of land, manorial surveys, rent rolls, etc. The history of a vanished past is graven upon the map of Europe in these data.

The village or *Dorf* system of living was original among the primitive Germans. Its earliest region, and one in which it persisted in purest form, is precisely that most ancient homeland of the Germans, the territory of the Saale and the Weser river valleys. As the Germans expanded they carried this village form with them, but elsewhere their settlement was modified by different racial and social conditions with which they came in contact. Toward the west these influences were first Celtic, later also Roman; toward the east they were Slavonic. The isolated homestead was a Celtic way of living. The round village, or *Runddorf*, was Slavonic, and much more symmetrical than the loose agglomeration of cottages which formed a typical *Dorf*. The result was that outside of this Oldest Germany double or mixed types of social units are found. The Germans, when they migrated, sometimes borrowed the Celtic type, and sometimes carried their village type with them and established it in the conquered lands. Areas of German pattern appear in Gaul and Italy, after the *Völkerwanderung* was over, side by side with areas of Celtic and Roman pattern (for allowance must be made for contact with the Roman villa). And even where Germanic traces have disappeared, as in Burgundy, Savoy, and all Aquitaine, we know that such groups once existed. Everywhere in western Europe where the German conquest penetrated—and it prevailed in greater or less degree all over France, Spain, Italy, and England—the Germans "stamped the features of their own system upon lands which originally possessed the features of another system."

However, one must be cautious in making too sharp distinction between these two forms, and attributing the origin of each solely to different *racial* habits. The historian of society is constantly required—if he can—to judge between "the constant accompaniment of certain racial types" and environmental and economic explanation of things. The economic factors must be given weight. In regions of abundant natural pasturage within Germany a preponderance of cattle-raising over grain-farming may have created a German homestead type. It has been so contended. Yet the example of the Slav round village, certainly a form due to the prevalence of cattle-raising, would seem to argue that in places where cattle-raising preponderated, a round type of German village ought rather to have been developed. It is more probable, in cases in which we find the isolated homestead among the Germans, where previous Celtic survival is not manifest, that the homestead owed its origin to a forest clearing by an individual or a family. A striking proof of this is to be found in German Switzerland where mountainous formation and pocketed valleys favored the formation of isolated farmsteads. As a general proposition German villages outside of Germany were more numerous in plains and arable regions and along the great highways, while in broken territory or remote rural localities or in clear-

ings in forest and marsh we find, not a predominance of isolated farmsteads, but more of them than elsewhere.

Three kinds of land were comprised in every German village: (1) the farm acres, (2) meadow, (3) forest and waste, what was called the *Allmende,* which was open to all and untilled save as from time to time with increase of the community new ground was broken in it. It is especially with the first that we have to deal.

In each of the planting grounds or arable areas of the village the surface was divided into long and narrow strips called "plowlands" divided from one another by ridges or balks made by leaving a ribbon of unturned sod or by turning up two furrows against each other. These strips were the true fields. They averaged about four rods in width and forty rods (220 yards, one furlong, one-eighth mile) in length. The strips were subdivided into lesser areas of plowland or smaller fields, later called "virgates," or "yardlands." The large plowland, called *hide, hube, hufe,* etc. measured approximately 120 acres, and was the common unit of land taxation in the Middle Ages. It is possible that the hide originally represented the larger unit required when extensive tillage prevailed, and that the break-up of the hide into lesser units of yardland and virgate was due to the change from extensive to intensive tillage, perhaps accentuated by social factors like thrift and the number of children a peasant might have. Each peasant's "farm" was the sum of the dispersed holdings which he possessed. It was not made up of contiguous fields but was an agglomeration of arable areas. Whatever the original nature of possession had once been, these strips were the peasant's own possession. It is impossible to state with accuracy what was the average extent of farm land owned by each household. Uniformity in this particular no more obtained than uniformity today in America, where farms are of all sorts of sizes. One villager possessed more, another less; it depended upon thrift, industry, inheritance, marriage, and the like.

It is clear that the agricultural practices and the field system of the early Germans necessitated the location of all the cottages close to each other in the same spot. If each house owner were located on any one of his strips (and which one of these would be preferable for a site among so many which he possessed?), he would be just as far away from his other strips as if settled within the village. Moreover, if his house were situated outside the village, every other year would find him in the midst of the fallow with the cattle grazing around him. In the circumstances the "nucleated" village was perfectly natural, however strange it may now seem to us. It is this nucleated village which accounts in the Middle Ages for the peculiar star-shaped road system radiating outward from the village as a centre to the fields, with side lanes diverging from the roads to the several strips.

The early German system of land tenure and methods of farming are very important to understand. Some historians have thought this singular arrangement of the fields was an evolution out of a former communal ownership of land, and that "the process was one of continued shrinkage of communally owned land." The question is an important one, for no more practical question is conceivable than that of the origin of private property in land. In these forms and practices are we to find an evidence of primitive German communal ownership?

No one doubts that community right prevailed with reference to woods and waste, but the question is: Did individual ownership, or ownership in severalty, really evolve out of a previous community ownership of arable land? Or was what seems to some to be evidence thereof not communism but coaration (community cultivation) and co-operation in the same primary village enterprises like plowing and harvesting? Perhaps even here the community spirit may be stressed too much and the discipline of the village—for German customary regulations were rigid—have been the prevailing factor in requiring common action of the villagers together. Every one was expected to do what his neighbor did when his neighbor did it. Men were not permitted to plow or sow or reap when they wished. Seasonal pursuits of course are cyclic, but local authority accentuated seasonal requirements. Coercive association of labor may have been the ruling influence, not community spirit, and least of all communalism.

In addition to those historians who seek to find vestiges of primitive communism in ancient German landholding, there is another school which, on the same evidence, claims that a passionate desire for equality of holdings was the determining factor in early German land tenure. To others the notion that the distribution of arable strips in this way was intended to produce equality seems too rationalistic. Perhaps nineteenth century ideas of democratic equality have been translated into the past in this interpretation. Yet it is more tenable than the communal theory. For equality of shares might obtain or originally have obtained, either with a free or with an unfree village community.

An extreme school ridicules the whole idea of the Mark. According to it the primitive Germans had neither state nor village rights nor rotation of crops nor an obligatory agriculture. Land was in abundance and there was no motive, therefore, to appropriate it. Every one occupied what land he wished and abandoned it after harvest to cultivate a new tract, if he so wished. There was no village community, no co-proprietorship, no common ownership, no common working of the soil. The Mark was nothing but a territory with vaguely defined limits, the *Allmende* meant nothing but the right to exploit some of the land within the borders of the area occupied by the group.

Without pronouncing upon the question whether communal owner-

ship of arable land preceded ownership in severalty, or whether what is supposed to have been such was merely coaration or village coöperation, or whether "periodic interchange of arable land preceded the institution of private property," when the Germans first became known to Roman observers they certainly possessed the institution of private property in land. But the system, instead of being simple, as one might be led to infer in the case of plain, and even primitive farmer folk, on the contrary exhibits excessive complexity.

We now pass to another perplexing and much discussed question in regard to the early Germans. What was the status of the body of the people, free or servile? Floods of ink have been poured out upon this question. The very angle of the axis of medieval history, so to speak, depends upon the answer to it. For it is one thing if the mass of the ancient Germans started as a free people and later were depressed to serfdom, or whether they started *in an unfree condition in Germany* and still remained unfree for many hundreds of years after they had spread over and occupied the western Roman Empire until the decline of serfdom in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Unfortunately the consideration of this question has not always been temperate. Many, even most, modern German historians have been too influenced by national pride, and have been naturally prejudiced against the second interpretation. They have read into the past the ideals of freedom and democracy which were so strong in the early nineteenth century. On the other hand, modern economic and agrarian historians, who have not been warped by these conceptions and prejudices, find very little direct evidence for the contentions of the democratic-nationalist school. They do not deny that some free villages existed, but hold that most of these were peopled by unfreemen, while as for the *Einzelhöfe* or *Salgüter,* or isolated homesteads, they were lordly properties, worked by servile peasants. Landlordship among the Germans, far from being an adoption of Celtic and Roman practice, they contend, was old among the Germans, and feudal proprietorship was an extension of Roman *and* German proprietorship of early times into the high Middle Ages. Most early German villages were not free villages which sank to manors, but unfree villages which later became manors. In the present state of our knowledge a scientific hypothesis is the most that is possible. But it would seem that the theory that social organization of the ancient Germans rested upon the association of free men with equal social status and equal values in land ownership is exploded.

The Germans had some strongholds, blockhouses as it were, built of logs, erected on difficult and nearly inaccessible sites, surrounded by a palisade and a ditch, for places of refuge and resistance in time of invasion. Such a structure was called a *Burg.* It is the first German word found in late Latin, where it appears in the fourth century. They had no

towns themselves, and they distrusted the walled towns of the Romans when they entered the Roman Empire. "A walled enclosure," wrote Ammianus Marcellinus, "seemed to them a net in which men were caught, and the city itself a tomb to bury them alive."

Trade relations between the Germans and the people of the Baltic lands and the peoples of the Mediterranean countries existed from high antiquity. As far back as the fifth century B.C. the Greek colonies on the north coast of the Black Sea acquired amber and furs from the far north. Amber was highly prized in antiquity and the submerged spruce forests of the Baltic were then and still are the chief source of the world's amber supply, the amber being swept up upon the beaches after storm. This ancient trade route has been picked out by "finds" of amber, pieces of which were dropped in transit. The route ascended either the Vistula or the Niemen River and thence passed down the Dniester or the Dnieper to the Euxine. The Etruscans and later the Romans got their amber from the same source, one route being up the Oder, or the Elbe and Moldau, and so to the head of the Adriatic; the other from the Baltic strand to the Rhine and thence via the Moselle to the Rhone, and so to Marseilles (the Massilia of the Greeks). Pliny in his *Natural History* quotes the Greek geographer and explorer, Pytheas of Massilia, who lived in the fourth century B.C. as saying that the Guttones (Goths) were engaged in the amber trade.

Trade between the Germans and the Celts of Gaul undoubtedly was old long before Cæsar first recorded it (50 B.C.), amber and furs and slaves, captives in war, being exchanged by the Germans for horses. Cæsar tells us that the Nervii objected to the sale of wine among them because of its enervating effect, but that the Suevi welcomed merchants because of the opportunity it gave them to dispose of their booty taken in war with other German tribes. The Roman conquest of Gaul by Cæsar was speedily followed by the entrance of Roman merchants into Germany. In 25 B.C. a Roman general Marcus Vincius was sent into Germany on a punitive expedition for the murder of some Roman merchants. Under the Early Empire Romano-German trade relations were intimate. An important colony of Roman merchants lasted for centuries at Marbach near Stuttgart on the Neckar. In addition to amber, furs, and slaves, the Romans imported beets—a German vegetable, which Tiberius was fond of—goose feathers, soap in the form of hard balls, and hair, for the dark-haired ladies of the South prized the red and yellow locks of the Germans. Furs became a "fad" in Rome and by the fifth century the wearing of German trousers instead of the toga became so common that the emperor Honorius forbade them.

The most important of the few Roman towns in the upper Danube valley was Augusta Vindelicorum, or Augsburg. In Augustus' time it was only a forum, without municipal rights; later it became a municip-

ium. Tacitus, although he does not mention it, undoubtedly had it in mind when speaking of the fact that the Hermunduri were the most important tribe of Germany which had trade connections with "the most magnificent colony of the province of Rætia."

Frontier conditions naturally regulated the economy of these provinces beyond the Alps. From Rætia came timber, cattle, hides. Noric iron was famous, but other metals, silver and gold, were found, and sheep and cattle raising flourished. Bregenz, at the eastern end of Lake Constance, had some commerce. In Pannonia, Carnuntum was a point of trade with the barbarians of the middle Danube until the third century. It was destroyed in the fourth century. Yet even when Roman domination here was obliterated a colony of Roman merchants still persisted at Regensburg (Regina Castra) on the Danube.

Roman civilizing influences, Roman commerce, even Roman administration actually penetrated farther into the interior of Germany than the official frontier would lead us to suspect. Modern archeological research has uncovered the remains of an old Roman road which ran from the lower Rhine to the mouth of the Weser, of Roman roads in the valley of the Main, of corduroyed roads across marshes, of castles of Roman construction in western Germany long believed to have been of Merovingian workmanship.

The inscriptions attest the importance of the Rhine-Danube commerce. Without having, like the southern provinces, temples, theatres, triumphal arches, in the same abundance, nevertheless the Roman remains in these localities are important, as the theatre near Basel, the mosaic of Rowthiel, the baths of Badenweiler. For the enjoyment of such luxury, considerable commercial wealth must have been necessary.

The long peace which covered nearly two centuries and a half in the valleys of the Rhine and the Danube, continually enlarged this trade, and must have partly civilized the Germans of West and South Germany. The inscriptions give interesting evidence of a dealer in purple at Augsburg, a banker at Cassel, of colonies of foreign merchants settled at Marbach and Regensburg. Finds of coins have also told their tale. Most of these are of the Early Empire. For when the coinage deteriorated in the third and fourth centuries and was alloyed with copper or lead, the Germans shrewdly demanded only the older, purer coins. Some years ago Roman imperial coins were found in a spring near Teplitz, in Czecho-Slovakia, where they had evidently been cast as an ex-voto by a Roman merchant trading among the Marcomanni; and bronze ornaments were found near Dux which once had formed part of the wares of a pack-merchant who had hid them for security. It is certain that a Roman trade route extended clear to Bohemia.

The development of Roman-German commerce would have been greater than it was if it had not been for administrative restraints put

upon it. The imperial government regulated all communication upon the frontier. The Quadi, the Marcomanni, and other German tribes beyond the Danube were compelled to leave north of the river a certain number of miles of territory unsettled; no barbarian boat was permitted upon the stream and a river fleet patrolled Rhine and Danube. The rigor of the police exercised at the frontiers with reference to persons and merchandise is apparent as extending over centuries. Markets upon the frontier were at fixed places, at fixed times, and if closed the deprivation was resented by the Germans. The places of these markets are mentioned in Roman annals. Even the Huns prized them. These places were the "stations" of the fleets patrolling the rivers. When the epoch of the invasion began this trade was seriously affected not merely from the insecurity due to the hostility of the Germans, but because of Rome's embargo upon it. For example, in 372 A.D. a company of merchants who had crossed the Rhine in defiance of the prohibition were seized by the Emperor Julian and their property confiscated.

Aquileia was the Roman city in northern Italy most closely connected with the German trade. It was located at the head of the Adriatic about twenty miles from modern Trieste, at the mouth of the Isonzo. Aquileia was also the chief entrepôt for the commerce between Italy and Dacia.

"She sent the wine, the oil, the costly woven fabrics of the Mediterranean provinces over the Julian and Carnic Alps into Pannonia and Noricum and she received in return their cattle, their hides, amber from the shores of the Baltic, and long files of slaves taken in the border wars which were perpetually waged with the Germanic and Slavonic tribes beyond the Danube and the Carpathians." [2]

For over four hundred years—that is to say from the founding of the Roman Empire in 27 B.C. until the battle of Adrianople in 378 A.D. —Rome maintained, although with declining vigor, her mastery over the Germans. During that long period, while there were occasional border wars, on the whole the relations were amicable, and tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of Germans peacefully entered the Roman Empire and settled there. The nature and extent of this colonization—for it must be interpreted as a movement of colonization —must now be considered. In the end this "pacific invasion" profoundly modified economic conditions and altered social structure within the Empire.

The readiest medium of German ingress into the Roman Empire was through the army. During the whole history of the Empire it was continually recruited with German soldiery. Marcus Aurelius (died 180 A.D.) drafted them by thousands, so much so that high-born Romans

[2] Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 337.

refused to serve in "barbarian" legions. Yet on the whole Germans made popular soldiers. The imperial bodyguard was largely composed of Germans, and an interesting *graffito* survives, scrawled by a German guardsman of Nero upon the wall of the guard-room of the imperial palace upon the Palatine. Writing of the legions of the third century Aurelius Victor says: "The soldiers—I had almost said the barbarians." The emperor Valerian wrote to his best general, afterwards the emperor Aurelian, before an important engagement: "You will have with you Hartomund, Haldegast, Hildemund, and Carlovix"—all German army officers. The emperor Gratian was so fond of German troopers that the other soldiers murmured. We find German legions not only cantoned on every frontier, even in Armenia and Arabia, but inland garrisons of them, especially in Gaul. The *Notitia Dignitatum,* or *Book of the Dignities of the Empire,* in the fourth century shows Suevi in Bayeux, Coutances, Le Mans, and in Auvergne; Franks at Rennes. The Ripuarian Franks in 406 did their best to stem the Vandal torrent. In the fourth century Arbogast and Bauto, both Franks, were trusted commanders of Gratian and Theodosius the Great. In the fifth century the commanders-in-chief of the imperial armies were Germans, like Stilicho, Ætius, Ricimer.

Far more numerous and important in their influence, however, than these German warriors in the legions were the whole tribes of Germans who were settled as *fœderati* in the border provinces, much as retired Roman veterans had been earlier, and received grants of land for cultivation on condition that in event of war they were liable for military service. Where settled on Roman proprietary lands these German colonists doubtless were made to conform to Roman agricultural ways. But where they were settled on farms of their own they retained the German form of house, German methods of farming, German land measurements. While Roman provincial conditions profoundly affected the status of the incomers, they did not molest their ancient habits. Thus, especially in Gaul—for Italy and Spain experienced little of this colonization until the actual conquest of the fifth century—Roman centuriation done by Roman surveyors, old Celtic forms of land tenure and the new German forms of farming and tenure all existed side by side and interspersed, and naturally tended to blend even as the population blended.

Different still from the German *fœderati* were the German *læti* or *coloni,* who were colonized in thinly peopled or desolated regions (the *agri deserti* of the codes) and given farm land and even seed corn and work animals to make a start with. This class later was fused with the Roman servile class in the provinces to form the medieval serf class. Many of these coloni were captives in war, but others were Germans who had never been in arms against Rome, who were crowded out

of the homeland by pressure of tribes behind them and sought a quiet abiding place within the Empire. They were not slaves nor even serfs, though they sank to serfdom later on. They were also distributed upon the great estates of the crown (the imperial fisc) and among rich proprietors who were short of labor to work their land. Many barbarian customs must have become familiar to the Romans, long before the disappearance of the Empire, through the settlement of thousands of German *læti* in the provinces.

The reciprocal influence of Roman and German upon each other owing to this steady infiltration of the Germans by many thousands in the Roman Empire is of very great importance. For when the Germans in the fifth century flooded in by nations and as conquerors, they found already within the Empire many of their own race who had adopted Roman ways of living and assimilated some degree of Roman civilization. Moreover, even the tribes who had remained in Germany so long had received a not inconsiderable degree of Roman influence. This is especially true of the Goths and least so of the Franks and Lombards.

This entire barbarian world had long been actuated by a profound restlessness destined to culminate in the fifth century in the Great Migrations, or what German historians have graphically called the Wandering of the Nations (*Völkerwanderung*). We are dealing with one of the most widespread and potent phenomena of history—migration. It is necessary to analyze the causes, the means and manner, the lines of movement, and the effects of these stupendous migrations.

The fundamental cause of all such movements is undoubtedly to be found in deficient food supply. This may have been occasional and transient, as in case of cattle plague among a pastoral people or drought among an agricultural people, or it may have been permanent deficiency owing to primitive methods of production. There was always a pressure of population upon subsistence. Relief was found by war and plunder, the expulsion of a weaker people by a stronger. These practices, accordingly, became both causes and effects of migration.

Paul the Deacon, the historian of the Lombards, relates that the Lombard people, by reason of the increase of numbers in Scandinavia, were divided into three groups, and that lots were drawn to determine which one of the three should migrate. The Germans at times were driven into the Roman Empire by the effects of drought and famine. The Roman geographer, Strabo, clearly perceived that the migratory inclination of the ancient Germans was due to the pastoral rather than agricultural nature of their occupations, and the constant menace of food shortage. Cæsar laid his finger on the economic root of German restlessness and propensity for war found in increase of population and land hunger, and expressed the thought with laconic brevity: "cum . . . bella inferrent propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam." He

says that when the Germans migrated they still possessed vast uncultivated tracts of land. It was not "for want of room at home" as Gibbon thought, but a rudimentary system of agriculture, deficiency of food supply due to under-production, and love of booty that led the Germans into the Roman Empire. Often they left their country deserted. Germany was not over-populated. Two of the most eminent of modern historians, who are also statisticians, have calculated that in the territory between Rhine and Elbe—the only Germany left by the fifth century, for the Slavs had overflowed all the eastern half once peopled by Goths, Lombards, Vandals, Burgundians, Marcomanni, Quadi, etc. —there were not more than a million people all told in a territory embracing over 200,000 square miles. Twenty-three tribes have been made out within this region, and no single tribe could have possessed over six to eight thousand fighting men. The Germans were underfed because of their rudimentary form of agriculture, and like all primitive peoples whose margin of living is a narrow one, they continually pressed upon sustenance. St. Ambrose, perhaps the keenest observer of conditions of all writers of the fourth century, wrote truly: "Rætia has learned the danger of her own fertility. She has drawn down an enemy upon her by her abundance."

Migration might be effected by peaceful penetration—this was the form of German migration before the fifth century—but more frequently it was made by war. Sometimes, however, instead of actual displacement, migration may have taken the form of expansion, and the conquest or an annexation of new peoples and new lands to the home country. An example is the Franks, who conquered Gaul and later most of Italy, and part of Spain, but did not evacuate their ancient seat in western Germany. Rarely do we find an instance of migration of a people into an empty land, but the Lombard occupation of the Po valley, as we shall see later on, is an example of this nature. In every case, however, the new occupation meant the dominance of the stronger and more vigorous race.

The result of such changes, of course, was a fusion of blood and a blending of institutions between the conquered and the conqueror. The former process was usually much facilitated by the fact that a greater proportion of the men of the conquered people had perished and women chiefly were left. Important factors in all fusion were the proportions of the two populations and their vigor, the force and plasticity of the native and the invading institutions, the degree of fusion, the element of time, and finally the influence of climate and physical environment.

These abstract facts and this calculating analysis of the history of migrations must not blind our eyes to perceiving that, while they were among the most important of historical events, they were also among the

cruelest; that war, pillage, slaughter, slavery, starvation, destruction, were their invariable accompaniment. Yet they had their good effects ultimately. For they were history's way of weeding out inferior peoples and a decadent civilization.

But all the suffering was not upon the side of the conquered. In the "milling" of the tribes in Germany, especially in the southwest angle, where the thrust through from Asia and the pressure of peoples reached a maximum degree of intensity, the weaker tribes were ground to pieces, and greater ones could maintain themselves only by confederation, as in the cases of the Allemannic and Frankish confederacies. It is this pressure which often explains the frantic efforts of the tribes in Germany to break through the Roman frontier, which finally cast down the whole long barrier. The invasion of Italy by Radagaisus in 405 was not of a tribe or a nation, but of fragments of tribes, desperate men, with their wives and children, seeking a way out from the corner in which they were caught. Their fate was to be reduced to starvation by the Roman legions in the Tuscan hills. Thousands of the residue were sold as slaves so cheaply that a man was sold for an *aureus* ($2.50, though the difference in purchasing power must be allowed for). The price of cattle was higher. But the wretched victims were dear purchases, for thousands soon died of the effects of the privation they had suffered.

The great migrations of the Germanic peoples were not a temporary accident, but a continuous movement begun long anterior to the invasion. We can trace their beginnings to the end of the second century B.C., to the invasion of the Cimbri, then that of Ariovistus and the Suevi. Even in this remote period they were not mere war bands, but peoples on the march: men, women, and children, accompanied by slaves and cattle, moving en masse and seeking land. This movement was continued along the whole frontier of the Empire, but its progress was for a long time arrested. At first the Roman armies camped on the frontiers were sufficient to defend the Danube. In the third century, as the result of a very strong assault, numbers of the Germans penetrated into the Empire and temporarily obliterated the Roman rule on the Rhine; but they were crowded back again by the Illyrian emperors.

The Grand Invasion of the fifth century was the last act of this great movement, and exactly corresponds to the period during which the Roman government had not the strength to cope with the migration of the Germans. Even then the Germans did not come, save exceptionally, in vast hordes as conquerors. They came in small groups and gradually filtered in, settling here and there, first in the more sparsely populated parts of the Empire, along the frontier, whence they slowly worked inward. But they came as settlers and colonists, as farmers, and

used force only when their immigration was resisted. Historians have abandoned the old idea that the Germans came as a terrible scourge, and that the Roman population was reduced to the extreme of despair. As a matter of fact their coming was often welcome, for the Roman peasantry looked upon the Germans as protectors against the blood-sucking tax collectors of the imperial government. To them a change of masters could not be worse and might be better. The population of Lyons and the valley of the Rhone deliberately connived with the Burgundian occupation of their territory. These burly barbarians might be rough and uncouth, dressing their hair with butter and smelling like a tannery, but they were good-natured, jovial giants, who treated the defenceless provincials fairly.

In every case, it may safely be said, the migration partook of the nature of a great "trek." Just as the history of the westward movement of the American people over the Alleghenies into the "New West" of the Ohio valley, just as the later extension of that movement across the plains into the "Far West" along the Santa Fe and the Oregon trails has been cherished by the descendants of those pioneers, so among the Germans who settled within the Roman Empire the memory of the adventure, the privation, the fightings and victories of their ancestors in the days of the Great Trek lived on and became part of the legend and folklore of the race. When Jordanes in the sixth century undertook to write the history of the Goths he had no information of this early period save folk-song and ballad (*cantus majorum*) to inform him. In one of his chapters he gives a picture of some of the perils which attended the Goths in the long migration—at least 150 years in duration—from the mouth of the Vistula, until one day they beheld "the monotonous horizon broken by a deeper blue" and the waters of the Euxine lay spread before their eyes. It is a storied picture of how the van of the migrating Goths was caught in the treacherous swamps of Russia among the affluents of the Dnieper River—that vast area of the Pripet Marshes, as large as Ireland in area. He says:

> The place is shut in with quivering morasses, and thus by her confusion of the two elements, land and water, Nature has rendered it inaccessible. Even to this day, it is said, travelers hear the lowing of spectral cattle and see spectral forms of men struggling in those treacherous bogs.

In the history of every one of the Germanic migrations, it may safely be said that while plunder was a motive and pillage a concomitant of invasion, the impelling motive of the Germans was to find land to live on. Jordanes tells us farther on how the Goths at last reached "the longed-for soil" (*ad meliores terras*). Alaric in 408 demanded the provinces of Noricum, Istria, Venetia, and Dalmatia as a *Heimland* for his

people, and when it was refused abated his demand to the last three.

The success of each migration, taken separately, was due to particular causes and to a particular combination of circumstances. Nevertheless we may discover general facts and find an explanation of the movement as a whole. But how did it come to pass that the migrations, which were arrested by Rome between the first and the fourth century, became so extensive and so successful in the fifth and sixth? The reason is not to be found in an increase of numbers or of power of the German peoples. There must have been—and examination of the factors and causes of the decline of the Roman Empire so shows—a deterioration of the integrity of the Empire, a breakdown of internal structure, a reduction of the Empire's power of resistance. "Rome presented to its foes a hard shell, and a soft kernel." When once the shell was penetrated, the barbarians flowed in and filled the mold. The Germans entered as legionaries into the Roman army; they colonized vacant and waste lands, chiefly in the border provinces, and as they did so, the Roman civilian population shrunk in toward the centre of the Empire.

We have striking confirmation of the latter phenomenon in the history of the settlement of the Burgundians and the Franks in Gaul. The Jura and the Vaud country, where the Burgundians first established themselves after crossing the Rhine, was very probably without Roman inhabitants when the Burgundians entered it. In the case of the lower Rhinelands below Cologne, Belgium, and northeastern France we have very striking evidence of the retreat of the Roman population in these regions and proof that the Franks in the fifth century flowed across the Rhine and over an empty land.

In modern times many hundreds of "finds" of buried hoards of Roman coins have been discovered in this region, and they tell the tale. For the kinds of coins and the number of the "finds" bear a relation to the Frankish invasion. What happened, of course, was that the people, as government broke down in the frontier provinces, removed inland, but fearing to carry their money with them on account of the brigandage prevalent, buried it, hoping to return later and recover it. Coins of the second century are few in these finds, but in the third, when the frontier was broken time and again, yet always repaired, they are frequent. In the fourth century, again, after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine braced the administration, finds of coins are not so frequent. But buried hoards of the fifth century—that of the Grand Invasion—are many. The geographical distribution of these "finds" is also of significance. More have been discovered in the lower Rhinelands, Belgium, and northeastern France than anywhere else, which shows that the evacuation of this territory by the people was almost complete.

The silence of history also confirms this. We have no written record of

the first expansion of the Franks, for there was no Roman eyewitness of it. The Franks slowly filtered into and spread over a deserted land; even the cities were deserted.

In only one other part of the Roman Empire, and this in Italy in the valley of the Po in the sixth century, do we find a similar case of an almost empty land: the terrible decimation of the population of Italy during the Gothic wars, when the armies of the emperor Justinian under his generals Belisarius and Narses, destroyed the brilliant realm founded by Theodoric the Ostrogoth and left northern Italy as a desert. That decay, however, had preceded the Ostrogothic occupation, and was due to burdensome taxation and vicious administration which drove out or destroyed the population.

The valley of the Po was almost an empty land when the Lombards spread over it in 568. The experience of this smallest of the Germanic tribes illustrates clearly the nature of the Great Migrations. As far back as 100 A.D. Tacitus had observed of the Lombards that "these may rather pride themselves on the smallness of their numbers, since, girt around by so many and such strong tribes, they have managed to preserve their existence, not by passive submission, but by perpetual fighting and in peril have found safety." The successive movements of the Lombards from the time they are first known down to their entrance into Italy in 568 are a matter of much dispute among historians, for in the evidence we have it is difficult to distinguish between history and saga. But few of the German nations wandered further and pulled up stakes oftener. Paul the Deacon, the national Lombard historian, tells us that "they suffered great privation from hunger," that after devious wandering—apparently from the region of the lower Elbe—"they came into Rugiland [north of the Danube, opposite Noricum] and there as the soil was fertile, they remained for several years." Thence after several years, "going forth from Rugiland they dwelt in the wide plains which are called in barbarian speech, *Feld*," which could only have been the plain of modern Hungary. Here they were caught in the Hunnic maelstrom until the death of Attila, and for a time fell tributary to the Germanic Heruli. Somewhere in their migration they came upon vast fields of green growing flax which were mistaken for lakes. War with the Gepids on the lower Danube followed. Then the Tartar Avars, having pushed across Russia, invaded the Danube lands, and compelled the Lombards to give up a tenth part of their livestock to them. From this precarious position a way out was found by the invasion of Italy in 568. Owing to the paucity of their numbers the Lombards had become a composite people, for they seem to have picked up fragments of other tribes during these migrations, and it may be that their language and their institutions were influenced by this admixture.

The Germans were regarded neither as enemies nor as strangers by

the Romans. No racial antagonism between them existed. The two races had been acquainted and even commingled for four hundred years before the eventful fifth century. As the Roman Empire gradually crumbled like a dilapidated house, the Germans filled the ruined provinces, which were as rooms in the vast edifice, and dwelt in them side by side with the native populace. The Roman grew more barbarized. The German became more civilized. Together they and the Church fashioned new institutions and formed a new civilization out of the debris of Roman institutions and their own more vigorous institutions, which were fused together in the course of time to form a government and a society neither wholly Roman nor wholly German.

The historical consequences of the establishment of the barbarian peoples in the Roman Empire were very important. Even leaving out of account the states which disappeared—Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Visigoths—there remained a group of national states which dominated the whole centre of Europe, Gaul, Germany, and North Italy; that is to say, the countries whose consolidation later formed the Frankish Empire. In every one of these countries, the Roman imperial régime was and remained abolished, save for the Church, which preserved the Roman tradition.

The states thus established were inhabited by new peoples. What is the importance of this fact? Did the arrival of the Germans renew the population? This question, which is of the very highest interest, has been passionately discussed. It is certain that it does not admit of a single or clear reply; it is necessary to distinguish according to the countries. No document gives us direct information upon the number of the barbarians who came into the Empire, but we can infer that they were not numerous when compared with the Roman population. From this it has been concluded that their influence was superficial, and that they did not leave any permanent trace.

This is an extreme view. In fact we know that certain regions of the Empire were profoundly Germanized; in these countries in the Middle Ages the people, the private law, the habits, notably the method of building, even the language, indicate a preponderant Germanic influence not to be denied. These countries were England, Bavaria, Allemannia, northern and eastern France, the Rhinelands and Lombardy. Now these regions exactly correspond to the part of the frontier which was most deserted by the Roman inhabitants at the end of the Empire. First the German *coloni* and invading nations established themselves there in great numbers, as already explained. Finding themselves alone in the country, the Germans had time to multiply and to create new peoples.

In the countries where the Roman population continued to exist, a mixture of the peoples took place. The anterior elements of the population numerically predominated; but the descendants of the barbar-

ians formed the ruling portion of the nation, the court, the chieftains, the great proprietors: in a word, the Germans had a very real influence upon the organization and establishment of the new kingdoms. Thus the influence of the barbarian invasion was greater in the countries where there was no conflict, and concerning the history of which the documents are least numerous.

Inasmuch as the Roman imperial system, administratively, economically, socially rested upon landed proprietorship, and further, inasmuch as the migration of the Germans was primarily motivated by land-hunger, the nature of the Germanic land-settlement is a very important historical matter. It is entirely wrong to visualize that settlement as a wholesale and ruthless dispossession of the Roman proprietary class.

In the first place, the Germans were far too few in numbers, when compared with the Roman provincial population, to have been able to do so on any great scale, even if they had so desired. Reckoning their fighting men as one-fifth of their numbers, a conservative estimation, the Visigoths were not over 150,000, the Ostrogoths not over 200,000, the Burgundians not over 80,000; Clovis the Frank had only 6000 soldiers when he entered Gaul. What were such numbers in an Italy of eight millions? a Gaul of ten to twelve? a Spain of from eight to ten?

In the second place, it must be remembered that a long precedent existed for regulating the apportionment of land between the Romans and the Germans in the imperial system of billeting German troopers upon the population, according to which a householder was required to divide his house and lands, retaining two-thirds for himself and giving the other third to his uninvited guest, who was sometimes euphemistically called a *hospes,* or "guest."

The Germans sometimes reversed the proportion of these allotments, but none of them utterly despoiled and dispossessed the former owners. The Burgundians, about whose settlement we know more than of others, took two-thirds of the cultivated lands, one-third of the slaves, one-half of each house and its dependencies, and one-half of forest and uncultivated land. The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain took two-thirds of the land and possibly the same proportion of houses and other property; the Ostrogoths in Italy seem to have taken only the lands of the fisc, and to have left the proprietary class unmolested. If the words of Cassiodorus, chief minister of Theodoric, may be trusted, there was no hard feeling. For he says that "the division of the land promoted the concord of the owners." And it must be remembered that Cassiodorus was himself a Roman. The Vandal land settlement in Africa was similar. The Lombards were the worst dispossessors and their government bore the hardest upon the Roman provincials, and the Franks were the most lenient.

In the latter case this more moderate policy was due to the fact that the Franks were catholic and so the catholic bishops were able to make the settlement an easier one for the population than elsewhere. For all the other Germans were heretic Arians whom the catholic provincials and their bishops hated. In the tense circumstances the wonder is that the Arian Germans were as moderate as they were in their terms of allotment. The curious experience of Paulinus of Pella, grandson of Ausonius, one of the last of Roman poets and a wealthy proprietor living near Bordeaux, illustrates the general justice of the barbarian settlement. His property had been depleted by the Gothic occupation and much of the remnant of his fortune made way with by an unscrupulous relative. In his old age he dwelt upon a patch of ground he possessed near Marseilles, when one day to his surprise he received the purchase money for the balance of his domain near Bordeaux from the Goth with whom he had been compelled to share his estate. The honest man would not appropriate without compensation. This incident could not have been exceptional. "All the evidence goes to show that the great Roman families suffered little in the invasion either from violence or confiscation."

These lands, it should be said, were distributed by the Germans among themselves by lot (*sors*) and hereditarily owned, subject to some sort of military service to the barbarian king, by their possessors. Otherwise they were free of taxation. We have here at least one inchoate source of the later feudal régime. Indeed, the Germans possessing the land of the Romans adopted the economic system thereof and became identical landed proprietors. The villa of the former Roman proprietor became the manor of the medieval feudal lord. So early and so strong was the proprietary instinct developed among the incoming Germans that the Burgundian law provided that no man might sell his land unless to another landed proprietor. The German proprietor was apt to be more lenient toward his servile tenantry—whether those were German serfs whom he brought with him or the Roman tenantry he found upon his lands—for the reason that he was less familiar with Roman villa management than his predecessor, and German servile conditions were not so regulated and exacting as similar Roman conditions. Nevertheless it must clearly be seen that "with the coming of the barbarians the pivot of industrial life was altered." This industry was very largely—even most—of an agricultural nature. Yet Roman commerce did not perish in the barbarian kingdoms. We shall see more presently about the economy and trade of the German kingdoms.

The rich domains of the imperial fisc were appropriated by the German kings in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain, in Africa—in the last they formed whole provinces of the Vandal Kingdom. As the German kings maintained no general system of taxation, these domains constituted the

source of royal revenue and continued to be managed as in the past. Their revenues were appropriated for the support of government officials, for maintenance of the barbarian courts. Some of them, however, were given out to principal chieftains in their following, who thus became the greatest of landed proprietors, the forebears of the lordly houses of the feudal age.

The Huns and Attila made no such permanent impress upon history as did the Germans, and their history may be more briefly dealt with. Almost their sole influence was that their immense pressure gave the final thrust to the German world which impelled the tribes en masse to overflow the Roman frontier. The Huns had a far greater influence upon the imagination of Europe than upon its polity, for the wild legends concerning them and their atrocities do not appear before the end of the eighth century in the pages of Paul the Lombard, while the legends of Attila have come to us through Magyar sources later still.

Racially the Hun was a Tartar, not an Aryan, and had not even that remote racial kinship with the populations of the Mediterranean world which the Germans had. Socially he was a savage and economically a nomad—"their country was the back of a horse." This measures the immense distance between the Huns and the Germans. When the Huns poured through the Ural Gate [3] and appeared in Europe in 375 A.D. and fell upon the Goths seated in southern Russia and modern Rumania, their coming filled both German and Roman with consternation. Graphic contemporary descriptions of them have been preserved. Ammianus Marcellinus describes them as an ugly, repulsive people, knowing but rarely using fire for cooking purposes, clad in filthy skins.

> On horseback every man of that nation lives night and day; on horseback he buys and sells; on horseback he takes his meat and drink. . . . Not one among them cultivates the ground or ever touches a plow-handle. All wander abroad without fixed abodes, without home or law or settled customs, like perpetual fugitives, with their wagons for their only habitations.

But in their seventy-five years of residence in the lower Danube valley (modern Hungary, Transylvania, and Rumania) the Huns picked up a tawdry veneer of Roman civilization. "The whole character of Attila's court and camp was sensual, but the sensuality was by

[3] "One realizes how emphatically this is the undefended side of Europe, the open space through which all the Asiatic hordes, Huns, Alans, Avars, Bulgarians, Mongols, entered, their cavalry darting over the steppe in search of enemies or booty, their waggons following with their families and cattle, unchecked except now and then by some great river, which, if it were too deep to ford, they crossed upon inflated skins."—Bryce, *Transcaucasia and Ararat.*

many degrees less squalid and less disgusting than that of the men who first crossed the Sea of Azof, and whose habits were described by Ammianus." Attila's "palace" was a huge log house floored and walled with planed planks, and walls and floors covered with skins to keep out the cold. Other less pretentious dwellings were near in which dwelt his wives, the most pretentious of these edifices being that of his favorite wife, Kreka. Yet even she had no carpets, no rugs. Though from the Orient, the Huns had not adopted these oriental luxuries. The whole group of buildings was surrounded by a palisade of trees sunk into the ground, making a rude compound.

Attila derived a great part of his livelihood by extortion from the conquered peoples—Roman, Greek, German—under his sway, who were mulcted for cattle and goods. But his greatest source of revenue was the blackmail levied upon the weak emperor at Constantinople. In 423 A.D. he got a tribute of 350 pounds of gold ($75,000) from Theodosius II; the next year twice that sum was exacted. This continued to be the annual imperial "subsidy" for fifteen years, until 447, when the amount was nominally tripled, though at the same time Attila demanded a million and a quarter (in American currency) as "arrears."

It required all the fiscal machinery of the complex Byzantine Empire to raise this huge sum:

> Each senator was assessed upon a certain sum, often greatly in excess of his real fortune; but the amount which stood opposite his name had to be provided, whether he possessed it or not. . . . In some cases the family jewels of ladies of high rank, or the articles of household furniture of men who had passed all their lives in affluence, were exposed for sale in the marketplace.

The Byzantine historian Priscus who lived at this time bitterly reflects that

> the country's wealth and the imperial treasures were applied, not to their proper use, but to ridiculous shows, tawdry pageants and all the pleasures and all the extravagances of sensuality such as no sensible man would have wasted money upon, even had the state been in the height of prosperity.

When Priscus crossed Thrace on his embassy to Attila, the towns were destitute of population and the fields covered with the bones of the dead. He has left a vivid picture of the barbaric court, its carousals, its minstrels, the capers of the royal fool, a malformed dwarf, the drunken toasts, the grotesque costumes, the more grotesque language, a babel of Hunnish, Greek, Latin, Gothic, the great chieftain sitting in silence and not without dignity in the midst of this uproar, flanked by

his shaggy guardsmen and two secretaries, one for his Greek and another for his Latin correspondence with Roman emperors and imperial provincial governors.

And here, as he was waiting in the antechamber for an interview with Attila, Priscus was hailed in good Greek by a man in Hunnish costume who proved to be a Greek. The conversation which ensued, and which Priscus records in full, is illuminating. Having recovered from his astonishment the historian and courtier inquired how his acquaintance came to be dwelling among the Huns, to all intents and purposes as one of them. In answer the man told how he had been a merchant and had come to Vimnacium in Mœsia on the Danube sixty miles from Belgrade, for purposes of trade; how the province was attacked by the Huns, how he was captured and given as a slave to a favorite of Attila named Onegish; how he became a favorite, was given his liberty and married a barbarian wife. When Priscus expressed astonishment that a man of culture could abide among the Huns he received for answer a stinging indictment of the injustice of the imperial government.

"I consider my present mode of life," he said, "much preferable to my past. For when war is over the people live a life of ease, enjoying themselves to the full and free from care of any kind. But the people in Romanland are easily worsted in war because they place their hopes of safety on others rather than themselves. Their tyrants will not allow them the use of arms."

Here the speaker complained of civil war and brigandage as notorious evils of the Later Roman Empire.

"Then, too," he went on, "think of all the cruelties practised by the collectors of taxes, the infamy of informers, and the gross inequalities in the administration of justice. If a rich man offends, he can always manage to escape punishment; but a poor man who does not know how to fix matters, has to undergo the full penalty, unless indeed he be dead before judgment is pronounced, which is not unlikely, considering the notoriousness of the law's delays. But what I call the most shameful thing of all is that you have to pay money in order to obtain your legal rights. For a man who has been injured cannot even get a hearing from the court without first paying large fees to the judge and the officials."

Even slavery among the Huns was lighter than in the Roman Empire, he added.

This incident is interesting in many ways, and not the least in that it discovers that the overtaxed and beset people of the Roman Empire looked upon even the Hun, as they had long looked upon the Ger-

man, as a means of relief from an abusive and tyrannical government.

Attila declared that a belt of territory in Mœsia on the south and Roman side of the lower Danube measuring one hundred miles wide and three hundred miles long—it reached from Sistova in modern Bulgaria on the east to the bend of the Danube on the west—was a Hunnish "march" or border territory. Here a great market which had formerly been at Margus, was established at Naissus, modern Nish, 150 miles up the Morava River, which, with the Vardar, form and have formed for centuries the great trade route between Salonika on the Ægean and the Danube valley.

The death of Attila in 453 released the enslaved peoples in the Danube valley, but left them in desperate plight. One may judge of the degenerating influence of the Huns upon the Ostrogoths by the statement of a contemporary historian who visited them in the time of Attila, who says that they had so far lapsed into nomadism that they had forgotten agriculture. For the country was swept as bare as a threshing floor, the populace reduced to starvation, with here and there a walled town having a local market where barbarians changed wares with those few adventurous Roman or Greek merchants who were bold enough to penetrate the region. The *Life of St. Severinus* gives us a vivid picture of this desolated condition, a condition which was to last, owing to successive raids of Avars, Bulgars, and Magyars, for five hundred years more. The Danube route was to remain a closed route between East and West until the time of the Crusades. All eastern wares henceforth reached western Europe via Italy or came by sea to Marseilles and the Rhone, whence they were distributed farther north.

The chief Italian bearer of this commerce was Venice, whose rise is intimately associated with Attila's invasion of Italy, when the frightened and fugitive populations of Aquileia, which the Huns reduced to desolation, of Padua, and many lesser towns, fled to the mud flats in the lagoons of the Adriatic. The highest of these low reefs, Rivus Altus, was destined in after ages to become the Rialto of Venice. The Paduan settlement was the nucleus of the future queen of the Adriatic. Here the people lived by making salt by evaporating sea water in pans, by fishing, and gradually by trading with and beyond the mainland. Cassiodorus so describes them in the sixth century. Venice's amphibian situation gave her immunity also from the fierce Lombards, and thus she waxed prosperous and strong enough even to defy Charlemagne two hundred years later.

CHAPTER IV

THE GERMAN KINGDOMS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE, VISIGOTHIC SPAIN, VANDAL AFRICA, OSTROGOTHIC AND LOMBARD ITALY, PAPAL ROME AND BYZANTINE ITALY *

THE internal economic and social history of most of the German kingdoms established within the Roman Empire need not be more than briefly considered. For except for that of the Franks and the Anglo-Saxon united realms in Britain, no one of them survived beyond the eighth century.

The first Germanic kingdom was that of the Visigoths established in Aquitanian Gaul and Spain. The expansion of the Franks obliterated the Gallic portion in 507, and the Spanish kingdom went down before the Mohammedan conquest of the peninsula—or most of it—in 711. Had Toulouse remained the capital instead of Toledo, and Southern Gaul continued to be the territory of the kingdom, the fate of the Visigoths might have been different. For there "the attractions of Aquitaine, wealthy, fertile, and permeated by the best Roman culture, prevailed." Since the cost of the new government was less than that of the old, the weight of taxation was less than that of Rome had been, and there is no doubt that the change was one gratefully received by the people.

But the West Goths were too few in numbers to hold effectively the enormous area of Spain. The hostility of the Suevi in Galicia and northern Lusitania (Portugal) and the raids of the intractable Basque population in the Pyrenees were less serious evils than the incapacity of the government within. The racial, social, and religious cleavage among them was never overcome. The *Antiqua* remained the legal code for Goths even after they became catholic, while the *Breviarium Alarici,* modeled after the Theodosian Code, was the law of the Roman element. Moreover, from the very beginning, the Gothic nobility was a menace to the crown and a detriment to the lower classes. The landed property of the nobles was of enormous extent. Their average wealth has been calculated as between $150,000 and $250,000. The great province of Baetica on the other hand was controlled by Spanish-Roman nobles who since the time of Majorian had possessed the country, and whom the crown was unable to subjugate.

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas,* 50 and 52.

Surrounded by his devoted band of *bucellarii* or *sajones,* the great landowner could practically long defy the king's mandate until perchance on the occasion of some revolution in the state he attached himself to the losing side, saw himself despoiled of his lands in favor of the adherents of the conqueror and sank, he and his children, into the despised class of *viles personæ.* . . . The times were troubled: the king was far off, and the great landowner was nigh at hand and practically ruling almost like a king in his large, often unjustly acquired domain. . . . In the course of generations the poorer land-owners who must undoubtedly have once existed in the social system of the Visigoths . . . vanished away, and we find ourselves in the later developments of the state practically in the presence of two classes only—the great nobles, more or less closely connected with the royal household . . . and their dependents, the *rustici, mediocres,* or *viles,* who though in some points theoretically distinguished from the *servi,* are ever practically sinking more nearly to an equality with the slaves.[1]

As in the former Roman Empire, so in Visigothic Spain, the pressure of taxation and corrupt administration of the laws depressed the small German freeholders, who had originally existed among the Goths as among other Germans, to a state of economic dependence and social degradation. The condition of *colonus* and slave was perhaps worse in Spain than in any other kingdom of Germanic foundation. No vigor was in the towns to counterbalance this condition. For the urban population, of Roman lineage, although it outnumbered the Gothic three to one, was craven and impoverished itself.

Spain, during the period of the Visigoths was not a country of marked prosperity in spite of the natural resources of the country. Their culture was that of a half-barbarian people, and they seem to have been especially backward in agriculture. Since this was their condition, the successful exploitation of the riches of the country was not to be expected of them.

Gothic industry inherited and preserved without change the industrial arts of the Roman civilization in Spain. The chief of these were mining and metal-working and fabrication of woolen and leather work. But the mines were not worked to any degree.

There are evidences, however, that the Visigoths had wealth in precious metals, stones, and fine cloths; that is, the royal and ruling families possessed these things. The Arab writers who tell of the Mohammedan conquest make much of the rich booty which fell into the hands of the conquerors, especially in those cities which had been the places of residence of the Visigothic kings, such as Toledo, Cordova, Seville, and Merida. The spoils included numerous magnificent robes, embroidered with gold flowers, chains of gold of fine workmanship, and long strings of pearls, rubies, and emeralds. At Toledo it is said that the

[1] *English Historical Review,* II, 221.

Arabs found one hundred and seventy diadems of the purest red gold set in pearls, rubies, and precious stones of every other sort; one thousand swords for the king's own use; several measures full of pearls, rubies, and other gems; and a large number of massive gold and silver vases. In Toledo two Arabs found a splendid carpet, interwoven with gold worked in stripes, and ornamented with chainwork of the purest gold. Such treasures as these are proof that there was material wealth, of a semi-barbaric type at least, in Visigothic Spain. It does not show general prosperity of the people, nor does it give any proof of industrial or agricultural activity.

Visigothic legislation pertaining to commerce is slight, while that with reference to social classes is very great, almost forming a separate code, a fact which proves the dominant economic activity and social class of the country—the great land-owners. A certain amount of oversea commerce with the ports of southern Gaul, of Vandal Africa, and especially with Ostrogothic Italy is observable. The *Breviarium* mentions *transmarini negotiatores* and *mercenarii,* of the latter of whom one is unable to say whether settled merchants or mere pack-peddlers are meant. But the conquest and retention of the Mediterranean seaboard for over eighty years by the Byzantine Empire nearly destroyed this maritime commerce and reduced it to mere coastwise trade. For the emperor Justinian, after the subjugation of Vandal Africa, turned his arms upon Spain. His troops were never able to penetrate the difficult interior of the country, but the imperial fleets captured and held from 544 to 629 the cities of Cartagena, Malaga, Tarragona, Cadiz, Bastania, Seville, and Asidona; Cordova, the seat of the Byzantine imperial prefect, as we shall soon see, became a base of intrigue by Gothic refugees and malcontents.

Isidore of Seville's panegyric of Gothic Spain is belied by the facts. His boasts of "the richness and prosperity of Spain," that it was "the most beautiful country between India and the Hesperides," "the pearl and ornament of the universe" are the cheapest and most specious form of flattery. "Commerce, industry, and art never really blossomed." Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who ruled Gothic Spain from Gothic Italy for fifteen years as regent for a minor king, summed up the evil inherent in Visigothic Spain when he caustically said: "The bad Roman imitates the Goth and the bad Goth imitates the Roman."

This vicious condition of things was made worse when the kings, in fear of the turbulent landed aristocracy, threw themselves into the arms of the clergy, whose bigotry exceeded the bigotry of any other clergy in the catholic West. Thereby Visigoth Spain became the most priest-ridden state of history.

The clerical triumph in politics was followed by a long series of drastic decrees. No one not a Catholic was to be allowed to live in Spain.

The Jews especially, who were the only enterprising mercantile class in the country, were mercilessly persecuted. The ninth council of Toledo (655) forbade them to celebrate their own religious festivals and compelled them to participate in those of Christians; the twelfth (681) aggravated these inhibitions and prohibitions; the sixteenth (693) forbade Jews to meet upon the waterfronts in port towns, "the place where merchants most do congregate"; the seventeenth (694) reduced every Jew to slavery either to the clergy or to the royal fisc.

In their desperate plight the Jews connived with the Mohammedanized Berbers across the Straits in Africa, where Jews enjoyed the protection of Islam. The arrival of the great Arab captain Musa among the Berbers in 697 spelled the ruin of Christian Spain.

> There can be no doubt that the rapid success of the Saracens was due in part at least to their secret understanding with the Jews. The soil was mined under the feet of the Gothic lords of Spain, and in every large city there was probably to be found a band of Jewish conspirators. . . . Among the poor, especially the slaves and the serfs, and also among the Jews, there was little cause to murmur, for their lot was distinctly improved. As for the bulk of the nobles and the prelates, driven like chaff before the wind, they were confined to the region of Leon and the mountains of Asturias.[2]

The West Goths left barely a trace of their three hundred years of residence in Spain. There are few Gothic words in the Spanish language and Vitoria, which Leovigild built in 581 as a fortress against the Basques, is the only city they ever reared.

The Vandals, unlike the Goths, although some of their fighting men had seen service in the Roman legions, had never been subjected to Roman discipline to any great degree. Moreover, they entered Gaul in 406 not as auxiliary troops, like so many of the Germans, but as sheer invaders. Italy at that time was being threatened by Alaric and the emperor Honorius withdrew all the legions from Britain and most from Gaul. The consequence was that for seven years the Vandals pillaged the Gallican provinces, then the fairest and most prosperous country of the Roman Empire. In the *Life of St. Patrick* we get a glimpse of the desolation the Vandals inflicted, for Patrick when he escaped from Ireland probably landed at Bordeaux, whence he made his way up the Garonne to Provence. The coming of the West Goths expelled the Vandals in 413 from Gaul, and in 429 they were expelled by the West Goths from Spain also and crossed the straits into Africa.

The condition of Roman Africa at this time must be understood, for it profoundly influenced both the arrival of the Vandals and the nature

[2] *English Historical Review,* II, 221.

of the kingdom the Vandals set up there. Carthaginian Africa had been Phœnician or Punic for many centuries, for it was a colony of Tyre, before the Roman conquest in 146 B.C. But although Rome ruled the country for nearly six hundred years, founded cities, built roads, and wonderfully developed the material culture of the African provinces, she never eradicated the ancient stock or its folkways. The native speech remained Punic to the last and in the rural areas was the only language. Moreover, Phœnician pagan practices, even the sacrifice of children to Moloch, still surreptitiously persisted. Latin civilization and Roman government was but a veneer. Roman Africa was to Rome like British India to England. This deep-seated antagonism between the Latin and the oriental race and culture is one key to understanding what happened in 429 when the Vandals crossed over from Spain.

The second key is the enormous degree of Roman landed proprietorship developed in Africa. The burden of serfdom and slavery was acute in Africa, and since most of these bondmen were natives, acute racial, religious, economic, and social antagonism prevailed against Roman domination.

Matters were aggravated when Christianity was made the official religion, and the union of State and Church declared. For the war of orthodoxy and government upon paganism then was pushed. In Africa the pagan resistance was very strong and was re-enforced by the hatred of the Church by the peasantry for the reason that the Church, owing to lavish gifts of land by the emperors out of the fisc, also became a great landed proprietor. Accordingly when the Donatist heresy developed, it got an enormous following, and a social and agrarian revolution of rebellious serfs and slaves, actuated primarily by economic oppression and social discontent, and stimulated by religious emotionalism, was engendered in Africa. Armed bands of *circumcelliones* (night-riders, we may call them) roamed the countryside, burning farmsteads and murdering the proprietary class and catholic priests. For these *fundi* had each its own church, its own priest, and the Roman proprietors, being hand in glove with the established church, imposed orthodoxy upon their tenants.

The peasants, maddened by the exactions of the great proprietors, lay and clerical, and ruined by the fisc, the small land-owner deprived of his homestead, the free artisan unable to find employment, all this class of the downs-and-outs pinned their faith on the social revolution which the Donatists embraced. Beginning as a religious schism the movement became a rebellion, increasingly controlled by hordes of ignorant peasants. As at many other times in history, this combination of social unrest and religious fervor found expression in the creation of ultra-radical groups which crystallized out of the general mass. The revolt spread with formidable rapidity. Runaway slaves, insolvent debtors,

small ruined proprietors, the nomadic and the idle, gravitated to it. The African provinces were given over to depredation. The great land-owners were badly frightened; if they left their domains bands of ruffian slaves or serfs who infested the roads were likely to fall upon them. The credit class was powerless to collect its debts; gangs of armed ruffians threatened collectors with death. Some of these gangs had leaders who called themselves captains of the saints! (*sanctorum duces*).

The climax came when the Numidan chieftain, Gildo, a Romanized count of Africa, embraced the uprising in his endeavor to cast off the Roman domination. For his own ambition he exploited religious dissidence and social revolution, despoiling the rich by the seizure of their domains and finding his support in the restless and violent rabble of the provinces. At last the anarchy became so great that the better class of Donatists and pagans began to lean toward the orthodox church as the only means of establishing order, although as a party the Donatists supported Gildo in the hope of relieving Africa from the burden of Roman rule.

When Gildo stopped the corn-ships in 391 the alarm of the imperial government became extreme. For the next six years Rome literally lived from hand to mouth because of this suppression of the corn supply. The government was in desperation. Alaric was threatening Italy, the Rhine frontier was terribly endangered. Rome's great general, Stilicho, could not be spared beyond sea. In this crisis hope came from Gildo's brother Mascezel, who had been brutally treated by Gildo and who proffered his services to Rome. The result was that an army of seventy thousand men was put in his command, veterans of the German wars, and Gildo was utterly routed. The beaten chieftain tried to escape to Constantinople, but contrary winds prevented him and he finally killed himself in order not to fall into the hands of his brother. His immense domains were confiscated to the fisc and so enormous was their extent that a separate bureau of administration was created for them.

Then ensued a drastic imperial and catholic policy of punishment. The churches of the Donatists were destroyed; their property taken from them; the right to buy, sell, or bequeath property denied to them. The land-owners initiated a reign of terror among the serfs and slaves upon their estates. The old abuses were resumed. The native Punic and Numidian population was sullen and sore, and finally not the intrigue of a disgruntled Roman commander, but the secret negotiation of the leaders among these malcontents with the Vandals in Spain precipitated the ruin of Roman domination in Africa. The Vandal crossed the straits in 429 as an ally of the revolted population. In ten years the whole country was over-run, Carthage at last falling in 439.

The ten years of warfare appallingly reduced the population and left immense tracts desolate and destroyed. But the worst atrocities were

not the work of the Vandals, but of the infuriated and fanatical native peasantry and of the wild Numidians who burned the countryside and the villas of their masters. Gibbon was "not easily persuaded that it was the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives and other fruit trees of a country where they intended to settle." It is worth observing that all the accounts of the Vandal conquest which we have are from the defeated party, and that the very word "vandalism" was not coined as an epithet of destructiveness until the French Revolution. The upper Catholic clergy were all driven into exile, but the lower classes, of Roman extraction or orthodox faith—"the great mass of the people, the downtrodden slaves who tilled the vast domains of the crown, or the hungry *coloni* who eked out a scanty subsistence on the edge of the desert, or even the traders and artisans of Hippo and of Carthage, Gaiseric was too much of a statesman to attempt to convert them wholesale by persecution to Arianism."

Of the nature of the land settlement of the Vandals we have already written. It did not differ from that of the Germans everywhere within the Roman Empire. But what did materially differ was the nature of the social ingredients which went to form society in the Vandal kingdom. In the German realms established in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain, the mass of the population was a passive and docile stock of Latin or Latinized origin. In Africa the lower classes were chiefly Punic, commixed in blood and spirit with the Numidian and the Moor. Moreover, this element had coöperated with the Vandal conquest and was not separated from the Vandal by difference of religion, as was the case in Italy and Spain and Gaul. Hence fusion of the races immediately began and was rapidly consummated. The result was that the German nature of the Vandals was speedily lost. It was not so much the hot climate and the enervating influence of luxury which corrupted the vigor of the Vandal as this fusion with elements far different from and far baser than the peasant stock of the German kingdoms in Europe. The Vandal population was degraded by cross-breeding with an inferior, not with an equal or superior, stock; it became a hybrid of baser, not better ingredients and degenerated as the Spanish stock in tropical South America which commixed with both Indian and negro. Always a minority of the population, when compared with the native population—as was the case with all the Germans who settled within the Empire—the Vandals were perhaps fewer in proportion than was the case with the other migrant German nations. Even more than the Spanish Goths they lost the use of their native tongue, of which not a word has survived.

Our knowledge of the commerce of Vandal Africa is scant and superficial. Procopius' statement that Carthage was as luxurious a city under the Vandals as it had been before may not be trusted. Yet there is evidence that the former commerce of the country was resumed again,

although not in the same degree as before. The great corn trade with Rome was cut off, which deprived Africa of a market and reduced Rome to a state of chronic semi-starvation. It is worth noting that Ricimer's victory over the Vandal fleet in 456 reduced the price of wheat in Rome. When Belisarius set out for the conquest of the Vandals he picked up information about the country from merchants in Sicily who traded with Carthage.

Inasmuch as the products of the soil had not changed, and as the Vandals had become addicted to Roman ways, it seems reasonable to suppose that the staple commerce of Vandal Africa must have been much as it was under Roman occupation; and we know from Pliny, what the chief products of Africa were: woollens, cedar wood, lotus wood, marbles, gems, a kind of soap-like clay, ivory, hides, black slaves, and wild animals for the circus. Theodoric the Goth was dependent on Africa altogether for these last. The most original Vandal industry seems to have been the manufacture of swords. A curious result of the German occupation of Africa seems to have been that the North German trade got an extension to the far south for amber, hair, and objects carved in deer horn were sold in Africa and Spain.

The Vandals above all, though, were pirates. One of the most singular things is that this inland German people so quickly took to the sea, availed itself of the timber of the Atlas Mountains and the shipbuilding yards of the Romans, and became the terror of Sicily and other islands, the coasts of Spain, Gaul, and Italy. Unlike the Gothic sack of Rome in 410, the Vandal sack in 455 was a piece of wanton and deliberate spoliation. Their fleets even cruised eastward into the Ægean and ravaged the Greek islands. These depredations on commerce were one of the main motives of Justinian's conquest of the Vandal kingdom in 533.

From the base history of the Vandals it is a relief to turn to the history of the noblest Germanic people, the Ostrogoths, and the noblest figure of the German conquest, Theodoric the Great of Italy (489–526).

The decay of Italy in the fifth century was universal and swift, especially in the latter half, and in 476 the line of Cæsars in the West came to an end. The reform legislation of Majorian (457–61), the only emperor worth a thought, indicates the social and economic disease which was destroying the whole western Empire, and Italy, perhaps, most of all. The population was declining so fast that, in spite of the ascetic teaching of the Church, a law forbade women to take the veil before forty years of age, and commanded all widows to marry again within five years on pain of forfeiture of half their property to the fisc. The cost of living had so increased that families forced sons and brothers into the ranks of the clergy. The rapacity of tax-collectors had become so great that the office of *defensor* was created, an official whose duty it was to protect taxpayers from administrative extortion. Towns-

men fled to the country to get away from these fiscal oppressions. The coinage was debased and chaotic. The futility of these reforms, however, is shown in the fact that the rate of taxation was raised on the ground that these reforms alleviated the worst fiscal burdens! One of the most singular evidences of decay of all public spirit is found in a law to protect public buildings from demolition. Italian cities, and Rome most of all, were so filled with ancient, magnificent structures, baths, fora, palaces, then standing unused and deserted that stone-masons and builders, or any one who wanted marble, quarried these edifices as if they were natural quarries. The clergy were the worst offenders in this practice, tearing temples and palaces asunder to build churches. Even marble statuary was slaked for lime. For a thousand years this form of domestic vandalism was to continue. The "ruins of ancient Rome" were made by the Romans themselves.

Meantime Italy fell a prey to German military adventurers from the Danubian lands, not colonists nor invaders, but veritable condottieri, whose soldiery vied with one another for possession of bounty lands, generally a pretext for despoiling rich proprietors or the fisc. In consequence, all over Italy, the land-owners began to fortify their country-houses and to build castles in self-defense, the precursors of the castles of the feudal age. Ennodius has left a horrible description of the state of the country when the Goths entered Italy. The fields, he says, had gone over to briar and bramble and the greater part was uncultivated.

A new and better day dawned with the coming of the Ostrogoths under Theodoric (489–526), who while nominally ruling Italy as a viceroy of the emperor in Constantinople, practically was an independent German king. Theodoric's intention, in so far as he could, was to reign as a Roman ruler, and the Ostrogothic kingdom was the most Romanized of all the realms established by the Germans. Unlike the case in Gaul and Spain the Roman proprietary class seems not to have been deprived of any portion of its lands.

A confiscation of one-third of the land would have been calamitous to the proprietors in Italy, and all the evidence shows that the Gothic conquest was unusually moderate. With the extensive tracts of deserted land in Italy, Gothic settlement was possible without dispossession of the owners. Of course there must have been violent deprivation in some cases; for example, that of Theodat, a Gothic noble, who created a principality for himself in Tuscany. But the aristocracy was not injured by any general seizure. It retained its immense domains, its great riches. The Ostrogoths contented themselves with a division of the *produce* of the land. Hence the Roman proprietors were left in possession of the land, a fact of great importance in the future. Even those parts of the fisc which were in private possession were unmolested. The evidence of Cassiodorus is positive upon these points.

Conciliation of the native Roman aristocracy was part of Theodoric's policy. Indeed, he was too lenient to this class, whose members abused the privileges given them, warred with one another, at the head of bands of their own armed serfs and slaves, over boundaries and for one another's acres, and finally joined hands with the emperor Justinian in destroying the kingdom. To get the support of the great proprietors Theodoric dealt more severely than the former Roman government with the lowly classes. He forbade freedmen, slaves, and even colons to complain of their masters; the law entirely abandoned the great mass of the agricultural population to the justice of the proprietors.

One of the greatest evils from which Italy suffered, owing to declining population, was the lack of raw labor. One of Theodoric's first cares was to remedy this. During his war with Odoacer, the Burgundians had invaded upper Italy and carried away into slavery some thousands of people. The king sent the bishop of Pavia, St. Epiphanus, beyond the Alps to recover them, and partly through fear and partly in return for a sum of money, the Burgundians gave them up; and the depleted territory was repeopled.

The Gothic government introduced nothing new into the financial system which the Empire had left. Roman weights and measures and the Roman post were continued. The old direct taxes, even the *chrysargyrum,* which Anastasius abolished in the East, were continued. As for indirect taxes, they had little importance in a society where slavery prevented the development of industry and commerce and the creation of a middle class. Theodoric lowered the import duties in his desire to develop a Gothic marine, but their collection was a great source of vexation. The most unpopular tax was one of four per cent on every sale of merchandise, half payable by the seller, half by the buyer. This tax had been established by Valentinian III and Theodosius II and became permanent. Of course the purchaser actually paid it. In partial compensation the Gothic fisc granted the monopoly to certain merchants of furnishing the *annona* and certain industrial products to the great cities and to the court, this privilege bearing the significant name of *monopolium.* The Gothic taxation was not nearly so heavy on Italy as that of Rome had been. The expenses of government were far less; neither the Church nor public education received any set subsidy; the army cost little in time of peace, and peace lasted for forty years. Official salaries seemed to have been far less than those in the imperial hierarchy and most of them were probably paid in the form of fees of administration.

We have seen what a terrible state of desolation Italian agriculture was in under the Late Empire. Theodoric did nothing positive to remedy this, for he could not change the general conditions of great landed ownership and slave labor. Nevertheless agriculture did revive, thanks to the establishment of a government which put an end to chronic re-

bellion and brigandage. In forty years of peace, the population of Italy increased. Contemporary witnesses, even catholics, who cannot be suspected of partiality for a heretic government, acknowledged this return to prosperity. Certain significant facts stand out. Two private citizens, Spes and Domitius (their names sound Roman), offered at their own expense to drain the great marshes near Spoleto on condition that the State would give them title to the redeemed land. This points to the probability that much of the deserted land had been taken up under the Gothic rule. Still another citizen, Ecius, undertook to drain the Pontine marshes, a project which the imperial government had never been able to accomplish.

Nevertheless there were some years in which the harvest of Italy was not sufficient. If Italy exported wheat, it was only to Visigothic Gaul or Spain and under exceptional circumstances. As a general thing, wheat had continually to be imported, and the royal decrees prohibited not only the exportation of grain, but even its transportation from one province to another. If the cost of living was lowered in spite of the increase in population, the very poor still had to be fed by public largess, and the administration of the *annona* in Rome and Ravenna continued to be as important as in time past. Besides the granaries of the army there were many other granaries, and often in time of dearth the prætorian prefect fixed the maximum price for grain, and landed proprietors were compelled to accept this maximum without the power to refuse to sell. A contemporary declares that the price of foodstuffs was reduced one-third under Gothic rule. The traffic in grain was a monopoly governed by license.

During the reign of Theodoric, Italy gained a good deal as far as agriculture was concerned, but the lack of capital was a detriment. There were two modes of cultivation, by slaves and by tenant farmers; but under good government, the fertility of the soil partially counterbalanced the defects of the system. Grain, wine, and oil were staple products. Cattle, horses, and hogs abounded in the southern provinces; the wine of Verona was prized; Bruttium produced excellent cheese. Chestnut trees, which grew thick in the mountainous regions, provided an important food. The fisheries prospered. On the Po River, the fishers were organized into corporate groups from which the government drew its supply of sailors. Italy was not lacking in timber supply, as pine and cypress, although much of the Apennines was stripped of forests. Gold mining was carried on in Brittium, iron mining in Dalmatia; but there was considerable importation of metals from Spain, as Italy was not self-supporting in this particular.

The industrial organization was unchanged. The rich had shops in their houses and slave artisans. Some of the old Roman trade gilds composed of freedmen or poor freemen continued; but these organiza-

tions were burdened with repressive regulations like those of the Theodosian Code. The son had to follow the craft of his father, and the members of the gild were forbidden by law to marry any but the daughters of similar craftsmen, rules which tended to reduce the industrial structure to a caste system.

A unique exception is the manufacture of pottery. Theodoric seems to have taken this industry under his special protection, not directly, but in the favor he showed to three senators who conducted the business through their slaves, freedmen, and poor freemen. The order by which the king took this pottery manufacture under his protection is the only one of its kind and is doubly interesting, because it also discovers the activity of a Roman senator in business.

The most important fair of Ostrogothic Italy was that of St. Cyprian in Lucania, near the town of Cosolina, which was frequented by the people of the southern provinces, where grain, cattle, clothes, and other merchandise were exchanged. It was also an important slave mart. Cassiodorus, after Theodoric's death (526) complained of the violence of certain "rustics" who had plundered the goods of the merchants who were assembled with their wares upon the festival of St. Cyprian. For a saint's day was at once a holy day in the church and a holiday in the market.

The economic prosperity of Italy in a word was only relative, for the Gothic government made no change in existing regulations. Monopolies prevailed. The industrial regulations were onerous. The taxation was incompatible with free exchange in the interior. Theodoric, like the emperors, built aqueducts and baths, devoted great sums to public improvement and to road-building, maintained the public games, although he tried to introduce more humane practices into these violent spectacles. Weights and measures and money were not changed. The imperial postal system continued. Unlike the Visigothic government, Theodoric was not intolerant of the Jews.

The Ostrogothic capital was at Ravenna, for Rome was fast becoming the city of the popes. This "Pompeii of the Gothic and Byzantine times" was an older Venice, although as early as the sixth century the silting up of the lagoons had made orchards and gardens possible where once the Roman galleys had plied.

If the Ostrogoths had been left unmolested in their rule of Italy, they would probably have worked out the most humane and developed Romano-Germanic civilization within the vanished Roman Empire. Yet there were formidable forces against them: The Goths were but a fraction of the population, probably less than one-tenth, while the bulk of the population was intensely catholic and regarded with silent and sullen hatred the domination of the Arian Goths as an heretical rule. This sentiment was sedulously cultivated by the catholic clergy and the Roman

aristocracy. The latter especially, in their fortified manor-houses, surrounded by thousands of servile and slave tenants, strove to localize their power as feudal lords and chafed under the political restraint imposed by the government.

Finally, the very year after Theodoric's death (526), when the government fell to the regency of his daughter and the nominal rule of his grandson—a delicate political situation—the emperor Justinian came to the throne in Constantinople with the determination to destroy the German kingdoms in the West, to restore the Roman Empire to the wide limits it once had possessed, and to make the Mediterranean again a Roman lake. The subjugation of the Vandals in 533 and of the coasts of Visigothic Spain in 544 were parts of this grandiose design.

But imperial restoration in Italy was the dearest and most difficult part of this programme. For the Ostrogoths were no degenerate race like the Vandals, and their government not the weak and corrupt one of the Visigoths. The reduction of Italy once more to imperial rule required seventeen years (535–52) of war and then was accomplished only by the almost complete annihilation of the Gothic nation. The war began in 535 with the occupation of Sicily and Naples, and the southern provinces of Italy were over-run in the next year. The spontaneous rising of the Italian population when word of Belisarius' victories was spread abroad, is impressive. The great proprietors from Calabria to Tuscany armed their tenantry, if only with scythes and bill-hooks. In many cities the Gothic garrisons were massacred by the infuriated populace.

It is not necessary to follow the details of this long and cruel war, but some matters deserve notice. Rome went through four separate sieges during these years, and emerged from the holocaust no longer ancient, but medieval Rome, so profound was the transformation it experienced. Belisarius at once seized it in 536; the Goths beleaguered it for a year (537–38) and failed to take it; in 546 it was taken by them but reoccupied and refortified by Belisarius; in 549 it was assailed for the third time by the Goths and taken; in 552 Belisarius' successor Narses finally recovered it for the imperial arms.

Certain economic and social facts of importance stand out from these events. During the first siege the advantage of Justinian's conquest of Africa was apparent, for the wheat ships from Carthage to Ostia supplied Rome with foodstuffs. Yet the supply was so deficient that all cattle and horses not used for war within the city were slaughtered. But this provoked a serious problem. The Romans ground most of their wheat in mills propelled by horses or oxen. But in Trastevere, there were water-mills on the slope of the Janiculum opposite the bridge now known as Ponte Sisto, where the fall of the high aqueduct of Trajan was utilized. But the Goths cut the aqueducts and these mills were

stopped. In this exigency Belisarius anchored barges side by side in the Tiber with a mill-wheel suspended between them and so ground his wheat. The suggestion was not lost. From that time forth until recent times the floating mills of the Tiber were a common sight of Rome.

In the second siege the Goths cut off Ostia and the wheat supply from Africa. Nothing daunted, Belisarius thrust all the non-combatant population out of the city and compelled the sowing of all vacant spaces with grain. This fact is interesting, for it shows that Rome's once great population must have shrunk, and we know from other sources that the population was far from filling the space between the Aurelian Walls erected in the third century. Wheat rose to famine prices, to nearly a shilling per pound, the people were starved to feed the soldiery, "war bread" made of bran and chopped grass or herbs was current, and under such conditions army sutlers and officers grafted on the distress.

Famine passed with the termination of the war. But in a very important particular Rome was remade by these sieges. For centuries the houses of government, the palaces of the Cæsars and the no less sumptuous residences of the Roman aristocracy had been upon the hills. The Capitoline was crowned with the citadel, the senate house, and temples; the Palatine magnificently loomed with imperial palaces, conspicuous among which was the imposing Septizonium of Septimius Severus; the Aventine was crowned with eighty private palaces. The destruction of the aqueducts compelled the members of this patrician class to abandon their homes and to seek places of abode in the flat portion of the city where the poorer classes dwelt on either side of the Tiber, where shallow wells or the water of the river became their source of supply. In consequence, in course of years the abandoned palaces fell in ruins and became the abode of owls and bats and snakes, finally losing all original semblance and sinking to huge mounds on whose slopes the medieval inhabitants grazed their cattle and their goats. The enormous baths also collapsed. Not only did Rome shift the seat of its government and its social centre of gravity, its habits were also changed.

The centre of Rome now became the region around the mausoleum of Hadrian and St. Peter's. The former was converted into a citadel during the sieges, in which almost every vestige of its original nature and appearance was obliterated. The gigantic marble statue of Hadrian, the tombs of the Antonine emperors, the colored marble floors, stair-treads, wainscoting, the polished marble exterior, everything except the hard brick core of the edifice was stripped off and destroyed in the successive sieges. When the ammunition of the imperial garrison was exhausted they "made use of the many statues with which it was decorated as projectiles, and forthwith they hurled these statues down upon the Goths. The broken masterpieces, statues of emperors, gods, and heroes, fell like hail in heavy fragments. The attacking Goths were crushed by

the bodies of gods which perhaps had once adorned the temples of Athens as works of Polycleitus or Praxiteles." In the seventeenth century the celebrated Marble Faun and the colossal head of Hadrian were discovered mutilated and buried in the trenches around the castle. But both Roman and Goth may be spared the disgrace of being the first so to destroy the beauty of antiquity. For Tacitus relates that a brother of Vespasian defended himself on the Capitoline during the civil war which which then divided Rome, by a barricade of marble statues.

As the Castle of St. Angelo, so named in the time of Gregory the Great, Hadrian's Mole became the fortress of Rome for over a thousand years; indeed, it is nominally still a fortress. At the same time that ancient Rome was thus transformed to medieval Rome, it also sloughed off almost the last vestiges of pagan tradition. Although the pope dwelt in the Lateran Palace, the bulk of the population dwelt around St. Peter's, which was the religious and social centre of the new Rome. Hither so early came pilgrims, here were hostelries and stores; in Trastevere, across the river, lived the working class, artisans, and craftsmen. Under the shadow of St. Peter's and the bronze wings of St. Michael, the Christian Mars, the Roman populace lived for hundreds of years after.

But another result also was produced by the cutting of the aqueducts which profoundly conditioned the life of medieval Rome. The broken aqueducts, whose ruined arches one may yet see stalking across the Campagna like some prehistoric dinosaur, flooded the Campagna and reduced the region for miles around Rome to morass, whose pestilential vapors have for centuries been the source of "Roman fever." In the first century A.D. Pliny boasted of the wheat fields of the Campagna. In the sixth century they became malarial swamps.

Thus, for all these reasons, and in this wise, ancient Rome passed away and medieval Rome came into being.

We may now briefly notice the conclusion of the Gothic war. Ravenna was captured in 540. The war was general over the peninsula. Pestilence, famine, desolation were everywhere. For year upon year few fields were tilled and unsown crops sprang up which none reaped. The city population starved to death in the streets, the country folk fled to the hills and the forests. Wolves so increased and found so many corpses to devour that they became a terror in many places. Even cannibalism occurred. When the war ended Italy was half a tomb. The history of the destruction of Ostrogothic Italy with all it possessed of present worth and all it promised of future benefit to civilization is one of the saddest pages in human annals.

The destruction of man was increased by the ravages of pestilence, which seems to have been the bubonic plague, which a few years before had so desolated the eastern Mediterranean countries. "The flocks re-

mained alone in the pastures with no shepherd at hand," runs a chronicle. "You might see villas or fortified places lately filled with people, in utter silence. The whole world seemed brought back to its ancient silence: no voice in the field, no whistling of shepherds. The harvests were untouched, the vineyard with its fallen leaves and its shining grapes remained undisturbed while winter came on. There were no footsteps of passers-by. Human habitations had become the abodes of wild beasts."

Many of the nation found refuge beyond the Alps among the Allemanni. "By expelling them civilization was thrown back fifteen centuries," it has been said by a modern historian. Not all the Goths, however, were either expelled or exterminated. In spite of the long and cruel war and the vast spoliation, in the next century we find a not inconsiderable number of Goths in administrative posts of both the imperial and the papal government, still distinguished as *viri clarissimi* or *illustres*, which shows that some portion of the Gothic aristocracy must have survived the fall of their kingdom and the destruction of their race.

On this ruined Italy Justinian, whose ambitious wars made him rapacious of money, imposed an exarch, whose seat was at Ravenna, and through whom the elaborate Byzantine machinery of fiscal oppression was established. Alexander "the Scissors," the emperor's notorious logothete, accumulated a fortune in office. Legally he was entitled to one-twelfth of what was collected, so there was no limit save human endurance to what he might impose. Even the pay of the troops was stolen and heavy fines exacted for every breach of discipline. "All Italians who had had any pecuniary transactions with the Gothic kings, or had held office under them, were called upon to produce a strict account of all moneys had and received; even though such moneys had passed through their hands forty years ago in the early days of Theodoric."

Justinian died in 565. He did not live to see the partial undoing of the work for which he had expended an untold amount of blood and treasure and inflicted an appalling burden of suffering upon Italy. In 568 the Lombards, the last German nation of the Great Migrations entered Italy. The whole of Italy had been so decimated by the long war with the Goths that they entered into an almost deserted land. Most of the cities of the north were in ruins; Milan had been more than once destroyed. Narses had not had time to complete his programme of city-building, though Milan had risen again.

Only Pavia made any resistance. The whole plain of the Po, with Venetia and Liguria, was speedily over-run. When we consider the savagery of the Lombards it is significant that we hear of no deeds of cruelty. Probably there was little population capable of resistance. "Practically, with the single exception of Perugia, all the places of

which the Empire retained possession were either on the sea-coast, like Genoa and Ancona, or surrounded by water, like Mantua, or accessible by a navigable river, like Cremona and Piacenza. The Lombards, ignorant of navigation, remained an inland people, and Greek dukes, lieutenants of the emperor, ruled in the seaports of Ravenna, Ancona, Naples, Amalfi, Sorrento, Gaeta, and Tarento." The only port the Lombards ever acquired was Pisa, and that much later.

This is an interesting and important historical fact. The insufficiency of agricultural resources along the coast, the Lombard occupation of the rich hinterland of the Po, the neighborhood of the sea, the natural highway for eastern commerce, compelled Venice more than ever to develop her maritime commerce. It was now, too, that Genoa appeared as a small unwalled fishing village, forgotten since Roman times, but destined to become Venice's grimmest trade rival. Although Venice lost Padua and Mantua to the Lombards in 603, her island site gave her immunity and the population was increased by refugees from the mainland fleeing from the Lombards as the earlier population had escaped from the Huns. In central Italy Rome was the place of asylum for the refugees. The inhabitants of the Campania fled to the Pontine marshes; those of Lucania and Bruttium, to Sicily. Bishops abandoned their sees, monks their monasteries, towns stood empty, the fields were deserted. In North Italy no fewer than fifteen bishoprics were left without heads for years.

And yet one must not exaggerate the abandonment of the Po plain by the native population. There probably was a great expulsion of the landowners, yet forces had been operative for years before to reduce or withdraw them.

> The impoverishment of the *curiales*, the invasions of Alaric, of Attila, of Gaiseric, Odovacar and his Herulians, Theodoric and his Ostrogoths, preëminently the bloody revenges which marked the later stages of the Ostrogothic war, the emigration to Constantinople, the tendency of all men of good birth and education to flock to the seat of officialism, whether at Ravenna or at Constantinople, in search of a career, the attractions of the Church for some, of the convent for others . . . all these causes had doubtless worked a terrible depletion of the rural aristocracy of Italy even before the Lombard came to hasten the process.[3]

Much of the Italian servile peasantry must have clung stubbornly to the soil. The proof is seen in the fact that the Roman system of land survey (centuriation) survived and indeed was never obliterated in Lombardy. Moreover, place-names are almost all Roman, not German, which points both to the paucity of the Lombards and the persistence of the local population. The same fact is shown, too, by the slight impres-

[3] Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, VI, 589.

sion of Lombard speech or art upon the country. In genius, language and art developed along strictly Roman lines.

Both in nature of conquest and in degree of social ingredients the Lombard settlement differed from that of the Germans elsewhere within the Roman Empire, and the effect was profoundly and differently to condition the history of North Italy when compared with Frankish Gaul, Ostrogothic Italy, or Visigothic Spain. Having come as conquerors and not, like the others, as auxiliaries of the Roman imperial government, with a hostile native population under them, menaced by the pope and the exarch of the Byzantine Empire, so few in numbers that they were never able to spread over the whole peninsula, the Lombards fortified themselves by hardening the shell, so to speak, of their German institutions. No one of the Germanic peoples was so obdurately German or stayed thus so long. But Lombard barbarism is rather quaint than repulsive.

We have already seen that elsewhere the Germans who partitioned the lands of the Romans among themselves were called *hospites,* the land was called *sors* (allotment), and the right of possession, *hospitalitas*. But the Lombards seem to have taken one-third of the *product* of the land instead of the land itself (whether net or gross product is impossible to say), and to have left the Roman proprietor in full occupation, if not ownership. But what then was the status of this proprietary class? Was this form of payment temporary or permanent? The earliest Lombard law, the code of Rothari (636–52) is almost a century after the conquest and does not reflect the conditions of the original settlement, and the first Lombard historian lived two hundred years after it; moreover, his account is so obscure and confused that it baffles understanding. If even great proprietors were reduced to the condition of *coloni* or serfs —and such may have been the *aldii* class of Lombard subjects—then the servile class must have been depressed lower than elsewhere or before. There are historians who deny that the Roman proprietors were so reduced, but most incline to the unfavorable interpretation. Some, however, argue that this drastic policy was followed only during the early years of conquest and that later a partial restoration of land was made to Roman proprietors, or that a third of the rents was converted into a third of the lands; others argue that as the Lombard became used to his new life he completely expropriated the former landowners and extinguished the last vestige of their title, whereupon the *aldii* sunk to a status as low as the serfs themselves. In any case it is certain that the Lombard conquest bore far more heavily than German conquest elsewhere upon the Roman population. If any high Roman class was left we know nothing about it. Nor do we know anything of the status and condition of the working classes in the towns. But it is interesting later on to discover a large middle class, apparently of Lombard race, the

very thing that was most lacking in Visigothic Spain and not prominent in Frankish Gaul. Indeed, the importance of cities and urban life appears earlier in Lombardy than anywhere else in Europe.

Rothari's Code shows little reflection of the influence of Roman law and is rude and crude. It is, of course, written in Latin; the language is very ungrammatical, but there is a sense of rugged justice in it which stamps the Lombards as a masterful people. The offenses are evidence of a rough, even violent agrarian society and the spirit and institutions are very German.

A hundred years later Liutprand (712–44) the greatest of the Lombard kings, issued a new code and it is suggestive to compare the old and the new. We now find much about property rights, contracts, mortgages, etc., and signs of increased civilization. The old Roman population now appears, and a double law, as in other German kingdoms, obtains; one for Germans, the other for Romans. The condition of slaves and serfs is moderated. However, relatively to the price of land, movable property still is enormously higher, showing that the Lombards had not yet in the eighth century reached that settled state one associates with a stable society. Most interesting is the evidence for the presence of an industrial class in the towns, and of small tradesmen, notably a gild of master masons, the *Magistri Comacini* of Como, whose skill as builders was to create the later Lombardo-Romanesque style of architecture, and who were to be in demand in France and Germany as architects and masons. There is evidence, too, of commercial intercourse up and down the Po and its tributaries, and of boat-building. The Lombard coinage was based on the Byzantine system at Ravenna, and the ratio of gold to silver in the seventh century seems to have been 18:1. In 715 Venice negotiated a commercial treaty with Liutprand to provide for the former's transportation of Levantine goods up the Adda and the Ticino and via the Italian lakes across the Alpine passes into Germany and Frankish Gaul.

Yet on the whole the Lombards developed little sense for trade at this time, not because they were deficient in it, but on account of their political situation. For their kingdom was ringed around with jealous enemies: the exarch of Ravenna, the pope, the Avars, and beyond the Alps the Frankish kings. Merchants might be spies. This policy of seclusion and exclusion is reflected in the laws of Ratchis (744–49) and Aistulf (749–56). The former forbade any Lombard to go to Rome, Ravenna, Spoleto, Benevento, Frank-Land, Bavaria, Allemannia, Greece, or the Avar-Land without royal permission on pain of death and forfeiture of his property. The latter instituted a passport system and prohibited all trade with the Romans. If any Lombard engaged in such trade he was to lose his property and have his head shaved after the "Roman style" and be paraded through the streets in derision. The

Lombard "had still in him much of the stolid barbarism of his forefathers. He was not yet nearly so ready to amalgamate with his Latin neighbors as the Visigoth and Ostrogoth had been three centuries before him."

On the ruins of Romano-Ostrogothic Italy Justinian had established the imperial Byzantine provincial administrative system as he had established it in Vandal Africa. It was a civil government with strong tendency toward a military form. This, and its fiscal machinery, are its most notable attributes. But in the seventh century an effort was made to prevent the abuses of taxation perpetrated by such miscreants as Alexander the Scissors. The towns and the great rural landed aristocracy had the right of petition for redress of grievances to Constantinople. At first the governors of the provinces, instead of being imposed, were elected by the principal inhabitants, but this liberal provision broke down under the stress of prevailing military conditons. The currency was stable and weights and measures regulated, and singularly enough the standards of these were in the keeping of the pope, one evidence among many more which we shall see of the slow growth of the pope's temporal power. But governors and exarchs alike were prone to graft in office and to accumulate as great a fortune as possible during their tenure of office.

It is important to observe at once that Byzantine rule and Greek civilization were much stronger in the south of the peninsula than in the north or central part. In the north the focal point was Ravenna. Greco-Oriental influence penetrated but little into central Italy, which remained inflexibly Italian and Roman. In the south, however, cities like Naples, Salerno, Bari, Tarento, Brindisi, were stamped with Byzantine culture and institutions—and the same is true of Sicily—which were not completely obliterated by the Saracen and Norman dominations later established there. Outside of these three areas, politically free and with a remarkable commercial policy of her own, stood Venice.

It is evident that the Byzantine government aimed at as complete a Hellenization of Italy as possible. The provincial governors were Greek, the clergy in large part Greek; there were dozens of Greek monasteries and convents; even some of the popes were Greek or Greco-Syrian; the emperors even cherished the idea of translating the Holy See itself to Ravenna in their passionate zeal for Hellenization. They clearly realized that the papacy was the genius of Roman civilization. In the decadent condition of Latin culture in the West the dream was not so impracticable as it might seem.

As the financial straits of the Byzantine Empire increased, chiefly owing to the loss of Egypt and Syria to the Mohammedans, its fiscal policy grew more exploitive on the residue of the territory of the Empire. The emperor Constans (663–68) made himself notorious for his avaricious

ways. Alone of all the eastern rulers, he spent most of his reign in Italy and Sicily, with the intention or the pretext of using Sicily as a base of operations against the Saracens, who at this time were overrunning the African seaboard. He did temporarily recover Carthage. "The cultivators of Sicily, and Sardinia, of Calabria, of the province of Africa, long remembered the oppressive procedure of the tax-gatherers of Constans. So inexorable were their demands that to satisfy them, husbands were sold into slavery away from their wives, and children from their parents." There is no doubt that these abuses made the desperate population of Sicily welcome the Saracen conquest as a change of masters which might be better and could not be worse. Even Rome was not spared. No Roman emperor had been in the Eternal City since the fifth century. The Palatine, though in process of slow ruination, was still habitable at least in part. But Rome was in sad desolation. In the twelve days of his stay Constans stripped the gilt bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon and would have stripped St. Peter's in like manner if he had dared. As it was, the altar vessels and the jewels of many churches were taken, with the accumulated taxes of the provinces, to Sicily.

The circumstance that southern Italy and Sicily were so rich provoked this abominable exploitation of Constans. For the fact is that commerce and trade were active in their ports. Mohammedan sea-power had not yet arisen. Sixth and seventh century charters disclose a considerable variety of trades: dyers, tailors, wax workers, furriers, silk dealers, and general merchants (*negotiatores*). We find, too, traces of the old Roman gild system or *collegia* in Ravenna, Otranto, and Naples. The "Syrians," under whom we must also include Armenians and oriental Jews, were found in every city. At Ravenna and in Rome there was a regular "quarter" of them. The Saracen conquest of Syria undoubtedly accounts for their large numbers. These were the élite of commerce, dealing in luxuries like silk, spices, and were money-changers in addition. In this commerce the Venetians were their only competitors, for Venice by the seventh century had touched the Egyptian trade.

What is more strange is that we find colonies of Thracians driven out by the Bulgarians, colonized by the imperial government around Panormus and Naples; a colony of Bulgarians, hard-pressed in turn by the Avars, introduced by the duke of Benevento into the waste land in his duchy which had lain desert until then. More than a hundred years later the Lombard historian records: "They dwell up to this time in these places, and although they speak Latin [the Italian tongue, of course, was not yet formed] they had not forsaken the use of their own language."

A cross-section of Italo-Byzantine society reveals three classes: at the bottom, a mixed slave and serf population, composed of rural laborers in the country and of workingmen and small artisans in the

towns, few of whom were free; a class of small landowners and petty officials; and finally, great public functionaries and grand landed proprietors. In spite of the elaborate mechanics of the imperial government, the rule was quasi-feudal for the most of the population. Free proprietorship still existed but it was tending towards disappearance. The clergy and the grand proprietors were feudal lords whose *fundi,* though often scattered, were enormous areas in the aggregate. Slavery was moderating and serfdom increasing. This powerful aristocracy steadily labored to free itself from all governmental control, and the abuses of administration inclined to increase and to spread the institution of patronage, one of the most influential factors in the growth of feudalism. Small free farmers voluntarily alienated their liberty for the sake of protection. Others were depressed to serfdom by nobles who coveted their lands. Many of the weak and defenseless sought protection under the wings of the Church. Yet it is significant of the Church's hard domanial policy that the protection of lay lords was preferred to that of ecclesiastical proprietors. Gregory the Great complained that church serfs ran away to find protection on lay lands.

This observation now brings us to the history of the third important and historically unique state in medieval Italy, the *Patrimonium Petri,* or the States of the Church. We have seen in a former chapter how everywhere in western Europe the Church became a great landowner and a temporal power. This process, which was of the nature of feudalism, was not novel for the laity, but for the clergy, whose dominion and authority was primarily spiritual, the change was of the nature of a revolution. Every bishop, every abbot, became a proprietor, and the papacy most of all. We can trace the growth of the patrimonial and temporal power of the popes with a fair degree of accuracy across the centuries from the time of Constantine, when imperial and private largesses of land and of money began to be showered upon the papacy, until, in the reign of Pope Gregory I (590–604), the Great, the feudal jurisdiction of the papacy obtained over an enormous area of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. No ecclesiastic in Italy or elsewhere was comparable to the papacy as a temporal ruler. As the imperial lands in Italy had once strengthened the hands of the emperors, so now their large possession by the popes tended to elevate the popes to princely station and authority. The *Vita Gregorii Magni,* chapter 53, enumerates twenty-three papal patrimonies, and it must be understood that many of these "patrimonies" embraced the major area of many provinces or cities which were the pope's own. It has been calculated that if all the property pertaining to the pope in and about Rome in the time of Gregory I had been in a compact mass, it would have comprehended an area of 40 square miles.

But in addition the pope owned lands in the Sabinum, in Picenum,

in Campania, Apulia, around Ravenna, in the Po valley, in Calabria, Illyricum, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, even beyond the Alps in the Arelate, an area estimated to have aggregated 1800 square miles and producing a revenue of over $1,500,000 in modern currency. The pope, though in theory, according to the Pragmatic of Justinian, possessing few greater political rights than other bishops, actually was in the position of a *de facto* ruler of much of Italy, especially of the central provinces. His domains were vast, his church was rich, he was the successor of St. Peter. He was governor as well as chief priest in the city of Rome. He ordered the police, regulated markets, coined money, maintained civil and criminal courts, repaired the walls and the aqueducts, supported schools and hospitals, commanded the militia, and defended the city in case of attack. "The authority which the pope exercised in virtue of his vast estates became, during the weakness of the imperial power, hardly less than that of a sovereign."

These wide possessions were owned as an estate upon which lived and labored some hundreds of thousands of population. The richest of all these properties were the wheat lands of Sicily which had once belonged to the imperial fisc. These alone, taking the ratio of gold to silver at that time as 18:1, are figured to have produced a revenue of over $80,000. The Lombard invasion deprived the papacy of all its patrimonies in North Italy—the Cottine Alps, at Narni, Osimo, Ancona, Humana, and Villa Magna—for many years, until they were restored by Liutprand. But as partial compensation for these losses Constantine V gave Zachary I the two rich domains of Norma and Nimphal, which six hundred years later were estimated to be worth $5,000,000.

The administration of all these properties was based upon a powerful bureaucratic organization and conducted precisely as the estates of the emperors had once been conducted. Statistical documents of the Middle Ages which have survived are not numerous. But we are fortunate in possessing a rich fund of such information for the administration of the papal patrimony in the time of Gregory I in his *Letters* and in a volume with the names of the inhabitants of Rome. The main feature is quite clear. The land was parceled out to small farmers for rents in money or in produce. Labor services do not play so great a part as we find later when manorialism had become a widespread and highly developed economic and social institution, but it is evident, though farming for rent obtained, that cultivation burdened with labor services also already was widely prevalent. Each estate was under the management of a bailiff, who made full reports to the pope with whom the disposal of the wealth rested. Gregory I was at once a man who was deeply religious and charitably inclined and a thorough business man. He was a rare combination of spirituality and hard common sense. He used much of the Church's resources in maintenance and charity, but cannily

invested the surplus in more land. He watched the market and sold timber to treeless Egypt, wheat to Constantinople, Sardinian iron to the emperor for the making of weapons, olives and olive oil everywhere he could. The following extracts from some of his letters to Peter, subdeacon and papal delegate in Sicily, speak for themselves:

The code of instructions which I gave thee on going to Sicily must be diligently read. . . . We have ascertained that the peasants of the Church are exceedingly aggrieved over the prices of wheat, in that the sum appointed for them to pay is not kept in due proportion in times of plenty. It is our will that at all times, whether the crops be more or less abundant, the measure of proportion be according to the market price. Corn that is lost by shipwreck must be fully accounted for; but on condition that there shall be no neglect on thy part in shipping it.

This allusion is to the wheat shipped from Sicily to Rome. It was shipped at the owner's risk, but the pope furnished transportation in galleys belonging to the Church. If loss ensued the party responsible was held to indemnification.

We have also learned that on some estates of the church a most unjust exaction is practised, in that three and a half measures in seventy are demanded by the farmers [i.e. the farm-bailiffs, who thus grafted on the peasantry]. This is shameful and must be stopped.

Cows which are barren from age, or bulls which appear to be quite useless, ought to be sold, so that at least some profit may be got out of them. But as to the herds of mares which are being kept very unprofitably, I wish them all to be dispersed, and 400 only of the younger kept for breeding purposes; which 400 ought to be distributed among the bailiffs of our farms, so many to each, to the end that they may make some return to us from them in the coming years. For it is very hard for us to spend 60 solidi on the herdsmen, and not get back 60 pence from the herds. . . .

. . . Arrange with the herdsmen throughout our possessions that they may be able to make some profit out of cultivation of the soil. All the farm implements which, either at Syracuse or at Panormus, belong to the Church must be sold before they rust to pieces from age. . . . Act kindly and carefully towards the peasants. . . . Bring all the payments which thou hast exacted, and with them all thy accounts. . . . The last time thou sentest me one sorry nag and five good asses. The nag I cannot ride, he is such a sorry animal; and those asses, though they be good, I cannot ride. . . . Get together from other producers or sellers of grain corn of this year's crop to the value of fifty pounds of gold and store it in Sicily in places where it will not rot that we may send thither in the month of February as many ships as we can to convey this corn to us. . . . There has been here such a scanty crop that unless by God's help corn be collected from Sicily, there is serious prospect of famine.

It will be observed from these citations that Italy, in common with all of western Europe by 600 A.D., had lapsed almost wholly into a natural economy in which agricultural products and raw material were the chief, almost the sole, commercial commodities. The industries, too, were chiefly the simple ones based on agriculture, such as weaving, leather-work, wooden-ware, iron-smithing, sandal-making, dyeing, soap-making, baking, etc. These trades still preserved their ancient Roman gild form (*collegia*), but the steady increase of serfdom and slavery was fast dissolving this organization. Occasionally we get glimpses of the higher arts, such as mosaic-workers, glass-workers, all of whom, of course, were in the employ of the Church.

Owing to the contact between Rome and Ravenna and Constantinople, Syria and Alexandria, we find a certain degree of higher commerce. Greek and Syrian merchant colonies are found in Rome and Ravenna, chiefly dealers in silk, spices, frankincense and precious oriental goods of which the Church stood in need. The silk-workers were the élite of the Italian industrial class and were pompously distinguished by the appellation *oloseri capratæ*. For the conduct of international transactions we find money-changers (*argentarii*) at Ravenna and Rome.

Gregory the Great was a true Roman in his efficiency, discipline, and hardness. While he ransomed captives taken in the Lombard wars he also promoted serfdom as a system of exploitation and did nothing for the amelioration of slavery. The exactions of the papal fisc were more onerous than those on lay proprietorships. The pope was shrewd enough to perceive the compelling nature of his taxing power, and utilized it adroitly. For example he enjoins: "Since many Jews dwell on the estates of the Church, I desire that if any of them be willing to become Christian, some little of their dues may be remitted to them to the end that others also, incited by this benefit, may be moved to a like desire." Again, in the sixth century there were still many survivals in the rural parts, among the lower peasantry, of ancient pagan practices. Gregory used his power as a landlord to suppress these, as the following indicates.

> To the Bishop of Cagliari: Thy negligence has allowed the peasants belonging to thy church to remain up to the present time in heathenism. . . . Should I succeed in finding a pagan peasant belonging to any bishop whatever in the island of Sardinia, I will visit it severely on that bishop, but if any peasant be found so perfidious and obstinate as to refuse to come to the Lord God, he must be weighted with so great a burden of taxes as to be compelled by the very pain of the exaction to hasten to the right way.

The vast papal revenues were expended as intelligently as they were gathered. The support of clergy, the maintenance of churches, the care of the poor, the relief of the sick, hospitals, schools, orphanages, not only in Rome but more or less in every province of Italy, fell upon the papacy.

But as the pope was also a temporal ruler, the civil and military government of Rome and vicinity had to be maintained by him. Gregory I tried to restore some of the broken aqueducts, to drain a part of the Pontine marshes, to colonize *agri deserti* as the emperors before him had done. In succeeding to much of the power and place of the former cæsars the papacy had to assume all the responsibilities of former imperial rule in Rome. Perhaps the most vexatious and most difficult of these burdens was the *annonā,* the customary largess of wheat, olives, and sometimes wine and meat, to the Roman proletariat. This idle, vicious sediment of the population of Rome was a legacy of imperial Rome to papal Rome and the greatest economic burden, the most perplexing social problem which papal administration had to deal with through centuries. The support of this insolent mob wasted the papal resources, burdened the pope's mind with anxiety, and required the expenditure of funds which might have been more profitably used in other ways. The Church's charity was corrupted, its revenues dissipated, like the *panem et circenses*—bread and the circus—of imperial Rome. A legend current soon after Gregory I's death shows the vicious circle in which papal finance was enclosed. It is said that Sabinianus, Gregory's successor, stopped the lavish charities of his predecessor on the ground that the wheat magazines were in danger of becoming exhausted and the honest populace of Rome threatened with hunger; but that the shade of the great pontiff four times appeared in a dream to Sabinianus to warn him of his course. Be that as it may, it is certain that Rome soon afterwards experienced a hard famine.

The immense revenues of the papacy were an important obstruction to the spread of Lombard rule in Italy. For if the imperial government furnished the exarch of Ravenna with soldiery, these garrisons were largely paid out of the papal coffers. Again, when the reforming zeal, and even violence of the emperor Leo the Isaurian precipitated the famous Iconoclastic Controversy (A.D. 725), and conflict resulted between the imperial government and the papacy, the substantial revenue of the popes undoubtedly was of influence in emboldening the papal opposition. The papacy was inspired by mixed motives in taking this course, religious, political, economic. But there is no room to doubt that the political emancipation of Italy, at least Rome and central Italy, and the creation of an independent temporal power for the popes was part of the design. Political and economic interest were commingled with orthodox zeal in the conflict between pope and emperor. The struggle was a separatist rebellion, a revolution designed to liberate Italy—or as much of it as possible—from eastern and imperial domination, a clash between Latinism and Hellenism, as much as it was a struggle between conflicting religious views. The "heresy" of Leo III was as much a pretext as it was a cause of papal revolt against Byzantium. In a word the Icono-

clastic Controversy was a contest between rival cultures, a *Kulturkampf*.

It is significant of the fundamental politico-economic nature of the controversy that the immediate occasion of the rebellion of papal Italy against iconoclasm was imperial imposition of a capitation tax in the provinces of Italy and Sicily. Hitherto both lay and ecclesiastical lands had paid customary land taxes, though not without murmur. But the *census* was a new species of tax, a poll tax.

There can be no doubt that the reforming emperor's design in ordaining this capitation tax and its necessary accompaniment, a census or registration of births, was an intelligent endeavor to balance a badly depleted budget. Unpopular in the Balkan provinces and in Asia, the census provoked double opposition in Italy and Sicily as a new and unjust burden and as the imposition of a ruler regarded by millions as a heretic. The extravagant nature of the resistance to it is an index of the mind of the time. By some Leo III's decree was compared to the infanticidal ordinance of the pharaoh; by others the capitation tax was alleged to be an imitation of the Mohammedan poll tax levied on all non-Mohammedan subjects. The real grievance lay in the fact that it was a superindiction; that is to say, the emperor endeavored to replete his revenues by anticipating the revenues of the year to come and to collect double taxation in a single year. The pope protested the legality of the imperial action and inspired the revolt of the Italian provinces against imperial sway.

Leo III, so far as Italy and Sicily were concerned, was keener to collect the revenue than to enforce the objectionable doctrines and ecclesiastical practices he advocated. He well knew that iconoclasm as such could serve no useful end in Italy. But the very fact that the unpopular tax was instituted by a heretic, gave the catholic party ground of vantage in their opposition. The pope fought the emperor on the alleged ground of heresy; his real motive was to resist taxation and to free as much of Italy as he could, especially the central Latin provinces, from imperial rule.

Owing to the fact that the Byzantine garrisons were weak this resistance was fairly successful. The papal forces were a motley of turbulent proprietors, Roman, Goth, Lombard as the case might be, with their armed retainers, supplemented by a rabble-like militia from the towns and the riff-raff and the adventurous of a hard and violent age. "Greek" and "Roman" or "Italian" factions fought each other in town and countryside, fattened on the plunder of victory or fled from the cruelty visited on the defeated. And to these perils, which the principals invited upon themselves, was added the haunting dread in the minds of many lest the abused and desperate peasantry might take up arms to avenge their wrongs more than to assert their rights, for neither feudalism nor serfdom had yet developed so far as to formulate "rights."

The wreck of the fleet of the emperor sent against revolted Italy in 732 partially foiled Leo III's designs. Unable to wrench away the central provinces from papal control the emperor confiscated to the imperial fisc the papal patrimonies in Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, Gaeta, Naples, and detached the bishoprics in these regions from the jurisdiction of Rome. He even tried to stop trade between the southern and central provinces. In a word he detached the Greek or Hellenized provinces of the south from the solidly Latin provinces of the centre and bound them to Constantinople. While the papacy lost the rich wheat lands of Sicily, the timber lands and mines of Calabria, the olive and grape vineyards of Naples and Gaeta, it gained immensely in prestige and moral power. For the embarrassing subservience to the Empire and to Greek culture was abolished. The papacy arose in mid-Italy as a pure Roman and a broad Latin institution clothed in ecclesiastical vesture. The pope became a prince with a temporal power second only to that of the Lombard kings. And the day was not far off, as will be seen later, when Lombard rule in Italy was to be effaced by Frankish intervention, the temporal power of the pope increased by the acquisition of the territory of the extinguished exarchate, and converted from a *de facto* to a *de jure* authority, a restored western Roman Empire established in 800 through the instrumentality of Frank king and pope, in which Charlemagne was to be emperor and the pope sublime pontiff.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF MONASTICISM

Monasticism did not make its appearance until the Church was nearly two hundred years old. But historically the roots of monasticism may be traced far back of the Christian era. Its fundamental practices—asceticism and isolation—are to be found in numbers of anterior religions. Buddhism, five hundred years older than Christianity, had its thousands of monks and hundreds of lamaseries in India; in ancient Egypt were nuns of Ammon dedicated to the worship of Serapis at Memphis, whose cult spread to Greece and Italy under the Roman Empire, though there are no traces of Serapist recluses out of Egypt; among the ancient Jews the sect of the Therapeutai were ascetics. While no evidence of actual contact between Buddhism and Christianity has yet been discovered, we know that Buddhism spread westward into Parthia, and possibly into Armenia in the second century. Apostolic Christianity inculcated principles of self-abnegation, asceticism, self-mortification. Celibacy and virginity was earnestly advocated by Origen and Cyprian.

It was inevitable, therefore, with the growing ascendancy of the oriental religions within the Roman Empire, that Christianity should feel the influence of these contacts. At first the ideals and practices of monasticism were repugnant to Christianity. Tertullian, writing about 200 A.D., protested that Christians were not *"Brachmanae, gymnosophistae, silvicolae, exules vitae,"* which indicates that the monastic tendency was already general within the Church. Long before the Nicene Council communities of Christian ascetics had begun to spring up in Egypt. Tradition relates that "the great monk," St. Anthony, carried some refugees of the Decian persecution in 251 off into the desert with him. Sozomen records that in the middle of the fourth century there was already a book of rules for the government of these groups. Beyond any doubt Christian monasticism was borrowed from the Orient and from the pagan cults. The "pillar saints," for example, like St. Simeon Stylites, were imitators of similar devotees to be found in the temple at Hierapolis.

Yet internal causes and conditions within the Church were probably more effective influences than exterior suggestions and contacts. Monasticism, with its other-worldliness, its self-abnegation, its austerity, was a protest against the worldliness, the riches, the vanity of a church grown scandalously corrupt. "The hermit was a living criticism of ec-

clesiastical society." The first notable heretic in the West, Priscillian in Spain, was a puritan of this kind. Moreover, the intense and artificial civilization of the later Roman Empire created a craving for some new sensation or novelty, and monasticism satisfied that ennui which was eating at the hearts of so many. To others, who had been socially chagrined or politically disappointed, or morally disillusioned, retirement to the desert was "an exodus of despair." The Church saw in the enthusiasm a new means to idealize the Christian life of self-sacrifice. Martyrdom was no longer possible; the live heat of that burning enthusiasm which had uplifted the hearts of early converts in the stormy hour of torture was becoming chilled.

It was natural that monasticism should originate in Egypt. The position of Egypt, in the angle of the Mediterranean Sea, made that country the common ground between East and West. The atmosphere and topography of Egypt were most favorable to monasticism. The numberless natural caverns and excavations in the low hills of the Nile valley provided the primitive ascetic a dwelling-place. The dryness of the climate and his own isolation made him independent of much clothing, and the scant sustenance which his life required, dates and millet, could be easily provided. The first monks, like St. Anthony (*ca.* 256) and Paul of Thebes (*ca.* 262–340), adopted that manner of living without reference to others who might be doing the same. But the holy living and holy dying of men like these, the persecution which drove thousands into the desert places, united with fanatical zeal, vastly increased the movement, so that it has been estimated that at the end of the fifth century the number of hermits and cenobites in Egypt almost equaled the population in the cities.

The excesses of self-mortification to which these zealots sometimes went, living in filth and squalor owing to a morbid confusion of the sensuous with the sensual, cohabiting with vermin, serpents, and insects, going without sleep until madness overtook them, eating loathsome food, half starving themselves, practising frenzied calisthenics like St. Simeon Stylites, suggest hysteria and even mania. It was inevitable that organization should develop out of these circumstances, and so gradually the hermit of the desert became the monk of the cloister. Many monasteries were installed in old temples, or towers. Trajan's fortress at Babylon (near later Cairo) was so appropriated. Nearly every oasis was occupied. Such were fortified for protection against marauders, and in the sixth century were utilized by the imperial government for guard of the frontiers, as the famous monastery of Mount Sinai, half religious, half military, to hold the pass there against attacks from northern Arabia.

In the reign of Valens (364–78) the monasteries were incorporated and made competent to hold property. As gigantic social groups, as

enormously endowed corporations, the monasteries wrought a social and economic change in conditions that was of a revolutionary nature. The movement reached an extreme in Egypt, but wherever in the East monasticism spread, in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, the islands of the Ægean and Ionian seas, the effect was much the same. When Constantine died in 337 there were fifteen monasteries in the Roman Empire; when Justinian came to the throne in 527 there were ninety. By the eighth century hamlets were depopulated, fields grew up with weeds and briars because so many men had deserted their homes and taken to monastic life.

Basil the Great (329–379), a Greek of character and ability, founded a cloister in Pontus, near the Black Sea; and Basil's Rule fixing the details of life within and without the walls of the monastery, supplemented by numerous decisions of councils and emperors, which Justinian united into a code for the monasteries of the Empire, became the organic law of the eastern brotherhoods.

There were entire towns in Egypt inhabited exclusively by monks, as one can see today in Tibet. Hieronymus, in the *Book of Paradise,* describes Oxyrhyncus as

so full of the habitations of the brethren that the walls thereof are well-nigh thrust with them, so many are the brethren. And there are so many other monasteries round about the walls on the outside that one would think that they were another city, and the sanctuaries of the city and the temples which are therein, walls and spaces about them, are filled with monks. One might think that the monks were not very much fewer in numbers than the ordinary inhabitants of the city, for they were so numerous that they even filled the buildings at the entrances to the city and some of the monks lived in the towers by the side of the gates thereof. The people said that the monks who lived inside were five thousand in number and five thousand lived round about it. The bishop claimed that he had under his authority ten thousand monks and twenty thousand virgins.

Around Tabenna in the Thebaid, according to Palladius,

there were living about seven thousand brethren, and in the monasteries in which the blessed Pachomius lived, there were living thirteen hundred brethren; and besides these there were also other monasteries each containing about three hundred or two hundred or one hundred monks who lived together, and they all toiled with their hands and lived thereby. . . . Each day those whose week of service it was, rose up and tended to their work and others attended to the cooking and others set out the tables and laid upon them bread and cheeses and vessels of vinegar and water. There were some who ate only once a week. According as each one of them knew the letter which had been laid upon him so was his work. Some worked in a paradise [orchard] and some in the gardens and some in the blacksmith shop and some in the bakeshop and some in the carpenter shop

and some in the fuller's shop and some wove baskets and mats upon leaves, and one was a maker of nets and one was a maker of sandals, and one was a scribe. All these men as they were performing their work were repeating the psalms and the scriptures in order.

Palladius, who wrote about 390, has left us a description of the great monastery in Mount Nitria, where 5000 monks dwelt besides hundreds of "lay brothers." The monastery possessed thousands of acres of the rich alluvial soil in Egypt. It raised grain, olives, dates, cattle, sheep, camels, horses, mules, in enormous quantities. Part of the income was expended on the churches of Egypt and for support of asylums, hospitals, schools, etc. But a large surplus was sold in the market of Alexandria, where the cheapness and volume of its production seriously competed with the landed proprietor and the small farmer. The former was strong enough to survive, but the latter was slowly strangled.

These new conditions brought new abuses. Wealth began to pour in upon the foundations, bringing with it the same corrupting influences which went so far to destroy the spirituality of the Church in the fourth century. Religiously the monks were intense fanatics, economically they became avaricious. The sack of the Jewish quarter in Alexandria early in the fifth century by a mob of monks and vagabonds was a serious blow to the city's commerce.

The excessive tendency to multiply the monasteries, united with the extravagance of some practices of the monks, by the middle of the fifth century had become a serious source of disquietude to the government. Men rushed into the cloister to evade taxes, to escape service in the army, or to find an easy means of living at the expense of pious and generous Christians. Relatives were confined there by their own kin. Fugitive slaves, runaway husbands, and sometimes criminals, found refuge there. Ambitious and frivolous monks associated with those of faith. The vow of personal poverty did not prevent the acquisition of corporate wealth by the brotherhood, so that luxury and ribaldry crept into the houses. Life according to the Rule (*regula*) became impossible. In 451, at the Council of Chalcedon, the Church and the imperial government together sought to remedy these disorders by requiring episcopal sanction for every monastic foundation; proper endowment, in order to make it independent of charity; rigid enforcement of regulations; and a novitiate of three years—provisions which the abbots made a dead letter.

It was inevitable that monasticism should extend to the West. Christianity in the fourth century adopted the ancient pagan practice of making pilgrimages to sacred places. First the Holy Land, then Egypt, became places of pilgrimage, and the pilgrims carried back with them the ideals and the practices of monasticism. The two influential names associated with the westward extension of monasticism are those of

St. Jerome and Cassianus. The former built a house of seclusion for himself in Bethlehem in the latter years of his life, and by his writings influenced the spread of monasticism. Jerome was an austere puritan, one of the first to rebel against the worldliness and riches of the Church. Cassianus founded two monasteries in southern Gaul near Marseilles, whence the movement spread over Gaul and into Spain. The islands off the Riviera, notably the Lérins, were colonized by monks early in the fifth century. The islands of the Tuscan Sea soon swarmed with monks. St. Ambrose of Milan, too, although never a monk, powerfully contributed to the new movement by his laudation of the blessings of solitude. In 393 a certain James, "come from the depths of Persia"—notice the oriental influence—established a retreat from the world in Campania. In the same year Paulin of Nola, a rich Roman proprietor, sold his possessions and "passed the rest of his life in avoiding the turmoil of life." In the mountainous region of Auvergne another eastern solitary settled in a refuge. The lower Loire country around Tours soon became a western Thebaid because of the number of monks who abode there, where they burrowed cells for themselves in the chalk face of the cliffs, and became as thick as swallows in a clay bank. The name of St. Martin of Tours (316–96) is forever associated with this colony. The monks of St. Martin's sought to train the people in agriculture, and distributed gifts of seed among them.

In the time of St. Augustine anchorite or hermit life appeared in Africa, where the monks so rapidly increased, that Augustine, whose Latin genius was offended by its disorderliness, speedily took the movement in hand and put it under discipline. At the time of the coming of the Vandals (429) there were many monasteries, often in close neighborhood with some great proprietor. These houses became places of asylum during the ten years of war, for it is a striking fact that the Vandals, though Arians, respected these communities and did not molest them. The reason for this toleration lies in the important fact that these communities of monks everywhere, East and West, were not communities of priests, but communities of laymen who had resolved to live the cloistered and religious life. As long as they dwelt apart from the world and did not interfere with politics they were unmolested in every Arian kingdom. This distinction between clericature and the monastic life is a very important distinction to be borne in mind, and one not generally understood.

But although emanating from the East and adopted by the West, western monasticism radically differed in intent and practices from eastern monasticism. The East was given to grotesque and eccentric forms of self-discipline; the west was practical. The eastern monks lived a life apart, absorbed in abortive reflections or in listless idleness; doing little work save a few of scholarly inclination who copied manuscripts, but deriving their support from pious but misdirected charity.

Those in the Latin West, on the contrary, were earnest, sane in their thinking and action, alert, industrious, and self-supporting. The men of the West had no patience with pillar saints, like St. Simeon Stylites, or hermits who exiled themselves in swamps that the stings of insects might teach them to mortify the flesh, or prayed for days in thorn-bushes, or bent their bodies into torturing positions, and so remained, or sat for days together in sack-cloth, like St. Anthony, his skin "black as an Ethopian's" with accumulated scurf, and with "scorpions and wild beasts his only companions."

The sanity and efficiency of western and Latin monasticism was an expression of the fundamental difference between the Roman and the Græco-Oriental mind. The former was ordered, practical; the latter inclined to attenuated theological argumentation, intolerance, idle day-dreaming, exaggerations and excesses. But there was grave danger in the inception of western monasticism lest oriental influences gain the mastery. From this calamity western monasticism was saved by two great men, Cassiodorus and St. Benedict of Nursia. When Theodoric the Great died in 526 Cassiodorus, his eminent minister and a rich proprietor, retired to his estates at Squillace in Calabria, and converted his manor-house into a monastery, where were gathered around him a few devoted followers who spent their time in reading and study, alternated with mild but wholesome exercise in the gardens of the establishment. For the regulation of this little community Cassiodorus drew up a form of simple rules which especially differed in the requirement of labor from the rules of other such communities hitherto, whether in East or West.

A younger contemporary and far greater than Cassiodorus in the influence he exerted upon Latin monasticism, was St. Benedict of Nursia in Umbria. His traditional date is about 480 to 543, but all that can be said with confidence is that he lived in Italy in the last part of the fifth and the early part of the sixth century. It is difficult to detach legend from history in his life. The foundation of Monte Cassino (520?) upon a striking elevation overlooking a lovely valley of Campania marks the inception of the first organized movement of western monasticism. Monte Cassino became the mother monastery of hundreds of foundations in Italy, Gaul, Germany, England, and Spain, all of which dwelt under the Benedictine Rule. As it has come down to us this Rule is a code. But there are critical reasons to justify us in believing that the original Rule was a very simple affair. It grew by accretion through practical experience, basic elements in it being the Basilian Rule, the Institutions of Cassianus, the Rule of Cæsar of Arles and the prescriptions of St. Columban, the great Irish saint. The abbot appointed all the officials of the abbey. That of cellarer was of great importance in certain abbeys which were rich in vineyards. In theory the abbot had personal disposition of only one-third of the rev-

enues of the abbey; the residue was for support of the brothers, for maintenance of services, repair of buildings, and distribution to the poor. But the abbot was accountable to his conscience only.

At first Benedictinism grew slowly. Gregory Maurus, one of Benedict's first disciples, founded a monastery at Saint-Maur-sur-Loire about 544. With the accession of Gregory the Great (590–604) to the papacy things changed rapidly. The most rapid expansion of Benedictinism was in Italy. By the middle of the seventh century the Benedictine Rule was generally prevalent in Gaul. In 788 Charlemagne made it obligatory for all monasteries in the Frankish Empire. The date of its introduction into England is uncertain, although tradition attaches that event to the mission of St. Augustine in 596. It was not adopted in Spain until the tenth century.

The powerful personality of Gregory I undoubtedly was largely responsible for the spread of Benedictine monasticism. But we must take into account other factors, especially those of an economic and social nature. In Italy the movement coincided with the terrible wars of Justinian against the Goths. In Frankish Gaul it coincided with the terrible civil wars of the seventh century. The devastating effect of these wars, the thousands of homeless and friendless, privation, starvation, disease, lack of security, at once created a great social and economic necessity and inspired measures of relief. The monasteries became places of asylums, hospices, for the refugee and the impoverished.

Benedictinism met the need of the time and rose to the opportunity, when other monastic communities failed or were unable to do so. The reason is not far to seek. Instead of living in idleness upon the largess of the pious as oriental and Greek monks did, and as even some of the western groups seemed inclined to do, Benedictinism from the very beginning had emphasized that idleness was the mother of vice, and insisted upon the duty of labor and the dignity of self-support. The Rule reads:

> Idleness is the great enemy of the soul. Therefore monks should always be occupied, either in manual labor or in sacred reading. The hours for these occupations should be arranged according to the seasons, as follows: From Easter to the first of October the monks shall go to work at the first hour and labor until the fourth hour, and the time from the fourth to the sixth hour shall be spent in reading. . . . [After nones] the monks shall go back to work, laboring until vespers. But if the conditions of the locality or the needs of the monastery—such as may occur at harvest-time—should make it necessary to labor longer hours, they shall not feel themselves ill-used. For true monks should live by the labor of their hands as did the apostles and the holy fathers.

It is to be carefully observed, however, that—contrary to widespread

belief—the Rule of St. Benedict does *not enjoin* and require manual labor, but only recommends it. As Rupert of Dietz, a twelfth century commentator, pointed out, "labor is permitted or advised as a counsel of patience." Peter the Venerable, the Great Abbot of Cluny, in the same century, ridiculed the idea that monks were required to work with their hands, declaring it "indecent and impracticable" for them to perform manual labor.

Whatever may be said in criticism of the ethics of medieval monasticism which evaded the vow of poverty by the *corporate* ownership of enormous wealth, there is no doubt of the immense material progress of Europe in the Middle Ages owing to the intelligence with which the great monastic farms were managed. Agriculture was inconsistent with the unsettled habits of the early Germans, and German farming was rude and crude when compared with the careful economy of the monastery farms. Even the great patrimonies of the nobles were not so well run. Some medieval monasteries possessed the works of Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius, and in course of time the monasteries also made their own books of farm instruction and farm practice. The great landed nobles, too, became interested in the better development of their properties. When strong, settled government at last, in the thirteenth century, got the upper hand over feudal turmoil in western Europe, manuals of farm management and agricultural treatises based on these began to be current in England, France, Spain, and Italy. A modern writer tells us:

> Each of the Benedictine houses was primarily a model farm, preserving the external aspects of a Roman villa, and prosecuting agriculture according to the recognized methods. It may be impossible to distinguish the improvements in cereals or breeds which were due to the monks, from those that were introduced by the Romans into Gaul and Britain; but at least we may say that the religious colonies maintained the practice of tillage in places where it was in danger of being forgotten altogether.

But in addition to preserving across the Middle Ages Roman scientific methods of agriculture, cattle breeding, fruit raising, etc., with which the Germans were unfamiliar, and which they learned from the Church, the monasteries, as they extended their holdings, drained swamps, cleared forests, and brought vast tracts of wild land in medieval Europe under tillage. The original site of Glastonbury Abbey in England was an immense marsh region which in the course of centuries was converted into one of the richest farming regions of the island. The great Fenland Country of the eastern shires was originally all swamp. When Ely Cathedral was founded the church was built on the only rise of ground in miles of fen, where the eels abounded, and from which the place derived its name. Today the land is smiling farms. Yet in the old

Book of Ely, there is a stave which shows that before the Norman Conquest, the famous king Canute went to Ely by boat:

"Merrily sang the monks of Ely
As King Knut rowed along.
'Row, fellows, near the land,
And hear we these monks' song.'"

In the redemption of the wilderness monasticism was more influential than any other force in the Middle Ages. Voluntarily seeking isolation, the monks penetrated into the depths of the forests, which gradually were cleared and converted into tilled fields; sought the fastnesses of the mountains and constructed roads over saddles and through passes; drained swamps; built dikes. In a word, the primary economic function of monasticism was in agriculture and the simple industries, and in colonization. This was still the history of the Cistercians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. "The spot on which you have begun to build is not suited for a habitation of monks because it wants water and the forest is at too great a distance. These two elements are absolutely necessary for the subsistence of a monastery," was the advice given a Norman abbot.

The daily order in a monastery was thus: After having been present at the service of Prime, the monks assembled in the chapter house. The prior assigned to each individual the amount and the kind of labor on which he was to be engaged during the day. A few short prayers asking for a blessing upon their work were next offered up. The tools were then produced and the brethren marched two and two and in silence to their allotted tasks in the fields. From Easter to the beginning of October they were thus occupied from six o'clock in the morning, in some instances until ten; in others until noon, the duration depending upon the season. St. Benedict had no patience with the excesses and fantastic austèrities of eastern monasticism. He was too level-headed a Roman for that. The food was abundant, though simple. Flesh food was restricted, certainly no great deprivation in a Mediterranean country. There was no limitation upon fish or oil or butter. The monk had two meals per day, at which he was allowed eight ounces of bread, a pint of wine, two dishes of vegetables, with fruit. His clothes were made of wool, adapted to the season. Naturally as monasticism spread into the northern countries, some changes of diet became necessary. The most notable was that beer was drunk instead of wine in countries where wine-growing was climatically impossible.

As the monks preserved ancient methods of farming, so their shops preserved the industries of ancient civilization to a greater degree than they were preserved upon the manors of the lay nobles. If not the in-

vention, at least the improvement of beer-making was due to the monks. Bell-founding was a unique monastic industry and harks back to Celtic origin. Lead pipe was another industry almost exclusively to be found in monasteries. Ethelwold constructed a lead drain which ran underneath the dormitory of the monks. The earliest use of marl as a fertilizer is attributed to monastic origin.

During the Merovingian period wine grapes were probably grown very little off of church and monastery lands. The incessant warfare was ruinous to vineyards. Moreover, trade in wine, as in everything else, was hampered at every turn. After the Roman peace ceased to be effective, private tolls and exactions began to be imposed by the great nobles on their own lands, and this situation continued in the early days of the Frankish Empire. Money was wrung from merchants at harbors, fords, bridges—everywhere possible—with a blighting effect on trade. But the churches and monasteries early began to acquire rights of exemption, which gave them as great an advantage in the wine trade as they already had in wine growing. Most of the wine was consumed on the estates on which it was grown, but some of the best (and the best was always from monasteries) was sold elsewhere or even shipped abroad. The monasteries around Bordeaux, Nantes, Rouen, and Boulogne trafficked in wines with Spain, Ireland, and Frisia, and through all this period England knew only French wine. Wine was sold at the Fair of St. Denis to merchants from all parts of the country, and even foreigners from Britain and Frisia. But the merchants who went further and who dealt in the most expensive wares were those from the churches and monasteries. The monks, among whom the rules of abstinence, even of temperance, broke down with increasing wealth and luxury, had special merchants, the *negociatores ecclesiae* who handled their products, and acted as their commercial agents. Some went as far as Byzantium and the Orient on this business, and they were a large factor in the internal commerce along the roads and rivers of Europe, dealing especially in wines. We have a record of the large quantity of Burgundian wine shipped down the Seine and from Rouen across the sea in Merovingian times, by the *negociatores* of Jumièges, St. Wandrille and Fécamp.

Benedictinism did not come to possess the field without competition, however. For two centuries, from 600 to 800, Irish monasticism was its rival, and so interesting, so influential was this movement that some words need to be said about it. The singular, one may even say unique, nature of Irish influence, was largely due to the pure Celticism of the nation. Alone of all countries and peoples of western Europe Ireland had never been a portion of the Roman Empire, although the island was known to the Romans since Agricola's circumnavigation of Britain in the reign of Vespasian. In consequence the Irish developed a civili-

zation and a culture independent of external influences. The ancient Celtic clan reached a high degree of development. Each clan had its own territory under its clan chieftain; the clan was the political and social group. The O'Donnells, O'Neils, O'Doughertys, O'Hanlons were in Ulster; O'Haras, O'Kellys, and O'Connors in Connaught; O'Farrells and O'Tooles in Leinster; O'Donoghues, O'Dwyers, O'Connells in Munster. These territories were originally "kingdoms," later to become counties. Clan fought with clan for mastery in these areas, and united clans for mastery of the territory of others. The "king" of all Ireland was largely a titular figure and Tara a romantic and sentimental capital, not a political. The early Irish possessed an elaborate code of laws, the famous Brehon Laws. Social distinctions were sharply discriminated. Private property consisted chiefly of cattle. The land was the common possession of the clan or of a sept of the clan. Agriculture was not advanced, for the country was covered with forest and moor; but in the industrial arts like basket-making, leather-working, metal work, notably goldsmithing, the Irish exhibited a highly developed technique. The folklore, fairy tales, and poetry of the ancient Irish were highly imaginative, replete with myth and magic, and were destined to exercise a profound influence upon medieval literature.

The Brehons were the judges who administered the law. The poet occupied an enviable position in that he was attached in many cases to the court of the chieftain, and was philosopher, chronicler, and rhetorician. In fact, the poet was identical with the Brehon. The poet, or Brehon, administered the laws. The genealogies of the clans, the history of the tribes, the great wealth and romantic history of the kings, were all composed and recited in verse. The preparation of a poet was a long and arduous one, and called forth a specialized education. In fact, for a child to obtain a so-called "literary fosterage" meant a good deal in that child's favor, and opportunity of future betterment.

Despite the fact that ancient Ireland was never politically connected with the Continent or with Roman Britain, there are traces of commercial connections with both in the latter days of the Roman Empire. Roman traders in the fourth and fifth centuries seem to have sailed directly from Gaul to Ireland and British ports on the Irish Sea. St. Patrick escaped from captivity in Ireland in a ship carrying Irish wolfhounds, pottery, marten skins, and basketware to Bordeaux. This commerce survived the passing of the Roman Empire, and indeed became brisker during the period of the barbarian kingdoms. St. Columban before 600 crossed over to Brittany in a similar vessel, and when he was expelled from the Frankish kingdom and taken to Nantes he found there a vessel laden with Irish wares. The biography of St. Philibert, who lived in the seventh century and founded a monastery on the island of Noirmoutier

in the estuary of the Loire, relates how an Irish ship came into the port "full of divers articles of merchandise."

But far more important than this commercial relation between the Continent and Ireland was the extension of Christianity to Ireland, which paved the way for Irish monastic colonization and missionary expansion abroad. It has been proved beyond doubt that Christianity reached Ireland from Britain in the fourth century. A Roman tradition relates that during the reign of King Laegaire (429–58?), learning of the presence of Christians in Ireland the pope sent St. Palladius thither (431). St. Jerome met Irish Christians in Gaul. The first bishop of Toul may have been of Irish descent. But Palladius' mission seems to have been unsuccessful, perhaps because he had not learned the Irish tongue. The real Christianization of Ireland began with St. Patrick, who was born of Romanized British stock in southwestern Britain, was captured by Irish sea thieves and spent six years of captivity in Ireland (ca. 405–11), escaped to Gaul, studied at Lérins and Auxerre, and returned to Ireland in 432. The clan nature of Irish society at once stamped itself on Irish monasticism. Often all the inmates of a house were blood relations and no outsider was permitted to enter. It is this clannishness which explains how and why monastic organization should have been so much stronger than episcopal organization among the Irish. Whole clans lived in the monasteries, which were like towns.

The learning for which Ireland was celebrated during the sixth and following centuries could not have been due to the labors of St. Patrick. He was deficient in education, and his Latin rustic. In his *Confessions* he tells that he was not a learned man. The scribe who copied his *Confessions* in the *Book of Armagh* centuries ago relates in one place that the part he had hitherto been copying was written from a manuscript from the Saint's own hand, but that he found it very difficult to read, for it was old and not well written. If this is true, then St. Patrick is not likely to have introduced the study of Virgil and Cicero into Ireland. Nor is it probable that any of the Gauls or Britons who accompanied Patrick brought classical studies to Ireland. Yet Bangor and Armagh in Ulster and Linsmore in the south were, at the end of the sixth century, the most prominent and flourishing monasteries in Ireland. The standard of learning was much higher than in Rome under Gregory the Great or in the schools of Gaul. It was derived without interruption from the learning of the fourth century. How it came to Ireland and who were the bearers of it is one of the riddles of history. But it is almost certain that we must dismiss altogether the idea that Gallic or British missionaries introduced or promoted classical learning in ancient Ireland. The solution seems to be that at some time about 400, perhaps as the result of the grand invasion of Gaul by the Vandals

in 406, some Gallic scholars fled the country to Ireland. The Gallic grammarian Virgilius Maro, some of whose works have survived, who seems to have been a pagan rhetor in the school at Toulouse, certainly had an influence on early classical studies in Ireland, and may at one time have been a refugee there. He lived in the time of the Vandal invasion and the Visigothic conquest of southern Gaul.

In this manner did learning come to Ireland—through men of letters and not through missionaries. St. Patrick refers to these Gaulish grammarians in his *Confessions* as "pagan rhetors from Gaul whose arrogant presumption founded upon their superior training looked with disdain and derision" upon the unlettered saint. These Gauls must have settled mainly in South and East Ireland, in other words, Munster and Leinster, the two provinces which by their position, facing the Continent and Britain, were undoubtedly always the centre of civilization in Ireland. It was from a Romanized Celtic country that these fugitives came; it was to a pure Celtic country that they came. But others besides scholars seem to have fled from Gaul to Ireland. For we soon find Gallic mercenaries in the pay of Irish chieftains. The new learning brought to Ireland was of the best scholarly tradition. It was transplanted into Ireland at just the time that classical learning was beginning to perish upon the Continent. When at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century Irish monk missionaries began to flood Frankish Gaul and Germany the ignorance of the clergy, the degeneracy of the schools amazed them. "At that time," records the *Vita Columbani*, "on account of the negligence of the bishops, the Christian faith had almost disappeared from the country."

Gregory of Tours' picture of the Merovingian clergy is an appalling one. Two bishops warred in helmet and cuirass and in peace times were mere brigands. A council deposed them, but they were reinstated, "after playing the comedy of penitence." The Frankish clergy were flagrantly selfish and avaricious. The words "remedy of the soul" were employed to extort money or gifts of land. As water will not rise higher than its source, so the mass of the nation of the Franks could not be expected to rise higher, or even so high, as the clergy. The Franks were pagans with a thin veneer of the externals of Christianity spread over them. When Theudebert invaded Italy against the Goths and Byzantines the soldiers threw the bodies of women and children into the Po River to win the favor of Woden by human sacrifice. Of missionary labors the Merovingian church undertook nothing. Beyond the Scheldt and in the valley of the lower Meuse, not many miles beyond some villas of the kings, paganism reigned supreme.

The native impulsiveness of the Irish, together with an ingrained passion for religion and that love of wandering and spirit of adventure, which has spread the Irish all over the earth, combined to pour Irish

monks like a flood upon Scotland, England, and Gaul. The *Miracles of St. Gall* truly says that travel was according to nature among the Irish. A Frankish chronicler tells us that an Irishman could be recognized from afar by his satchel made of woven willow osiers; for the Franks carried their apparel in a leathern bag.

But there were economic and social factors at work which partially account for the Irish exodus. The Irish have ever been a prolific people, and there is ground to think that pressure of population, with its attendant evil of hungry mouths, was also a factor. The backwardness of Irish agriculture, the vast wastes of forest and bog land, aggravated this condition. The biographer of St. Columban dwells upon the peaceful condition of Ireland during the boyhood of his hero. Yet it is hard not to believe that he was idealizing for saintly purposes. Certainly by the eighth century Ireland was in a state of chronic warfare, clan with clan, each seeking to dispossess the other or, if unable so to do, at least to drive off the other's cattle. Irish Christianity does not seem to have curbed this warlike propensity; on the contrary Irish monks are found marching with their clan on military expeditions, and even monastery warring with monastery. Thus we read:

A.D. 763. A battle was fought at Argamoyn between the fraternities of Clonmacnois and Durrow, where Dermod Duff, son of Donnell, was killed with 200 men of the fraternity of Durrow. Bresal, son of Murchadh, with the fraternity of Clonmacnois was victor.

There is another entry in 816, in which a "fraternity" of Columcille was beaten and then went to Tara "to curse the king." Irish armies had no compunctions about sacking the monasteries and slaying the monks of another clan in another kingdom. Clonmacnois, Kildare, Clonard, Armagh, all were plundered by Irish Christian clan armies in which monks fought side by side with their clan-brothers. In the ninth century Phelim, king of Munster, though an abbot, sacked the monasteries in Ulster and killed their monks and clergy.

Like the monks of the East, and unlike the Benedictines in the West, the Irish monks were given to extreme rigor and austerities. The intense pursuit of salvation and the introspection which characterized Irish monastic life made it the primary agent in spreading the idea of penance and confession. Their penitential system notably, transmitted through the Anglo-Saxon church to the Continent, was widely different from that of the ancient catholic Church and profoundly influenced the medieval Church, as did also the Irish form of the confessional. Gregory I was totally unaware of the Celtic type of penitential discipline. No words are necessary to show the regulatory influence upon a sordid and violent society such as that of the early Middle Ages was, which this system must have had. The fines and penalties both moral and

material, exacted by the Church for social and criminal offenses not only supplemented the barbarian codes; often they were more effective in the suppression and punishment of crime.

The *Lives* of the Irish saints, notably those of St. Columba, St. Columban, and St. Gall, are among the most vivid and most valuable historical sources we possess. The first of these was the converter of the Picts and Scots; the other two were missionaries on the Continent. St. Columbanus' Rule is the only Irish monastic rule which has come down to us from the early period of Irish monachism, and though not composed in Ireland undoubtedly embodies Irish monastic traditions and practices. Irish monasticism and Benedictine monasticism met as rivals in the Frankish kingdom early in the seventh century. One or the other soon displaced or absorbed the old Gallic monasticism of St. Martin. But it was two centuries before the Benedictines were able to supplant or absorb the Irish monasteries. In that space of time their houses were planted in the Vosges, in Switzerland, South Germany, and North Italy. The great knot of the Alps especially attracted them by reason of its wildness and isolation. It is no exaggeration to say that it was the Irish monasteries which first brought Christianity and civilization into Switzerland.

The *Vita Columbani* illustrates almost every characteristic and condition under which Irish monasticism expanded upon the Continent, and for that reason salient extracts from it are here given. The passion for wandering, combined with missionary zeal, finds expression in this sentence: "After he had been for many years in the cloister he longed to go into foreign lands in obedience to the command which God gave Abraham: 'Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, into a land that I shall shew thee.' . . . Accordingly, having collected a band of brethren, . . . they embarked for the coast of Brittany." In the Frankish kingdom Columban was welcomed by Queen Brunhildis. "At that time there was a great wilderness called Vogasus [Vosges] in which there was a castle which had long been in ruins, called Anagrates [Anegray]," where a monastery was built. It was a lonely wilderness, a rocky place where wolves and bears were to be found in the forest round about. The castle had once been a Roman fortress erected in the fourth century to block the passes of the Vosges against the Allemanni, who had crossed the upper Rhine and over-run Alsace. The landed nobles of the region were kindly disposed and furnished the little colony with food and seed until their crops should grow.

As the number of monks increased Columban sought another location and found one at Luxovium. "Here a great number of stone idols which in ancient times had been worshiped with horrible rites, stood in the forest." But the site had not been that of an old pagan temple, as the

biographer thought. Instead there had been a Roman bath there in times gone by, and the "idols" were but the broken statuary which had once adorned it. With the decay of Roman civilization the wilderness had claimed the site for its own. Such was the origin of Luxeuil. But again the region became too populous, for settlers flowed in, cleared the forest, broke the ground and established villages. For the third time a new and isolated site was sought and found at Fontanas (Fontaines) where a spring gushed out, in the valley of the upper Moselle. The woods were felled, the ground broken, crops planted by the monks. The names of four of the brothers are given and are interesting. Three were Irish and one a Scot. But the name of the lord of the region was Waldalen, which shows that he was a German of the Allemannic people. We are told that the monks wore gloves when doing manual labor, "which the Gauls call *wanti*," whence the modern French word *gant* for gloves; that they brewed beer, "which is boiled down from the juice of corn or barley, and which is used in preference to other beverages by all the nations of the north except the Irish." Orchards and vineyards were planted, and the monks made shoes and saddlery.

The fondness of the Irish for the wild animal life around them comes out in mention of Columban's pet squirrel. Fawns, marmots, and ravens whose thieving tricks amused, and pet bears were customary inhabitants of Irish monasteries. St. Gall had a pet bear which used to bring his firewood and would eat out of his hand. Dancing bears are mentioned in the *Ruodlieb*, one of the oldest poems of the German people, which, though written in Latin, accurately reflects Germanic ways and customs. There is little doubt that the fondness of the Swiss for pet bears and the famous bear pit at Bern owe their origin to the influence of the Irish monks in the Alpine lands.

How, finally are we to estimate monasticism? The institution has been passionately defended, and as passionately condemned. But, taken through the broad sweep of centuries, does monasticism need defense, or deserve condemnation? Like all human institutions it was always far from perfect, and often very corrupt; neither above criticism nor beneath contempt. However unsuitable to our age—though monasticism still finds a place in the Christian world—one can hardly doubt that it was a natural expression of the spirit and condition of the Middle Ages. It could not have lasted so long by mere tolerance, or abusive power or deceit. It must have answered to some needs of the time, both spiritual and material. It could not have endured through mere inertia, or the influence of purely negative forces. Judged by a modern standard, the root of monasticism was a selfish one, for the primary aim of the monk was to save his own soul, to keep it uncontaminated from the world by isolation, to purge his soul of dross by ascetic practices. Yet the monasteries distributed relief, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, befriended

the friendless, protected the widow and the orphan, maintained hospices and schools. Is one to think that all these things were done as "good works" in order that the bestower might get credit in heaven? Or was there genuine charity, real humanitarianism in the doing of them?

Whatever the fundamental motives of monasticism, there are few who will deny the substantial worth of the monks' services to society during the Dark Ages.

CHAPTER VI

THE EASTERN ROMAN OR BYZANTINE EMPIRE (395–802). JUSTINIAN (527–65) *

In a former chapter the decline of ancient civilization has been described and analyzed. In the West the Roman state as a political entity passed away, though the debris of its civilization survived that collapse and fused with the institutions of the Church and of the Germans to form a new society, a new civilization, new political groups.

In the East, however, the Roman Empire continued to survive all through the Middle Ages, Roman by tradition and in its political institutions, but Graeco-Oriental or "Hellenistic" in its language and culture. The emperor's official title, "Romaikos," expresses this dualism. Numbers of the German invaders had passed through its provinces, but none had settled in them. Eastern Europe and western Asia did not experience that long eclipse, that great setback which the West knew. The continuity of history afforded in the history of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire is one of the most impressive of great historical facts. Not that its history remained immobile or static through long centuries. The Byzantine Empire in the course of the centuries was profoundly modified within and without. But the point is that the government and the civilization rose triumphant over all forces of opposition and revolution, and "carried on" uninterruptedly. The Byzantine Empire's capacity of resistance to or assimilation of foreign influences, its recuperative energy, was enormous. Byzantium was a prolongation of the Roman Empire in the eastern Mediterranean. During these centuries Constantinople remained the City par excellence, mistress of the international trade, the natural centre of exchange between the East and the West. In spite of wars and invasions, her commercial relations were not interrupted. The productions of the Levant, transported by Greeks, Jews, Syrians, Arabs, Bulgarians, Italians, even in the most troubled epochs, did not fail to reach European markets. In their path followed philosophic theories, the arts, letters and laws. Thus commerce appears as the bond of union between the ancient world and the new world, between the Eastern and the Western world, as a vehicle of those civilizing ideas which have been transmitted to us.

But there was menace, as well as profit, to Europe in this activity.

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 52.

For, at the moment when European civilization was in the throes of the Great Migrations, the ancient oriental civilizations, the memory of which the conquests of Alexander had almost effaced, resumed new sway in the world and began to cast off the yoke of Hellenism. The Persians, under their Sassanid dynasty, the Syrians, the Copts of Egypt, revived the memory of their national traditions; the Orient became again, as before Alexander the Great, an arena of civilizations hostile to western ideas. The Syrians of the fifth and sixth centuries were the commercial masters of Europe, and the colonies which they had established in the great towns of Italy, Gaul, and Africa became centres from which their special conceptions expanded more and more and invaded the West. Costumes, usages, faiths, artistic monuments, legends, every form of human activity at this epoch bears an oriental imprint. Eastern Europe by the sixth century had submitted to a gradual invasion out of the East, the consequences of which were profound. In the adoption of oriental costume, in the penetration of oriental customs, in the adoption of oriental social institutions by the law, in the elimination of Romano-Byzantine institutions which could not be successfully implanted in Egypt and Syria, the eastern countries declared their adherence to the unchanging East. Against this rising tide out of the Orient, Constantinople was the bulwark for a thousand years.

We are just beginning to appreciate the great debt which civilization owes to the Byzantine Empire; that from the time of Justinian to the Crusades the traditions of a great system of law and administration, of Greek literature, of commerce and industry and art were kept alive at Constantinople; that civilization south of the Balkans and east of the Vistula is peculiarly the child of Constantinople. We are beginning to shake free from the prejudice of western source material, the writings of covetous western merchants, of prejudiced western churchmen, and western scholars jealous of Byzantine culture. The history of the great Eastern Rome is seen in its true light, with its epoch of valor, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and part of the eleventh centuries, its prosperity and strength.

The question naturally arises; how was Constantinople, the centre of Byzantine culture, enabled to preserve and develop so richly her contributions to civilization when all the rest of the world was over-run and disturbed by the German, Slav, or Arab? Primarily on account of her maritime position. Constantinople lived, preserved herself, and fell by the sea. Her position was ideal for defense or offense. The closing of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont by her fleet made her unapproachable on three sides and left her free to man the great wall which protected her on the northwest. The sea made the city impregnable. And on the offensive it furnished her with the opportunity of striking any way, to the north, the east, or the west.

But it is not with the importance of the sea to a beleaguered Constantinople that we are chiefly concerned, but rather with the maritime position of Constantinople as it affected trade. I have developed the other phase merely so that in the treatment which is to follow the great commerce and industry of the city, its wealth, may not be made to seem the sole source of its strength. Indeed, there were other factors besides a favorable offensive and defensive position to which we must give due weight—the able men who came to the front in time of need, the importance of the emperor's superior place in the ecclesiastical system. These factors, like the military position of the city, are important.

The power behind the great wall, the power which made the imperial arms so mighty, which gave the city the sinews of war and a place in the world, came from the strength of the commerce and industry of the Empire, and particularly of Constantinople. From the hour that this city became the seat of the most powerful and the most brilliant court of the time, a court which became still more brilliant on account of the oriental luxury which it had adopted, the goods and treasures of the Orient were amassed within its walls. Never was a capital situated more advantageously than Constantinople to become the foremost commercial city of the world. Constantinople was not merely the market of the Black Sea and the Ægean Archipelago; the Levant was her dominion; Syria and Egypt paid tribute; her commercial interests radiated as far as China and India. The great trade-route that was centuries old in the time of Abraham, which came out of Asia across the Persian plateau and the plains of Mesopotamia, whose western terminus had once been Tyre of the Phœnicians, now terminated at Constantinople. Alexandria, at the crossroads of three continents, at the head of the Red Sea route, poured the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind into her lap. The cities of the Eastern Empire were densely populated. Constantinople had at least five hundred thousand inhabitants, perhaps even a million. The budget of its receipts bears witness to the existence of an enormous amount of capital. The revenues of the government in the days of its greatest prosperity have been computed at three hundred million francs in modern French currency, equal to $60,000,000.

Never were government and society more firmly or more minutely organized. "Municipal enterprise and initiative were discouraged by the whole character of government; and the centralized ecclesiasticism tended towards the same result. Every one looked to Constantinople for guidance and protection." The social organism was conceived of as a vast administration, in which every one had his part, being equally indispensable if not equally important. The part played by the citizen was not a matter of his own election or initiation. The state assumed control of the individual, assigned him his place, and bent all its en-

deavors to maintaining him in it. Personality did not count; the subject was a mere cog in the vast machinery of the government. Necessity and duty, nay, even religion, compelled him to comply with the state's regulations. The legislation of the Empire, from Diocletian to Constantine and Justinian, tended toward this one result: to concentrate all the activities of society in the hands of the government; to invent the mechanical means to bring about this end, and once reached, to maintain the situation in immutable organization.

The origin of this system was the fiscal necessities of the government, and in this particular the state socialism of the Byzantine Empire differs from the socialized state of the present day, in whose activities the state is conceived of as a beneficent and enlightened administrator. In order to secure the resources necessary for the increasing requirements of the treasury, in order to eliminate the uncertain equation of free competition from production and distribution, in order to facilitate the working of the government, all the various social and economic activities of a great people were carefully regulated. Unfortunately, as Bury says, "There is no side of the history of societies in the remote past on which we are left so much in the dark by extant records as their industry, their commerce, and their economy." It is a great pity that so much has been written of the palace intrigues of Constantinople and so little of her culture and economy.

The fifth century in the East as in the West was an age of sharp transition, but while the balance went down in the West, in the East, after perilous depression, the balance again went up.

The seventy-five years that succeeded the division of the Empire at the death of the great Theodosius (395) were a period of weakness, corruption, and misery for the eastern provinces. They experienced the ravages of Visigoth, Hun, and Ostrogoth, largely induced by the incapacity of the government, its corruption, its lack of faith in dealing with the Germanic home-seekers, its economic policy that depopulated and ruined the land, and its dependence on barbarian armies to repel barbarians. Debility and decay characterized most of the fifth century. The inability of the government to stem the tide of invasion produced the features of the desolate picture drawn by Finlay. Agriculture and population south of the Danube were almost destroyed. Thrace and Macedonia were so depleted that they began to lose the use of their ancient language. The general poverty was so great that trade declined and with it the standard of living, even of the heretofore prosperous trading Greeks. In some provinces the higher classes had been wiped out because loss of slaves and serfs had caused them to give up their lands or become mere cultivators. Towns were reduced to misery through the general poverty. State property, such as roads and bridges, was allowed to fall into decay.

Yet these evils, great as they were, were not so prevalent in the East as in the West, and in this lies one reason for the greater permanence of the Empire in the East. Especially the influences were not so potent that caused the ruin of the middle class and the formation of vast estates. The fifth century saw the ruin of industry and trade in the western provinces; but the commerce of the Mediterranean was still in the hands of the Greeks, and the wealth accumulated from this source and from the mines of Thrace enabled the emperors often to buy partial immunity from the barbarians. Again: in the East was no powerful pagan aristocracy working against the government as there was in the West. "The popular element in the social organization of the Greek people by its alliance with Christianity infused into society the energy which saved the Eastern Empire." A further fact that aided in this salvation is that following Theodosius II († 450) came two reforming emperors, one of whom, Leo I (457–61), abandoned the policy of taking barbarians into the army, and began to recruit from the hardy native stocks within the Empire. The other, Anastasius (491–518), misrepresented by ecclesiastical writers because of his mild religious policy, deserves approbation for the merits of his financial administration. He abolished the ruinous tax on industry, the *chrysargyrum,* commuted the imperial tithes, and modified the burdensome curial system. "To any city in his dominions which had suffered from hostile invasion he was wont to grant a remission of all taxes for the space of seven years." He refused to be blackmailed by the Persian King of Kings, Kobad, who demanded remuneration for expenses incurred in defense of the passes of the Caucasus against the White Huns, claiming that the debt was a joint account of the two civilized empires, and the war which ensued, if it failed to confer glory, at least was attended with no shame. These passes need to be observed by any one who would understand history and know geography, for they are among the most famous of historic gateways. One is the Dariel Pass, or Iberian Gates, through the Caucasus; the other, the Pass of Derbend at the eastern end of the great range, a narrow road between the mountains and the sea. In the former may yet be seen the ruins of a very ancient fortress attributed by legend both to Darius and to Alexander. Anastasius' great engineering accomplishment was the building of the Long Walls, more than fifty miles in length, from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea, a wall destined to play a famous rôle in Byzantine history.

When the perils of the transitional fifth century had passed, the Empire got solid footing once more in the long reign of Justinian (527–65), who may fittingly be regarded as a refounder of the Roman Empire, who ordained its structural nature within, and abroad established the course of its frontier policy; who gave it the form and spirit it was to possess until its expiration a millennium later.

Justinian's policy was one of grandiose imperial restoration, externally one of conquest and expansion in the West, of defense of frontiers in the East; internally one of administrative reform and administrative stimulation of every resource of the Empire. The former matter has been considered in recounting the later history of the Vandal, Visigothic, and especially the Ostrogothic kingdoms. In this chapter we shall confine ourselves wholly to the East.

The East Roman Empire was an empire of seas and continents. It embraced the Balkan peninsula in Europe, Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, and Palestine in Asia, Egypt and Libya in Africa. It was a European-Asian-Egyptian Empire. The seas, supplemented by the ancient Roman road system, gave it unity. In all these lands its policy was centralization within, a hardening of its administrative institutions, suppression of nationalistic or religious sectionalism among the oriental populations, the girding of the frontier against Bulgar and Slav in Europe, against Persia in Asia, with an iron ring of fortresses. The body and head of the Empire were in Europe; the limbs were in Asia Minor and Egypt.

Located at the head of the Red Sea, at the meeting of the East and the West, at the very gateway of the continents, where the lands and seas of Orient and Occident come closest together, with a great river and magnificent harbors, with level plains and the green oases to invite travel and traffic, Egypt stood at the crossroads of the world's commerce. William of Tyre said of Egypt in the Middle Ages that it was the "market of two worlds."

At the opening of this period Egypt had been for more than five centuries under imperial domination. The principal city and port was Alexandria. During the period Egypt was conquered by the Persians (616), after a short time retaken by the Romans (626), then permanently taken by the Arabs (642), who changed the political capital to Fustat and finally (969) removed it to Cairo. These political changes will be mentioned as the events arise.

From an agricultural viewpoint there are two great features of Egyptian topography—the long narrow, fertile valley extending for a thousand miles up the Nile, and the wide alluvial delta at the river's mouth. The delta country, in early days, was practically continued along the coast in either direction, though much farther to the west. The whole country from Alexandria to Cyrene was well watered, fertile, easily traversed, and populous throughout the Middle Ages.

The whole of this country produced grain, but particularly the Nile valley. Garden vegetables and fruits were plentiful enough to be included in Byzantine and later Arab land-taxes. The oases of upper Egypt furnished some indigo, but not of great value. The balsam tree, probably imported from Arabia, was raised near Heliopolis in Lower Egypt in the latter part of the period. Along the Nile and in the delta

the papyrus reed flourished extensively, and paper manufactured from it long furnished an important item of export. Late in this period "reeds" were grown for sugar in the delta, especially at Rosetta and Damietta. Sugar was made by grinding and pressing the cane in mills turned by oxen, and boiling the juice. It was hard and transparent and sold in lump or powder form. Linen was one of the chief manufactures and exports of Egypt throughout the Middle Ages but not much can be learned as to flax culture. Cattle-raising was an ancient branch of Egyptian husbandry. Horses were raised in Libya. Cyrenaica was famed for its fine horses and expert horsemen. On the monastery farms were found herds of camels and swine, typical no doubt of Egyptian agriculture.

Milne takes a depressing view of conditions in Egypt during the latter days of imperial control. He says that the scanty records seem to show that fixed rents increased very greatly, though proportional rents remained stationary or even dropped. The impression he gets from reading "the little detailed evidence" there is "for judging the general condition of Egypt during the last century of its government by the Romans" is one of "hopeless poverty." Facts are plentiful to prove that the monastic orders and the Church were great landed proprietors. The burden of imperial taxation fell heavier and heavier on Egypt. When Justinian undertook the conquest of Italy and Africa, he drew upon Egypt by every conceivable form of tax. Still, though the agricultural laborer and tenant farmer must have suffered, Egypt remained richly productive and populous.

The richness of the country enabled it to send 260,000 quarters of grain to Constantinople every year. When Phocas in 610 heard of the revolt in Egypt he seized a large fleet of Alexandrian corn-ships which were in the harbor. Alexandria shipped enormous quantities of wheat to Arabia "without prejudice to that which she annually sent to Constantinople." There was a serious failure of the Nile flood, always a historic incident, in 615, and a devastating famine throughout the land. Two of the Church's ships brought cargoes of corn from Sicily to Alexandria as a relief. In this same year, we also read that Bishop John of Alexandria contributed to the reinstatement of the churches in Jerusalem after the Persian invasion, "a thousand mules, a thousand sacks of corn, a thousand pickled fish, a thousand jars of wine, a thousand pounds of iron and a thousand workmen." He is also said to have sent a "large convoy of gold, corn, clothing, and the like."

Alexandria had been the Egyptian metropolis during the prosperous days of the Roman Empire. Here was gathered the best the world produced in the way of culture and industry, and through the great and growing city poured a ceaseless flow of commerce. Travelers described Alexandria under the Byzantine Empire as a busy city. No one

was idle. Glass and paper were worked and fine linen woven. This last craft was followed all over Egypt, none other was so common except agriculture; but the other two industries were largely confined to Alexandria. Other trades were well represented and the gild system characteristic of the Roman world prevailed in every town and village. Among those listed were coppersmiths, bakers, beer sellers, oil sellers. Among the industries mentioned as existing in the monastery at Panopolis were, besides those directly concerned with farming, smithing, baking, carpentry, fulling, basket weaving, tanning, shoemaking, and tailoring. Porcelain and pottery making, gold smithing, enameling on metals, and ivory carving were among the industries followed at the time of the Arab conquest. Among the gilds existing at Oxyrhyncus was one of bee-keepers; and in the same town we find a regulation for the selling of eggs, showing that the ancient Egyptian art of poultry raising was still important.

Egyptian linen manufacture was important throughout the Middle Ages and well along in the period that linen was still the choice of the Mediterranean world. The weavers of the towns of the delta, and even of the villages up the Nile, were famous for their skill in weaving textiles, not only linen, but silk and wonderful gold-embroidered fabrics famous both East and West. Certain towns achieved distinction because of rare and expensive garments made for special occasions. The gild system and close organization made possible exchange of ideas and rapid spreading of new patterns.

One other Egyptian local industry deserves special mention—shipbuilding. Both Alexandria and Klysma were strong naval ports. Alexandria was an important base for the Byzantine fleet and one of its principal dock-yards was there. It appears not improbable that the Arab Conquest "was connected with the recognition that only the possession of a fleet would ensure the lasting retention of the new acquisitions, the Syrian coast towns for instance." The Arabs continued to use Egypt as a naval base.

Fishing was a considerable local industry and salt fish was an article of export. The seaward gates of the Alexandrian canal were "constantly open, not merely for merchant vessels from the main, but for the many fishing boats which brought their daily burden to market." It is related that the Persians gained entrance to the city by the use of fishing boats and disguising themselves as longshoremen.

Egypt could never, by any means, be called a mining country, yet she produced a few minerals at least worth listing. Alum, much used by painters and tanners, was produced in Upper Egypt and Nubia; Alexandria became the great central port for it. Natron or nitre was important enough to give its name to one place. The emerald mines of Upper Egypt had been exploited for emeralds and beryl since antiquity

and were not finally exhausted until 1359. Rubies were found in Egypt, but of a quality inferior to those brought from Ceylon.

In all the industries and arts the native Copts, descendants of the ancient Egyptians, seem to have been the class that maintained the standards of Egypt. They were the ones who did the work and who formed the gilds. The Byzantines seem always to have occupied the position of a resident, office-holding, upper class, superimposed on the society of Egypt, and most of them left at the time of the Arab conquest. The Persians did not stay long and their influence was merely incidental.

Alexandria must have been a very large and splendid city. Its fine streets, its lights, its public buildings, magnificent baths, and many other sights inspired the Arabs when they arrived to remarkable flights of description. Less known, but of great importance, were some of the other cities of the delta. Damietta and Rosetta at different mouths of the Nile were busy, thriving cities. One of the most famous of manufacturing towns was Tinnis, on an island in Lake Manzâlat which was converted into a great swamp in the sixth century when the sea broke through the dikes and drowned out one of the finest and most fertile portions of the delta, wiping out completely many small villages and much farm, garden, and fruit land. Tinnis was famous into the late Middle Ages for weaving, being rivaled only by Damietta and Shata in the delicacy of its fabrics, and in the eleventh century was famed for its cutlery. Following up the Nile, Sais, Heliopolis, and Thebes were more or less important for trade. To the east at the narrow neck of Suez stood Pelusium (Coptic Peremoum), the key of Egypt from the East. It was about a mile and a half from the sea, near the Pelusiac arm of the Nile and possessed a harbor on the sea. Far to the south Assuan, Adonlis, Berenice, Aidab, and other points marked the trade routes on the upper Nile and on the shores of the Red Sea across the desert.

From what has been said, it is plain that Egypt's commerce was of two kinds—that beginning or ending in Egypt and that for which she acted as a go-between or gateway. The bulk of the natural Egyptian trade was the corn trade, a domestic trade for supplying the great cities of the delta and a foreign trade in carrying tribute to Rome, Constantinople, and other points and in supplying food through trading companies to many Mediterranean ports. Alexandria suffered from the evils of public largesses of grain as did other cities in the Byzantine Empire, and when Hoeppestus, governor of Alexandria under Justinian, stopped it in order to swell the imperial tribute it amounted to 2,000,000 bushels annually. Of imports but few came from the West, save wood, iron, other baser metals, and amber. Alexandria and the other cities were peculiar in that their trade was so largely export. Of imports, the Egyptians took toll of much of the oriental stuffs that came

through their lines. Raw silk from an early time was imported from the East for the weavers of Tinnis, Damietta, and other towns.

In order to secure the Alexandrian corn supply for Constantinople from the danger of plunder and destruction by the mob in every street riot, Justinian fortified the granaries near the docks at Philé in Alexandria with a strong wall. Moreover as the ships were often detained a month at the mouth of the Dardanelles waiting for a favorable wind, he built granaries there in order that the ships might clear at once and return to Egypt, while another service of vessels carried the corn to Constantinople.

The Church in Egypt, long since heavily endowed with lands, had by this time gotten its grip on nearly everything else in sight.

> The Church had its own fleet of trading vessels. It is related that one such ship with a cargo of 20,000 bushels of corn was driven so far out of its course by storms that it reached Britain, where there happened to be a severe famine. It returned laden with tin which the captain sold at Pentapolis. In another instance we hear of a flotilla of thirteen ships, each carrying 10,000 bushels of grain, which lost all their burden in a tempest in the Adriatic. They belonged to the Church and besides corn they carried silver, fine tissues, and other precious wares. Nor can it be doubted that the Church had its share of the enormous grain trade between Alexandria and Constantinople which Justinian carefully reorganized.[1]

The importance of Egypt as a gateway for oriental commerce dates from the time of Justinian and the rise of the New Persian monarchy under Chosroes, more than from Roman times. By the sixth century the Mediterranean peoples had acquired an appetite for the luxuries of the distant East far beyond that which had prevailed in Roman times. It was the control of this enormous and rich commerce which Persia coveted and was in such position to dominate, whether that trade came by road across Asia or by sea through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The long strife between Byzantium and Persia was fundamentally a trade war in which silk was the chief object of contention.

A Persian legend says that the first silkworm emerged from Job's boils. But it was certainly in China that the silk industry had its birth and it was there practiced perhaps a thousand years B.C. The oldest Chinese records make it even then an ancient art. The industry had almost the character of a sacred industry. It was confined for many centuries to the provinces of North China and monopolized to the advantage of the court, and every attempt to discover the secret of silk manufacture or to export the eggs of the silkworm was rigorously suppressed by the government. Only the finished product was permitted to cross the frontier. The Chinese exported silk to the markets of Turk-

[1] Butler, *Egypt under the Roman Domination,* pp. 49–50.

estan and India, whence it reached the Mediterranean along the familiar trade routes which were known as early as 150 B.C. as the "Silk Route." [2] Aristotle is the first writer of Greece who makes allusion to the silkworm. From the time of Alexander the Great oriental merchants imported silk goods into Europe. But it was always a precious commodity in the ancient world. Cæsar was considered to have displayed unheard of magnificence when he appeared in the theatre clad in silk, and it was not worn by the ladies at Rome until the time of Tiberius. The Early Empire forbade the wearing of silken garments by men. Even in the third century silk was worth its weight in gold.

In transporting silk the Chinese caravans never passed the frontier of Turkestan on the west, although some of their vessels went farther west than Ceylon. From these points the transport of the silk was taken up by different peoples. But whether it came by land or water, it was always the Persians who received it first, and they watched jealously to see that it reached the Eastern Empire through no other hands than theirs. Both on land and on sea the Persians were masters of the commerce of the Orient. Certain cities on the frontier were specially designated as dépôts for the silk trade between the two countries, and custom houses were placed there for the collection of the duties imposed by the two states. Stringent laws, dating from the fifth century, but reënacted by Justinian, punished with fines and confiscation any fraud or smuggling. These cities were: Callinicus on the Euphrates, Nisibis on the Roman frontier of Mesopotamia, and Artaxata in Armenia. In this way the Persians maintained a complete monopoly in the silk trade on land. On the sea their position was nearly as strong. Their fleets patrolled the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. They were near neighbors to India and on terms of friendship with its princes. Persian merchants were in India and Ceylon in great numbers. They enjoyed freedom from tax there and many special privileges and established large and powerful colonies. Constantinople was thus, in the time of Justinian, almost absolutely dependent upon Persia for the silk supply which had become a necessity to it. With the characteristic monopolistic and centralized organization of Roman economics, all the silk imported was bought under the direction of a *comes commerciorium*. Some of this silk was in finished form, much in a raw state for the imperial manufactories of Tyre and Beirut. At these cities there was also a great trade in rewoven and adulterated Chinese silk fabrics.

When the Persian War of 528 cut off the transcontinental silk trade, Justinian endeavored to develop the Red Sea and India route by ef-

[2] "The Land of the Seres is one of the earliest names by which China was known to the West. *Ssu*, pronounced *sz*, is the Chinese name, as *ser* is the Mongolian name for silk, and evidently the latter name accompanied the product into Greece and Rome."—Soothill, *China and the West*, 8.

fecting an alliance with the Abyssinian king of Axum (530–31). But the Greek and Abyssinian merchants found the Persians so well intrenched in privileges in the Ceylon markets that their position was unassailable. Moreover, Persian fleet patrols intercepted their ships in the Arabian Sea. Peace in 532 put things back on the old basis. In 540 came the second Persian war. The cutting of the eastern route again led to serious industrial embarrassment. Imperial efforts to settle the difficulty by setting a maximum tariff on silk had the logical result. Private manufacturers could not pay the prices necessary to get raw silk and then sell at the legal price. The law was enforced against them but ignored by the Count of the Largesses, who managed the factories (*gynæcia*). The prosperity of Tyre and Beirut vanished; their silk workers either starved or fled to the Persian Empire to assist the industry of the enemy. Silk rose to such a price that a pound of it of purple color sold for over $4000. In desperation the emperor in 533 agreed to contribute 11,000 pounds of gold to the Persians, nominally for protecting the passes of the Caucasus from the White Huns—which Anastasius had formerly refused to do—but actually as the Persian price for resumption of the silk trade. The dépôts along the frontier were again opened.

But Chosroes the Great of Persia was filled with as imperialistic and conquering an ambition as Justinian and in 540, during the Gothic war, the Persians over-ran Syria, captured Antioch, crossed the upper Euphrates, and advanced upon Armenia, the gateway into Asia Minor. Belisarius' recall from Italy in 542 recovered the lost territories, and peace again was made. The Persians, however, failed to adhere to the tariffs arranged and taxed the silk trade all that the traffic would bear—and more. The crisis in Constantinople was acute. The private factories shut down, and the imperial *gynæcia* were run at a loss.

At this juncture events in Central Asia came to the partial relief of Justinian. The merchants of Sogdiana had been the most important middlemen in the transportation of silk from China to Persia. But in the sixth century a vast and vague Turkish Empire began to form in central Asia, which extended its sway over Sogdiana. Therefore Persia, in fear that her commercial relations with Sogdiana might involve her in war with the Turks, stopped the traffic, preferring to get all her silk by sea from India and Ceylon. The result was that what Justinian had failed to do with the Abyssinians—circumvent Persian control of the eastern trade routes—he was now able to effect with the Sogdianese merchants. The history of Rome and Parthia in the first century repeated itself. The ancient trade route from Bactria down the Oxus to the Aral Sea, thence around the lower Caspian, and across the Caspian Isthmus to the Black Sea was reopened. There was another route also up the Araxes River and across Armenia to Trebizond, the

Greek Trapezos, so named from the singular formation of rock on which the city stands, "a sort of enchanted city between the serrated ridge of Lazistan and the bold bluff cape on whose top tradition places the encampment of the Ten Thousand." In the last year of Justinian (565) Persian control was thus flanked. From this time, until the establishment of Arab power in western Asia, Sogdianese and Turkish merchants were a familiar sight in the streets of Constantinople.

One may conclude this romantic history of the silk trade by a final event. Europe by a streak of luck in 552 found a means to emancipate it at least partially from dependence upon Chinese silk and so also from the tyranny of Persia. For in that year two Nestorian monks who had been in Far Asia smuggled through some eggs of the silkworm in bamboo canes. It required many years of careful work to domesticate the silk industry in Greece, where the mulberry seemed most to prosper, but the beginning of the industry was in this event. By the time of the Crusades silk manufacturing was spread over Greece, southern and Riviera Italy and Sicily.

We must now turn to a consideration of the internal condition of the Eastern Roman Empire, its industries, Justinian's administrative policy, taxation. The industrial structure of the Eastern Empire at the beginning of the sixth century was a mass of exclusive trade and industrial corporations under governmental regulation. The process by which these corporations, at first voluntary unions for the economic advantage of their members, had developed into instruments of the state for the management of industry and trade according to *its* interest had been complete for over a century. As early as the beginning of the fourth century the state had made membership in a corporation hereditary and compulsory. The economics of the Byzantine Empire was one supreme socialistic organization; but a selfish one, for its regulation was governed in the interests of the ruler and his government and not primarily in the interest of society. Industry was a state affair.

Besides the taxes which members of the corporations had to pay in their private capacities, and the dues which were incident to their industries, the duty of carrying on certain governmental functions was laid on certain corporations. The greater or "wholesale" corporations oversaw the collection of certain taxes, superintended great public works, transported the corn supply from Egypt. These burdens were called the *munera extraordinaria.* The lesser corporations were subject to the *munera sordida,* local duties, tending bridges, roads, etc. Certain skilled or learned trades, the dyers, carriage-makers, jewelers, etc., enjoyed exemption from the *munera.* But their corporations were under governmental control. Finally as an extreme of corporate organization, even the slaves who worked on the roads and bridges were members of slave *collegia.*

Besides managing the affairs of the corporations the government conducted certain businesses first-hand. The most notable of these were the murex or purple fisheries, the armories, and the *gynæcia* or state weaving establishments. Under this organization (extending to every port of the Empire) almost every important industrial product was manufactured.

The chief industries in the Eastern Roman Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries were the manufacture of silk fabrics, glazed pottery, colored stones used in mosaic work, and crucifixes. The last was a leading industry, the materials used being gold, silver, gems, lignites, and ivory. Carving was an incidental branch of this industry. Syria was famous for its enameled glass, fine stuffs, and embroideries.

The great state monopolies were the mines, quarries, salt pits, mints, factories for making arms, military equipment, and clothing for the soldiers. At one time, the government attempted to monopolize the manufacture of silk fabric, but was unable to supply its own needs, and the private factories were again called upon. Government subsidies and monopolistic control had for a time the effect of stimulating industry, and the Turkish ambassadors who visited Justinian's *gynæcia* marveled at the products of the loom. But Justinian's monopolistic policy had the pernicious effect of driving thousands of his best silk workers to his commercial enemies, the Persians. At his toll stations along the coast and in the frontier cities he placed officers called *commerciarii,* whose duty it was to buy up all the silk at low prices before private merchants could have an opportunity to buy. He also established strict weights and measures, regulations for all the harbors along the coast, and founded a system of port duties which was fixed by his successors at ten per cent. By Nicephorus two *nomismata* additional were levied on all domestic slaves purchased by merchants who lived beyond the Hellespont. The quarries were formerly farmed out on contract to private individuals, but upon such ruinous terms that the contractors could earn no profit and they were taken back into government operation. All other industries were private, but were under the strict control of the state. The state imposed taxes upon each industry and exacted *munera* or personal services from all except the learned professions. The government control of the industries was facilitated by the fact that the trades were organized into *collegia.*

As to agriculture, it was organized on the great farm system, a heritage from the Roman Empire. Serfdom was widely prevalent and the condition of the serf was onerous. Except in hilly and mountainous regions there were practically no free farmers save of the tenant class, and their condition actually was little superior to that of the serfs. In the frontier provinces were thousands of *coloni,* border farmers kindred to serfs in status and condition, but subject to lighter dues.

Egypt still formed the great granary of the Empire, contributing 5,500,000 *modii* annually to Constantinople. This supply was, of course, jealously regulated by the government. Much of the food supply came also from near-by Thrace and Asia Minor and the Black Sea regions. The chief foodstuffs were wheat, salted meats, fish, cheese, ham, wine, and vegetables. The great landed aristocracy (*dunatoi* or the "powerful") continued the Roman tradition of privilege and enlarged their domains at the expense of unprotected small proprietors and poor farmers, in spite of the laws. The evils of absentee landlordism were great, and the workers of the land were often left to the tryanny of bailiffs and stewards. These *dunatoi* kept armed servitors and were rich, violent, and dangerous to the government in their localities, and when united in a common cause were able to stage a revolution.

The taxes which formed the bases of the state revenues were the land tax; the *chrysargyrum* (the ruinous imposition upon merchandise, which Anastasius had abolished, and Justinian revived); the poll tax; a tax on buildings; corporation dues; custom and port duties; and market fees. In addition to these the government exacted the old Roman *munera* services, and taxes in kind which were used in feeding the capital (*annona*) and equipping and supporting the army. The collecting of these taxes was largely in the hands of the richer municipal class and the greater corporations. But as this class became more and more impoverished their responsibility became illusory. The most fruitful tax was that on land, but owing to the influence of the big landed proprietors it fell largely on small holders.

The fiscal system introduced by Diocletian had erected serfdom to the glebe into a fundamental institution of rural economy and rural society. Two hundred years afterwards Anastasius created a new class of serfs by obligating free peasants who had lived for thirty years upon one property never to remove therefrom. The aim of Byzantine legislation was ever to assure fixed conditions, to the verge of immobility. In this instance the purpose of the law was to prevent the increase of abandoned farms. Justinian relentlessly imposed the atrocious land tax known as the *epibolé* upon rural property, by which abutting owners were made responsible for the taxes of adjoining property when it was abandoned by its possessor, or when he was unable to pay the taxes. In the time of the plague, when blocks of houses in the towns and many farms in the country were left tenantless or ownerless, this exaction wrought havoc. Theoretically this responsibility of adjacent owners was enforced upon the rich as well as the poor. But in practice the former, often palace or government officials and in any case of high social position and influence at court, were able to secure delays or escape enforcement of the law, which accordingly fell with crushing weight upon small landowners, from whose discontent the government had nothing to fear.

The truth is that the whole Byzantine fiscal system was wrong, morally and technically. As Bury has written:

> It is of essential importance for a modern student to bear in mind two facts, which powerfully affected that development in a manner which is almost inconceivable to those who are familiar with the land questions in modern states. . . . The legislation was entirely based on fiscal considerations; the laws were directly aimed at filling the treasury with as little inconvenience and trouble as possible on the part of the state: the short-sighted policy of making the treasury full instead of making the empire rich; the lamentably defective credit-system of the Roman law, discouraging the investment of capital and rendering land almost the only safe speculation . . . reacted . . . as we have seen, in a peculiar way on the land question.[3]

There is no doubt that Justinian's taxation was very heavy. His long and exhausting wars, his ambitious internal improvements, the sumptuousness of his court, consumed millions of revenue. And the burden of the taxes was aggravated by extortionate methods of collection and venality and corruption on the part of almost every official from highest to lowest. Justinian was not a miser; his avarice was for purposes of display. Hence he rarely scrupled at methods. The more his officials got, the more he would get and still leave ill-gotten fortunes in their pockets. So we see John of Cappadocia or Peter Barsymes at the head of a great arbitrary taxing system, forcing the payment of exorbitant taxes by torture, selling important offices, speculating in wheat, even cutting down the soldiers' pay for the sake of rendering a greater revenue. In the provinces we see John Tzibos in Armenia enforcing a monopoly of commerce, buying all commodities at a low price and then forcing the inhabitants to buy back dearly. John surnamed *Maxilloplumakios* ("the Heavy-Jowled Brute"), emptied Philadelphia of money and inhabitants. These are not isolated instances. The newly conquered provinces groaned under the burden of taxes and oppression. Undoubtedly there were good and honest men in Justinian's government. But it was necessary to get money, in any way possible. Justinian by his ruinous domestic and imperial policy did far more to facilitate the invasions than his military efforts did to repel them. The reign of Anastasius had been one of internal recovery. He had abolished the ruinous tax on industry, the *chrysargyrum,* and the curial system of tax collecting. But Justinian made the new system of tax collection a still greater instrument of extortion than the old had been. The *annona* for the capital and army was tenfold more than formerly; an artificial scarcity and high prices were created by heavy duties on commerce; monopolies were created that ruined industry. The government became extremely autocratic

[3] Bury's Gibbon, V, 533.

and centralized. At the beginning of his reign municipal institutions were still strong. The Greek cities still had local pride in public improvements and schools. But he destroyed all such local freedom, took away the revenue and liberties of the free cities, and extinguished to a great extent the national spirit of the dominant Greek race, thereby removing one bulwark of the Empire.

"It is hard to say whether the contempt of all economic and moral law among the governing classes or the helpless ignorance of the middle and lower classes is the more painful feature of the Byzantine Empire." We see arbitrary laying of taxes, of customs dues, the levying of contribution for the upkeep of the troops and the capital, the enforced transportation of the same, the granting of monopolies (even on bread) and everywhere graft, graft, graft. The soldiers were left unpaid and became disorderly, the villages were deserted and the fields left sterile. The frontier fortresses were left unmanned and the barbarians raided the Empire. These (and the Persians) were bought off. Earthquakes necessitated the rebuilding of whole cities, among them Antioch. The plague of 542 paralyzed the Empire. It came again in 558. Justinian economized by cutting down on military pensions and corn doles, not by curtailing court luxury. Finally the debasing of coinage was resorted to. Toward the end of the reign there were continual domestic disorder, riots, and burning and pillaging. The Empire was left exhausted.

Justinian's vast buildings, of which Saint Sophia still stands an object of wonder and admiration, the metaled roads, harbor works, lighthouses, the levees on the river Cydnus to protect Tarsus from floods, fortified granaries and wheat magazines on the Dardanelles and at Alexandria, *xenodochia,* half hotels, half hospitals for the accommodation of pilgrims en route to Jerusalem, all these improvements, however well and good in their way, cost vast sums of money, the forced labor of thousands of men, and were poor compensation for the price exacted for construction. Like Louis XIV, Justinian was consumed by a passion for "glory" and in seeking it sacrificed untold blood and treasure. A great Byzantine scholar sees "in the bad financial administration the chief defect of his reign."

Owing to Justinian's unsound financial policy and his extravagance, the Empire never was able to produce enough resources to satisfy him. If it had not been for the rich silver mines of the mountains in the Balkan peninsula and the gold of Armenia his government might have collapsed like that of Spain in the seventeenth century when the mines of Peru and Potosí began to fail.

After Justinian's death in 565 the Empire faced a crisis of many years' duration. A rescript of Justin II in 566 declared: "We have found the treasury empty, the army so disorganized that the state is exposed to incessant invasions and insults by the barbarians." Nevertheless, in-

fatuated with the idea of imperialism, he shut his eyes to the wretched condition of the Empire, and only abdicated when bankruptcy and exhaustion impended. "The disintegrating elements began to operate with full force; the artificial system collapsed; and the metamorphosis in the character of the Empire now began to work rapidly and perceptibly." In the general breakdown "injustice prevailed both in the capital and in the provinces: the rich trembled for their property, the poor for their safety; the ordinary magistrates were ignorant or venal, the occasional remedies appear to have been arbitrary and violent, and the complaints of the people could no longer be silenced by the splendid names of a legislator and a conqueror."

It was at this critical moment that pressure of Turkish tribes out of Asia and perhaps the lure of the rich lands of the Balkan peninsula, led the Slavs, as the same forces had earlier led the Germans, to find settlement within the Empire.

The barbarian invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries had ruined the Greek colonies on the north coast of the Black Sea, but by the sixth century the place of the earlier hordes was taken by the Slavs, the Veneds, the Sclavenes, and the Antes, whose original home seems to have been in the region between the Carpathians and the Baltic, but who gradually had spread over the plains of Russia, and finally came in contact with the Greek colonies in the Euxine and so with Constantinople, whose civilization powerfully influenced Russia in every way.

There is some question as to when the Slavs first began to settle south of the Danube. Slovenes had begun to filter in certainly before the time of Attila, possibly as early as 300. They must have had a part in the border troubles of the third century and possibly the Carpi, whom Galerius settled in Mœsia and Thrace, were Slavs. There is distinct evidence that Slavs were settled as *coloni* in the peninsula in the fourth century, and some of the generals of the Roman army in the fifth and sixth centuries were Slavs. There were Slav colons in the *agri deserti* of the eastern provinces after the Goths moved into Italy. In these facts we discover an exact analogue to the infiltration of the Germans into the Western Empire. What few German tribes entered the Balkan peninsula passed over to the west. The Slavs remained. The west of Europe was Germanized, the east of Europe was Slavonized.

In 562 the Avars made their first raid on Roman soil. Warlike as they were, the Slavs were seeking for homes, but the Avars were mere plunderers like their cousins, the Huns. The Slav and Avar raids soon became so frequent and so furious that Oman states that between 570 and 600 it is "not too much to say that . . . the old population was almost exterminated" north of the Balkans and much cut down in Macedonia and Thrace. Thus the Latin-speaking provincials were almost exterminated except in the Dalmatian islands and the mountain fast-

nesses, whence they were to emerge later as Wallachians. In 577 a host of at least 100,000 Slavs entered Thrace and Illyricum and from this date Slavs may be reckoned as an important element in the population of the Balkan peninsula.

The emperor Maurice (582–602) fought desperately against the combined foe. He was able to hold his fortresses on the Danube, but behind them was nothing but a "waste region sparsely inhabited by Slavs." The Roman population reached no farther north than the Balkan mountains. The trade routes, however, still were defended. By the end of his reign Slavs had settled throughout Macedonia and around Thessalonica. It is disputed as to whether they reached Greece as early as this. Bury says there is some evidence that they did.

The emperor Maurice is a sad and heroic figure in this welter. He was an able soldier, the author of a work on military tactics, and an intelligent and efficient administrator. Realizing the importance of the silk industry to Byzantium and the uncertain nature of Turkish support, he endeavored to conciliate Persia by intervening in support of Chosroes II against the rebellion of Bahrâm.

But the emperor's very intelligence made him enemies. Knowing that the inroad of Slav and Avar menaced the very integrity of the Empire, Maurice stinted the wages of the soldiery of the exarch of Ravenna, to the wrath of Gregory the Great, to whom Avar and Slav invasion of the Balkan peninsula was as nothing compared with the Lombards in Italy. Moreover, Maurice incurred the powerful hostility of the Greek Church by prohibiting the cloisters to receive new members, for entrance into a monastery had become a favorite method of avoiding military service. Such evasion became a flagrant abuse. At every new call for troops a crowd of "slackers" rushed to embrace the monastic life, often paying for the privilege. Indeed, unscrupulous abbots did a profitable business of this nature. The drastic financial and military exactions of Maurice, necessary and justified as they were in the crisis, made him unpopular and ultimately led to his destruction by the usurper Phokas (602–10), whose reign was an orgy of indulgence, cruelty, and extravagance. When finally overthrown by Heraclius, son of the exarch of Africa—for no one in Constantinople dared to oppose the tyrant—he sunk his ill-gotten gains in the Hellespont, leaving an empty treasury and a trail of blood behind him.

The reign of Heraclius (610–41) marks a decided advance in the Slavonizing of the peninsula. At his accession the Slovenes, as shown above, were fixed in Carniola, with numerous settlements in Illyricum, Thrace, Macedonia, Mœsia, and possibly in Greece. It was then that a step full of importance for the future of the peninsula was taken. Heraclius called the Serbs and Croats from the region of the Carpathians into Dalmatia and Illyricum. The lands given them had perhaps

already been abandoned by the old Roman and Greek population, though Bury thinks that this was the time when the native population fled to the Dalmatian coast and founded new towns (Ragusa, Cattaro, Spalato, etc.).

The new tribes drove a wedge between the Slovenes of the Drave-Save region and those in the rest of the peninsula. The Croats spread over lower Pannonia, Illyricum and eastward to the Drina; in other words, over Croatia and parts of Bosnia, Herzogovina, and Dalmatia. The Serbs occupied the remainder of these three districts, "Old Serbia" or the sanjak of Novi-Bazar, northern Macedonia, and a district on the Adriatic of which Montenegro was a part. These were the so-called Maritime Serbs.

These new Slavic groups were only loosely subject to the Byzantine Empire and from the first preserved a great amount of local independence under their own governments. All of the Slav invaders were at the time of their entrance in a low stage of civilization, but they had an ineradicable love of independence and hatred of authority and hence had no kings, but rather tribal chiefs called *zupans* or "bans." In time of danger the *zupans* in assembly chose a grand *zupan*—the germ of the kingship. They were organized in communes with communal property holding. The chiefs of communes were chosen from the leading families and formed an aristocracy. They were an agricultural people and became "bound to the soil, not by serfdom, but by the affectionate ties of cultivators and proprietors."

Another intrusion of a foreign people into the Balkan lands was the successful establishment of the Bulgarian kingdom in 678. The Bulgars were an Ugro-Finnic people. They came from Old Bulgaria on the Volga and Don rivers. To this day near Kazan may be seen

> the ruins of the ancient capital of the Bulgarians, huge shapeless mounds which are now the only memorial of a kingdom older than any of the Russian principalities, a kingdom which flourished in the sixth and seventh centuries before the Bulgarian hordes descended into the Danube valley to vex the Byzantine emperors.[4]

In the reign of Heraclius they revolted from the Avars, drove them from their lands in old Dacia; and now, crossing the Danube, conquered the Seven Tribes of Slavs in Mœsia and set up their kingdom. Constantine IV made a treaty with them, abandoned to them the land between the Danube and the Balkans and paid them tribute to save Thrace. The humble Slav dwellers were reduced to a sort of serfdom but the nobles were admitted to a share in the government. Straightway began the fusion of the two peoples that was to result in a singular fact

[4] Bryce, *op. cit.*

in culture history. The Turkish Bulgars became completely Slavonized in language and culture within two centuries, so that today the Bulgarian is as Slavonic for all practical purposes (except for the name and a slight admixture of blood) as any other Balkan people. No trace of the Bulgar tongue remained. This consummation evinces the wonderful assimilative power of the Slavic race.

The Bulgars, however, possessed one superiority over the Slavs. They had the strength that came from a centralized government. Their khan was an absolute monarch, isolated from his people by a rigid oriental etiquette, and was master of a disciplined army. This accounts for their establishment of a strong kingdom and their formidable power. Not until late in the Middle Ages did any purely Slavonic state equal it in size and strength.

There remains one other phase of this migration of peoples into the Balkan peninsula to be considered—the Slavonic colonization of Greece. There is discussion among historians as to the extent of this invasion and occupation. Some have maintained that the Greeks were completely exterminated in the Morea and central Greece and that the modern Greeks are only Byzantinized Slavs. This theory is based upon the statement of Constantine Porphyrogenitos in the ninth century that the entire country had become Slavonic and barbarian. Finlay says that by the time of Heraclius the Slavs had penetrated to the Peloponnesus and soon held a great part of the country, but that the fortified towns remained in the hands of the Greeks. Bury holds that by the middle of the seventh century the rural parts were Slavonized but that the towns remained entirely Hellenic. He thinks that the Slavs and Greeks must have fused because we hear of no conflicts. In the eighth century a Slav from Greece became Patriarch of Constantinople.

We have now reached the opening of the eighth century and with it a turning point in Balkan history. Not only is it, looked at from the standpoint of the Empire, the date that marks the beginning of the Byzantine Empire as distinct from the Roman, but considered from the viewpoint of the movement of peoples in Balkan lands—the particular viewpoint of this discussion—it marks the end of the period of invasion and settlement of barbarian peoples in the Balkans.

We may now stop and survey the condition of the Empire in Europe after four centuries of invasions. Real power was limited by the Balkan Mountains on the north and the Struma River on the west, and imperial sway in Greece was precarious. Nominally the rule extended to the traditional boundaries in Europe, except for the Bulgarian kingdom, but in reality its Slav vassals in Macedonia, Illyricum, Dalmatia, and Greece were independent. The reign of Heraclius had seen the loss of all these lands in spite of his great ability. After him, says Gibbon, "the Roman name is reduced to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople." Even in the

sixth century the knowledge of Latin was growing less. In 400 about one-fourth of the provincials spoke Latin; in 620 not one-tenth. By the opening of the eighth century, says Bury, "Roman law, like the Latin language, was no longer understood in the Empire, which was tending to become entirely Greek now that it had lost Syria and Africa, and the northern provinces of the Hæmus peninsula."

A code of law issued by Leo III, in Greek, enables us to evaluate some of the economic changes that had taken place. The colonate was gone. No persons were bound to the soil, but all were either free renters or dwellers in free communes with communal land. Serfdom had disappeared because it was not in accord with Slavic customs and also because the old *coloni* class had been wiped out. The Slavs had nothing corresponding to serfdom as the Germans did, hence the failure of the feudal system to become established here readily.

The next important shifting of forces was the extension of the Bulgarian kingdom to a size formidable alike to Slav and Greek. This people at most amounted to no more than from thirty to fifty thousand souls, including men, women, and children. It was their political and military organization which made them able to dominate their Slav neighbors, at the same time that they themselves were being absorbed by the Slavs racially. "The immigration of the Bulgars secured the predominance of the Slav in the peninsula" by furnishing the principle of political unity. All through the eighth century the emperors were at war with the Bulgarians, who were not able to push south of the Balkans until the beginning of the ninth century.

With its Christianization came great improvement in Bulgaria. Commerce developed. It was the medium through which many products of Asia and manufactures of Constantinople found their way to Germany and the north. A treaty with the Empire was made as early as 716, which fixed the amount of duty to be levied on the Bulgarian frontier, and this treaty was renewed at the conclusion of every later war. Infringement upon the provisions of this treaty in 802 was the immediate cause of the most disastrous war the Empire ever waged with Bulgaria.

Meantime, while the Empire lost the whole hinterland of the Balkan peninsula and much of Greece to the Slavs and the Bulgars, in Asia and Egypt its losses were as great and far more spectacular. In 608 the Persians conquered Syria and Palestine and ravished Armenia, Cappadocia, and Galatia. In 619 Egypt fell into their power. Justinian's rigid orthodoxy, which his successors followed, had persecuted every Christian sect in the Empire, and Syrians and Egyptians avenged themselves either by conniving with or at least being indifferent to the progress of the Persians. In order to understand such Christian cooperation with a non-Christian foe it must be perceived that, as said

before, these oriental nations were stirring with a new national spirit, hostile to Byzantine domination, which to them was politically a foreign yoke, and economically exploitive. Their own particular form of Christianity was the vehicle for the expression of their national wish for independence. Imperial unity and orthodoxy went hand in hand. Sectionalism and nationalism were identified with the sectaries. "The statesmanlike *Henotikon* of Zeno had paved the way for the unity of the East; Justinian's policy prevented reconciliation and caused a disruption which made the task of the Persians, and later the Saracens, light."

It is a wonder that there was enough strength left in Constantinople to survive this double series of disasters. The saving vitality we must attribute to the merchant marine. The manufactures of the city still continued. With western Europe there was a steadily growing commerce. West of Egypt there was great prosperity; Libya raised large crops of wheat, rice, and dates. The Greeks by their uncontested control of the sea could command a connection with any part of the Mediterranean (or Euxine) where there might be trade or the necessary supplies. The sea and her ships saved the great city. The overthrow of Phocas in 610 came from the only part of the Empire which was not groaning under misrule and invasions. And probably the merchant class was largely responsible for Heraclius' expedition. Later on it was the command of the sea which made his expedition into Persia possible.

Heraclius was successful in beating off the enemies of the Empire, and recovering Syria and Egypt, but at a tremendous cost in blood and money and wasted territory. His expeditions against Persia were possible largely on account of a loan from the Church, which realized the danger and offered its plate and treasure to the emperor. Measures of economy, such as the abolition of the corn dole, were taken. Then, after the exertion was over, the Empire settled down, spent, exhausted, to recuperate. As soon as he was able Heraclius repaid his debt to the Church. To do this extremely heavy taxes were laid. The provinces suffered and very little money was left in the imperial treasury. With colossal folly Heraclius levied tribute on the monophysite churches in Syria and Egypt to indemnify the Greek Church for the treasure it had advanced to him, while the Jews in Palestine were persecuted on the charge—which may have been true—that they were secret allies of the Persians.

Heraclius failed to see the war-cloud of Mohammedan invasion forming over Arabia. The name of the Arabs was little known and unfeared by nations who within fifty years were to prostrate themselves in the dust before the Commander of the Faithful.

Persia was in no better case than the Byzantine Empire in its internal condition. The kings had never been able to destroy the powerful Parthian feudality there; the government was tyrannical and its taxa-

tion as heavy and as vicious as that of Justinian; the Zoroastrian priesthood was intrenched in privilege and bore oppressively on the servile class upon the glebe lands of the temples; the rebellion of local populations was chronic and was punished with frightful cruelty and wholesale deportation of the vanquished after the manner of the ancient Assyrians. In consequence, as we shall see in the next chapter, Mohammedan conquest of Egypt, Syria, and Persia was a swift and easy matter.

At the end of the seventh century the condition of the Byzantine Empire verged upon anarchy. There were six changes of rule in the twenty-two years between 694 and 716. The Saracens had conquered Syria, Palestine, Armenia, Georgia, and Cappadocia in Asia; Egypt, Libya, Tripoli, and the Carthaginian exarchate in Africa; in the Balkan peninsula a formidable Bulgarian kingdom was established in the old provinces of Thrace and Mœsia; Slovenes, Serbs, and other Slavonic peoples filled the western part of the peninsula from the Vardar and Morava rivers to the Adriatic; and the Hellenic culture of Greece was slowly being obliterated or assimilated by other Slav incomers. Actual imperial sway was confined to Constantinople and the plain of Adrianople behind it, ports like Salonika, and Asia Minor and southern Italy and Sicily. In the last two countries thousands of fugitives from the Balkans and the Peloponnesus, and thousands of other refugees out of Syria, Egypt, Tripoli, and Carthage found asylum. So dense was Greek and oriental colonization in these lands that the very culture and institutions of the country were changed.

Again, as a century before, sea-power was the life-giving element that saved the Byzantine Empire from extinguishment. Sea-power preserved what political unity was left; it kept commerce alive. Yet the Empire probably would have died a slow death ere many years if a revolution in 717 had not brought forward an emperor able to stem the anarchy. This was Leo, vulgarly called the Isaurian (717–41), one of the greatest reforming rulers and administrative geniuses of whom the Byzantine or any other empire can boast.

Leo actually was a Syrian of Commagene, and not a native of Isauria. He was sprung from one of those hardy, mountaineer peoples in the "marches" of the Empire, those border provinces which for centuries were the buttresses of the imperial frontier against Persia. Long since, the best emperors had perceived the value of these bold and free peoples and had cantoned them in hereditary, inalienable, and tax-free military bounty lands in a sort of feudal tenure along the eastern border. The last expiring paganism in the East was to be found in the mountainous regions of Asia Minor, where it was eradicated in the time of Justinian by the missionary activity of John of Ephesus, "the apostle of the pagans," who founded ninety-nine churches and twelve monasteries there.

Leo was both soldier and statesman. In the first year of his reign he beat off the third great siege of Constantinople by the Mohammedans, while his reorganization of the navy checked the growth of Mohammedan sea-power for a hundred years to come, thus preserving the unity and the commerce of the Empire from dissolution. As an energetic legislator Leo is second only to Justinian himself, and he was much more just and intelligent.

> Leo III, when he restored the Empire after a generation of anarchy, saw the necessity of legislation to meet the changed circumstances of the time. The settlements of foreigners—Slavs and Mardaites—in the provinces of the Empire created an agrarian question which he dealt with in his Agrarian Code. The increase of Slavonic and Saracenic piracy demanded increased securities for maritime trade, and this was dealt with in a Navigation Code. . . . He legislated also, and in an entirely new way, for the general relations of life.[5]

We may examine the work of this great reformer under the following heads:

(1) The *Ecloga,* or the reform of the civil and criminal law, which visualized new and profound social ideas.
(2) Agrarian reform and the land question.
(3) Commercial reform—the Rhodian Nautical Code.
(4) Church, especially monastic reform.[6]

The *Ecloga,* issued in 740, "may be described as a Christian law book. It is a deliberate attempt to change the legal system of the Empire by an application of Christian principles." The Roman law, with its rigidity and inflexibility, its pagan tradition, had become out of date and failed to respond to the changed conditions of society and the needs of new peoples within the Empire. Leo III endeavored to abolish the antinomy between old prescriptions and new conditions by modifying the laws governing private property, marriage and divorce, guardianship, the rights of minors, inheritance, etc. In general the provisions were liberal and humane, for example, recognition of community of property in the marriage relation.

The changes made in criminal law were no less remarkable, but of more dubious propriety. Mutilation was introduced for the first time as a mode of punishment, a practice unknown to Roman law. It is probable that the notorious cruelty of the Balkan peoples is traceable to the influence of this penalty. On the other hand the *Ecloga* abolished the old

[5] Bury's *Gibbon,* V, 525.

[6] In the elucidation of many of these difficult and intricate matters I shall plead liberty to quote largely from the masterly notes of Professor Bury to his edition of Gibbon.

evil of modifying penalties according to rank and fortune, and made penalties the same for all classes of society.

As to the land question and the condition of the agricultural classes, if Leo III's legislation had been permanent, the social history of the later Byzantine Empire would have written a different chapter.

The invasions of the Slavs, fiscal oppression, and sometimes deportation of batches of provincials from a populous region to one deserted, had resulted in profound economic and social changes. Many serfs had run away and found refuge among the invading Slavs. A revision of the land laws was, therefore, necessary. But Leo III, with that radicalism which so characterizes all his legislation, deemed the time an opportune one to abolish serfdom entirely. Instead of serfs the Agricultural Code reveals tenant farmers either paying tithe-rent or farming on shares, the owner furnishing the land and the working animals, the tenant furnishing the labor. Naturally these reforms produced a great outcry among the great landlords, secular and ecclesiastical. The rich proprietors and the wealthy bishops and abbots made common cause together against the reforms. The reaction triumphed in the second half of the ninth century when the legislation of Basil I (867–86) restored the old order of things.

In spite of its great volume and variety, Byzantine commerce suffered through all the Middle Ages from a defective credit-system and the narrow-minded policy of forbidding Greek merchants to trade outside of the Empire, thus throwing the conduct of all trade with western Europe into the hands of the Venetians and the Genoese. To these adverse factors must also be added the prevalance of piracy in the Ægean and Adriatic and the menace of Mohammedan corsairs in the Mediterranean. These dangers led to the formation of joint-stock associations by merchants and ship-owners, who divided the profits and losses. It was from Byzantium that the Italians borrowed the commercial device of the joint-stock company.

It is easy to see the bearing of much of Leo III's agrarian legislation upon church lands. The clergy, especially the monks, who were the richer by far, vigorously inveighed against the emperor's amelioration of serfdom. Their policy was one of merciless exploitation of the peasantry on their lands. This resentment was aggravated by a revival of the old capitation tax and the law requiring registration of births (*census*), which was a logical requirement of the capitation tax. The Church solemnly asserted that such legislation was a secular invasion of the solidarity of the family, which was a divinely ordained social institution of which the Church was chief custodian. It was also said that Leo was imitating the Mohammedans in laying the poll tax. A final grievance of the monks was enforcement of Maurice's law to prevent evasion of military service through monastic protection.

The powerful religious and financial influence of the monasteries, when united with their exemptions and immunities, made them a menace to the government. The monks could always rely upon the fanatical support of the lower classes and the proletariat in the great cities, who were deceived by appearances and thought, because the monasteries dispensed charity relief in the form of doles of food and clothing to the very poor, that the monks were friends of the masses. They forgot the fact that the monks were great and cruel exploiters of serf labor on their lands, that their exemptions increased other forms of taxation, that the largesses they paraded were but a fraction of their enormous wealth.

Leo III appreciated the injustice and the danger. But his reform of the monasteries was transient. To the end of the history of the Eastern Empire the evil of monastic abuse and corruption persisted. No emperor ever was able to make effective reform.

It is interesting to observe that one can discern something analogous to a national debt in some of Leo III's legislation.

> A man with a small capital could purchase, if he chose, a life-annuity, with a title into the bargain. Certainly titular dignities, even the high title of *protospathar,* were for sale and an extra payment entitled the dignitary to a yearly salary, called *roga,* which brought him in ten per cent on his outlay. There were also a number of minor posts at the imperial court with salaries attached, and these could be purchased outright, the purchasers being able to sell them again, or leave them to their heirs. These investments produced about two and a half per cent.[7]

It was centuries before western governments took the hint from Byzantium and adopted the practice of selling patents of office, as government bonds and British consols are sold today.

Leo III's reformation of the old taxation system was as thorough as his other reforms. The vicious curial system was abolished and tax collecting made an immediate and direct enterprise of the central government. It was the intelligence and the justice of his system of taxation which made the weight of it endurable. With his reign and his reforms the Byzantine Empire entered upon a new lease of life. The "anarchy" was over. The government was strong enough to weather every storm. In the great plague of 749 over a million people perished. The gaps were filled by transfusions from provincial cities and the islands of the Ægean. Depopulated villages were repeopled. Branded as iconoclast—destroyer—Leo III stands out as one of the ablest and boldest rulers in history, one of almost Napoleonic intelligence and efficiency.

But no one of his reforms was permanent. Tradition and, above all,

[7] Bury's *Gibbon,* V, 534.

the vested interests of the clergy and the great landed aristocracy were too strong. The vicious *epibolé* was never abolished. Later on we shall return to this problem and see how it conditioned the Byzantine Empire in the period before the Crusades.

The Iconoclastic Controversy was prolonged after Leo III's death in 741, with vicissitude of fortune until 842, when the impossibility of enforcing the policy compelled abandonment of it. A large proportion of the bishops, the generals of the army, the upper classes undoubtedly favored the ecclesiastical and civil reforms embodied in the movement. But the monks and the masses of the people were bitterly opposed, the former out of interest, the latter from ignorance. Popular opposition was stronger in the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire than in those in Asia Minor. This difference perhaps in part explains why the Bulgarian inroads into the Balkan peninsula were more effective than the Mohammedan attacks upon Asia Minor. Yet the efforts of the Iconoclastic emperors were not wholly in vain. Not all of their civil reforms were destroyed by their opponents. The victory of the monks was not a complete one. If it were otherwise, the epoch which followed would not have been characterized by that political, military, literary and artistic revival which distinguished the Macedonian period (867–1057).

Finnis
Picts
Scots
BRITON
ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS
Slavic Peop
TREVES
KINGDOM
PARIS METZ
TOURS
OF THE FRANKS
Avars
Magyars
LYONS
LOMBARDS
RAVENNA
TOULOUSE
SARAGOSSA
Slavs
Danube R.
Bulgarians
Black S
CORSICA
ROME
SEVILLE
SARDINIA
NAPLES
CONSTANTINO
NICOMED
Mediterranean
EAST ROMAN (BYZANTINE) EMPI
Magrib
TUNIS
SYRACUSE
ARGOS
ICONIUM
Rhodes
Crete
Cyprus
Berbers
AFRICA
TRIPOLI
TRIPOLI
Sea
BARCA
CAIRO
EGYPT
FEZZAN
ASSUAN
MOHAMMED, 632
CONQUESTS OF THE ARABS [SARACENS] UP TO THE DEATH OF
" " " UNDER THE FIRST THREE CALIFS 632-656.
" " " " " OMMIAD CALIFS 661-750
BOUNDARY OF THE KHALIFATE
" " EAST ROMAN [BYZANTINE] EMPIRE
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 MILES

Peoples
Khazars
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
SAMARCAND
BOKHARA
Oxus R.
TIFLIS
Arad
ARMENIA
MERV
Khorassan
BALKH
CABUL
HINDUSTAN
HERAT
GHAZNI
KANDAHAR
Indus R.
Tigris R.
MOSUL
PERSIA
BAGDAD
ISPAHAN
Euphrates R.
Fars
Kirman
Makran
MANSURA
BASRA
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
MUSCAT
Oman
ARABIA
Hedjaz
MEDINA
MECCA
Yemen
Mahra
Hadramaut
Red Sea
Indian Ocean

CHAPTER VII

MOHAMMED AND THE RISE OF ISLAM *

In order to understand the rise and spread of Mohammedanism it is necessary to know something of the physical geography of Arabia. For perhaps no race of history is so markedly a product of environment and has had its racial characteristics so formed by physical conditions surrounding it, as the Arab race.

Arabia is a peninsula depending from the southwest angle of the huge continent of Asia. But it is a peninsula of continental dimension. In shape Arabia is a gigantic quadrilateral no two sides of which are parallel, measuring approximately 1500 miles on the Red Sea side, 1200 miles along the Arabian Sea, 900 miles along the Persian Gulf and 900 miles across the head of the peninsula from Basra to Suez. Its long diagonal from the head of the Red Sea to Muskat is nearly 1800 miles. In superficial area or number of square miles Arabia is roughly one-third as large as the United States, or greater than all Europe west of Russia.

Geographically and economically Arabia is a practical island separated from the rest of the world either by seas or by even more divisive barriers of sand. Mountain ranges fringe the seacoasts; tracts of shifting and barren sands separate from Syria; great reaches of desert pasture-land stretch towards Mesopotamia and Persia. Within are more stretches of pasture-land, fertile only under the spring rains; great mountain ranges, seamed with deep ravines; rare hollows with oases permanently green. Strikingly apart from this, except as to inaccessibility, is the Yemen, the extreme southern tip of the peninsula, a land of ancient culture and wealth, of watercourses and crops, cities and settled life.[1]

Evidences of a former great prosperity in southern Arabia (Yemen) are not lacking. All the classical writers, Herodotus, Pliny, and Strabo, frequently allude to it under the name of Saba or Sheba as the richest country on the globe. Dependent upon a vast hydraulic system, massive walls of masonry confined its streams. One reservoir was 18 miles in circuit and 120 feet deep. An innumerable population in this favorable territory, in hundreds of cities and villages, carried agriculture to its highest perfection. Merchants of great wealth sent their fleets to China

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 53.

[1] *The Nation*, Nov. 8, 1917, p. 505.

and their caravans across the Syrian and African deserts. They both purchased on their own account and bought and sold on commission. Their warehouses were filled with stores from all climes—silver vessels, ingots of copper, tin, iron, lead, honey, wax, silks, ivory, ebony, coral, agates, civet, musk, myrrh, camphor and other aromatics. Grain was raised extensively and could be stored for thirty years. The cotton plant, the sugar cane, and the coco palm flourished. The balsam of Mecca, the gum Arabic, the sap of the acacia tree, the famed frankincense, were important articles of export, as were also salt, gold, and pearls. For an unknown period, embracing, however, many centuries, the prosperity of Sheba continued. Then it declined and a general emigration took place. The former paradise was transformed into an uninhabited desert. The time of the decline and the causes are hidden in obscurity.

It was quite otherwise with the wild tribes of the interior who conquered the world. They literally lived from hand to mouth and food was the ever present question. They subsisted for the most part on the milk of their home-bred camels and the dates which they obtained from the oases or the fringe. The coast lands might store their wheat or rice for a lean season or a drought, but camel's milk could not be stored. It depended on a daily supply of grass, and the tribes of the interior were continually on the move, restless from necessity, moving from one grass tract to another.

Racial pride of blood, expressed in the clan nature of Arabic political and social organization, was re-enforced by the hard economic life of the Arabs of the interior. The palm trees of the oases and the milk and flesh of their flocks were the Arabs' sole source of sustenance. Arabia never could have supported a population of any size without the palm.

> The economic purpose for which the clan organization was formed . . . was the defense of their date-growing oases and their domestic animals in their pasture lands, or for the attack of similar possessions of their neighbors. . . . The population was too numerous to be supported by the sterile soil. . . . It is probable that for unnumbered centuries the clans which were deprived of the privileges of oases found life so hard that conquest of other countries became for them a necessity.

The nature of deserts is such that it is impossible to modify them by human action. The increasing population even in favorable years must often have taxed to its utmost capacity the oases-area and the surrounding steppes. In an unfavorable year the population would be compelled to make raids on a neighboring tribe or on the settled littoral. In a long-continued drought the whole tribe might be driven by the pinch of hunger to migrate.

Among the Arabs themselves

in spite of their recognition—reached even before the time of Mohammed—that by unity of language and type of life and literature they were all Arabs, they were split up into separate and often hostile tribes in districts geographically divided by mountains or shifting sands. Thus they lived their life of flocks and herds, following pasture within their tribal limits, and roughly cultivating what little pockets of soil each had. Their history was of cattle-lifting raids, producing often blood-feuds, and of the rise and fall in power and even hegemony of the different tribes, an endless skirmishing of kites and crows. But behind it all brooded the consciousness of Arabia, fostered by a strange, concrete yet subjective poetry, which once, at least, rose to be one of the great poetries of the world, and waiting the time when it was to supply a new ferment among the peoples of the world.[2]

Thus the land left its imprint on the character of the Arab. Necessity made him restless, volatile, nomadic, warlike. Necessity also drove him to practise infanticide and to wage war. Too many mouths consumed the food, and women were not good warriors. There was a gradual infiltration of Arab tribes into the green borderlands long before Mohammed. The Arabs had begun to leak into the far eastern provinces of the Roman Empire as early as 200 A.D. Saracen cavalry appear in the legions in Egypt in 402, and the Theodosian Code (439) mentions them as settled as border troops in military bounty lands in the East (*milites limitanei in agris castellanis*), where such groups were still found in the time of Justinian (*Codex*, XI, 59). All recent writers agree that a period of unusual drought preceded the coming of Mohammed and that the tribes were in a high state of unrest and peculiarly susceptible to any new leadership which offered a means of escape from the precarious life of the desert.

Whether or not the theory of pulsatory change be accepted, there is evidence of great drought preceding the coming of Mohammed. The remnants of the Sherarat tribe, who dwell in the great desert northeast of the Red Sea and are now very poor and weak, tell the story that once their tribe was large and powerful. In the days before Mohammed a great drought occurred, with no rain for seven years. The scarcity of food and water became so great that finally almost the entire tribe migrated. Passing through Egypt, they went westward and settled in Tunis. This migration had nothing to do with Mohammedanism. It preceded the coming of the new religion, but it lends confirmation to the theory of a phenomenal drought so severe as to cause wholesale migration and unrest. The prolonged aridity of the seventh century proved the utter ruin of cities such as Palmyra, and indeed of the whole borderland of the desert. The Arabs began to move as never before.

[2] *The Nation*, Nov. 8, 1917, p. 505.

Not one tribe like the Sherarat, but scores began to feel the pinch of want. Their camels were dying of thirst, their sheep and goats failed to find pasture, and raids on a scale unknown before were the only recourse.

It is essential to note that Mecca, the birthplace of the Prophet, was not only a religious centre but also a great centre of trade and commerce, and that a religion born in an environment of trade would be strongly tinged with a commercial element. Mecca had trade connections with Syria, Egypt, Ethiopia, and India, and was of especial importance as a midway station between Syria and Yemen on one of the great caravan routes along which traveled the international commerce between the East and the West. Long before the coming of Mohammed, the sole and only means of making a livelihood to the inhabitants of Mecca was commerce. Located in the sunburnt district of Hedjaz, with its pestilential coast, and salt plains, in a narrow valley scarcely two miles long and 900 feet wide, the city was dependent almost wholly upon trade. The delay of a caravan meant famine to the inhabitants. Caravans of 2000 camels were often seen in the streets. Each camel carried on an average 400 pounds of silks, spices, ivory, gold dust, and perfumes. The annual exports in the closing days of pagan ascendancy are said to have been $15,000,000, half of which was profit. Every year great caravans were dispatched to Syria and returned laden with wares which the Meccans sold at a large profit to the neighboring Bedouins. The commerce of the Arabs was compelled to employ caravans, for they were liable to be beset by robbers, to suffer hardship, to endure hunger. Hospitality was thus a natural virtue among the Arabs. The Koran expressly enjoins it as a duty to the merchant in his travels; it declares the establishment and maintenance of wells and cisterns in the desert, and the maintenance of rest-houses or caravanserais, agreeable to God. Mecca was also, and had been for generations, the centre of Arabian worship. A traveler, from whatever region he came, could find among the innumerable idols of the Kaaba a divinity upon which to bestow his gifts. The city as a place of pilgrimage also became a dépôt of exchange, and not the least source of gain was the valuables left as offerings in the temples by pilgrims and merchants.

Islam from its inception was connected with commerce and industry. The Koran makes it the duty of all believers to encourage and protect them. The Prophet, born of a tribe which, master of Mecca and guardian of the holy house, monopolized almost all the commerce of western Arabia, did not fail to recognize the importance of an occupation to which his people were debtors for their civilization and their riches. Mohammed conciliated with admirable skill two aptitudes of his nation. To the tribes of the desert he offered war and booty; to those who lived in the towns of the littoral, the practice of commerce and industry. Their conquests were also conquests for commerce. Caravans traveled without

obstacle in the midst of their armies; for the soldier guarded the merchant and his merchandise in the pious belief that in accomplishing this he was doing a duty no less sacred than crushing the infidel.

Whatever Islam may have meant, or may mean as religion, it meant in the relation of Arabia and the world that the Arab tribes were turned from their raiding of one another to a great raid on the lands without. Thenceforth there were to be no more Arab tribes, but only Arabs, Moslems arrayed against non-Moslems; and Arabia, instead of many blood-feuds within itself, was to have but one blood-feud against all without itself. It is tolerably plain, also, that before and with the appearance of Mohammed there had come an economic and racial crisis within Arabia. Unrest had stirred the Arabs for at least a century; influences had worked from without; poetry had shot up into flower; population had increased and was beating against the barriers. No one can say exactly what relative value each of these elements had; but all were at work. And, under their influence, the Arabs were for a time a nation not only in idea, but in working.[3]

It is hardly too much to say that the *material* appeal which Islam made was as responsible for its wide extension as the religious ideas which it inculcated. It promised booty for those who fought and a material paradise for those who died. To the wild tribes of the desert, from time out of memory, robbery had been an honorable occupation. We can hardly blame them for adopting with enthusiasm a religion which promised them booty in abundance and exchanged their bare, stony, and sunburnt deserts with only a miserable subsistence for the fruitful and luxuriant countries of Persia, Syria, and Egypt.

The battle of Nehawand (641) decided the fate of western Asia. Persia passed under Moslem domination. The Aramaic peasants along the borders of Persia greeted the Arabs as deliverers. For a long period of time the Arabs had been coming from the deserts into the green borderlands and many of them had been Christianized. But they too had suffered grievous burdens and oppressions. When the Arabs pushed into the Tigris-Euphrates valley, they were joined literally by thousands of native Arabs and Christians who assisted in the plunder of the rich cities of Persia. Ctesiphon opened its gates and fabulous booty fell into their hands. Soon the whole of Irak was in their possession.

The Muslim creed was most eagerly welcomed by the townfolk, the industrial classes, and the artisans, whose occupation made them impure according to the Zoroastrian creed, . . . and who thus, outcasts in the eyes of the law, . . . embraced with eagerness a creed that made them at once free and equal in a brotherhood of faith.[4]

[3] *The Nation,* Nov. 8, 1917, p. 505.
[4] Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam.*

The Arab conquest of Syria soon followed. The Arabs had always had a very close trade connection with Syria, and it was one of the first countries to be overrun in their career of world conquest. It was one of the richest countries in the world and produced almost without cultivation wheat, cotton, barley, rice, the mulberry tree, the olive, the citron, and the orange. The mountains of Lebanon were covered with the finest forests—oaks, plane trees, sycamores. A marvelous country it was where, following an Arab poet, each mountain carries winter on its head, spring on its shoulders, autumn in its heart, while summer sleeps heedlessly at its feet. Long before the seventh century, avarice and hunger, we have seen, had driven the Arab tribes from the deserts out into the borderlands on both the east and the west, and they were familiar with the extent to which the Persian and Byzantine empires were weakened. So completely were they conscious of this that they demanded and received regular subsidies from the Byzantine government to abstain from raiding. The wars with Persia had also brought enormous debts to the Eastern emperor and he was compelled to put on the fiscal screws to the utmost limits. The population of Asia Minor was burdened with taxation, and torn with religious strife. The soil among both Christian and pagan people was ripe for a new doctrine and a change of government. When therefore the emperor Heraclius, with false economy, withdrew the subsidies from the pagan Bedouin tribes along the imperial border, they not only made an alliance with the rising Mohammedan power and began to recoup themselves by raids, but many even of the Jews, depressed Christians, vassal nations, and slaves went over to the new faith. The Jews opened the gates of the cities and the leaders of depressed factions fought with purse and sword.

It is surprising to see the ease with which the Moslems took Antioch, Aleppo, and Damascus, and many other cities in Syria and Palestine. One reason lies in the fact that, although Hellenized to a great degree, the population of Syria was not Hellenized enough to become identified with Byzantinism. The difference in religion between the Arabs and the other Semites of western Asia was more than counterbalanced by the differences between the orthodox Byzantines and the "heretical" provincials. Moreover, the Jews, who were numerous in western Asia, never forgot that it was Rome that caused them so much suffering in times gone by; it was the same Rome, or "Edom," as they called it, under a Byzantine cloak and bearing a Christian name, that still kept up the persecutions of them. To them the kindred Arabs, who believed in one God, were certainly nearer than the "wicked Edomites, who were trying to persuade the world that Three is One."

The Mohammedan conquest of Egypt followed hard upon that of Syria. The Persian conquest of Egypt, brief as was its duration (616–26), had revealed the weakness and fragility of the Byzantine

government there, and the lesson was not lost on the Arabs. From remote antiquity commercial relations had existed between Egypt and Arabia. Mohammed may himself have been in Egypt. Certainly he was not without knowledge of the country, for in the Koran he asserted: "There never has been enmity between Arabia and Egypt. The two nations are sisters." 'Amr Ibn el 'As, the conqueror of Egypt, had formmerly been a merchant who had traded in Egypt and knew the land and the people. Moreover, as we have seen before, there were considerable Arab colonies in the borders of Egypt. Arab and Syrian cavalry were in the Persian army which had invaded Egypt in 616, and with these their congeners already settled in Egypt must have been in active sympathy. It must be remembered, too, that the native population of Egypt was both persecuted for heresy and exploited fiscally by the Byzantine government to a shameful degree. Hence, as in Syria, it either was indifferent to Arabic conquest or actively furthered it. A change of masters might be better and could not be worse for them. Finally, the richness of the prize tempted the Arabs. More even than Syria, Egypt seemed a land flowing with milk and honey and abounding in wheat. This cereal had become an object of great demand and in vast quantities in Mecca since the obligation imposed by Mohammed upon all the Faithful to make a pilgrimage thither. As Egypt had been for centuries the granary of Rome and later of Constantinople, so now it became the granary of Mecca and Medina. Economic self-interest, practical politics, and religious zeal were conjoined in the Mohammedan conquest of the Nile valley. "Egypt is a milch-camel and a green date-tree, a white pearl, a yellow amethyst, a green emerald, an embroidery of many colors," reported its redoubtable conqueror to the khalif Omar.

The expensive and propulsive energy in Mohammedanism was far from being exhausted by these conquests, immense and swift as they had been. Westward across Libya, Cyrenaica, Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, the crescent of Islam cut like a gigantic scythe.

It is clear that throughout the eighth and ninth centuries Arabia had been producing more men than it could maintain. Its naturally high birth-rate had been heightened by the wealth and well-being which resulted from the early successes of militant Islam. But since these adventitious conditions could not increase sensibly its internal production, a surplusage of vigorous humanity poured outwards from its frontiers for two centuries with little intermission, following for the most part the direction of Egypt as the line of least resistance till the narrow valley of the Lower Nile became overfull of lawless men. . . . Partly by the vigor and craft of the ruler of Egypt, partly by its own desire to reach richer raiding grounds than the exhausted Nile lands could supply, the restless mass was prompted to move westward once more, distant Kairwan being its goal. Many Arabs had indeed established themselves in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco earlier

than this, and finding there a social system and custom closely akin to their own, had settled down and become in part Berberized.[5]

The conquest of the long Mediterranean littoral took much longer than that of Persia, Syria, and Egypt. The retardation was due partly to the necessity of organizing Islamic government in the newly conquered lands, and partly to the fact that the development of a Mohammedan sea-power wherewith to attack Constantinople required time, for the Arab was unused to the sea. Cyprus was taken in 648, Rhodes in 653; between 654 and 658 several attacks upon Constantinople were made; in 667 the first great siege occurred; in 672–73 it was besieged again. Finally, although the Byzantine government in the provinces of Africa was hated by the native population, whether Christian or pagan Moor, Numidian, and Berber, the walled cities, especially Carthage, and the intricate network of fortresses, citadels and military roads, slowed the progress of conquest. For the Arabs were as yet unfamiliar with siegecraft and the storming of fortified cities. Septem, indeed, held out until 709.

With the instinct of a desert people, still distrustful of the sea in spite of their exhibitions of prowess in the unfamiliar element, Islam fixed the capital of the African provinces at Kairwan (founded in 670) in a broad and fertile plain, from which radiated Arabic government over both the coast and the desert, whose peoples, though different in race, had much in common owing to similarity of life, and had embraced Islam with alacrity. No other place in northern Africa west of Egypt was so important as Kairwan, situated 120 miles south of Tunis and thirty to forty from the Gulf of Gabes. Its location in the desert, though it was not without water, of course, enabled it to preserve intact its Arab character as the seaboard cities with their Roman and Byzantine populations and historical associations did not. Tripoli, Tunis, Bona, Ceuta became Arabic maritime communities trading across the Mediterranean with Pisa, Genoa, Amalfi, etc. The new conquerors soon ventured out upon the sea, which became to them a pathway of new conquests. No Mediterranean coast was secure from their raids. They invaded the islands and Sicily became their possession. They were pirates, but soon came to recognize the advantages of commerce. In spite of the prohibitions of the Church, the port towns of Italy began to establish commercial relations with the infidel. We shall see how the merchants of the Middle Ages, before the Crusades, trafficked with the Saracens, and in their ports had become common.

The Romans had never succeeded in breaking up the Berber and Moorish clans dwelling in the difficult mountainous country of modern

[5] *English Historical Review*, XIV, 783.

Morocco. The name of 516 of these clans, ruled by native chiefs, have come down to us. But redoubtable as these hill peoples were, they succumbed to Islam's arms.

In 698 the Ommeyad khalif in Damascus sent out the redoubtable Musa and the world soon rang with his fame. Tribe after tribe speedily submitted to his arms. His campaigns against the Berbers in the mountains were veritable man-hunts. But when conquered the Berbers became the most fanatical, the most warlike of all the nations subject to Islam. It was they who really effected the Mohammedan conquest of Spain under their Berber chieftain. Tarif ibn Malik Abuzura, who in April, 711, landed on the Spanish coast at the spot forever associated with his name—Tarifa.

Misgovernment, economic oppression, social discontent, bigotry, persecution of the Jews—all these conditions were combined in Christian Spain, as we have seen—so that the mass of the Spanish population, as those in Syria and Egypt, looked upon Mohammedanism as a deliverance. On the other hand, the prospect of immense spoil tempted Berber and Arab. Spain abounded in old cities, rich churches, venerable monasteries, in which were the accumulated wealth of centuries. Its plains were covered with cattle, its mines were of almost fabled richness, Andalusia was a garden for the fairness and fertility of its agriculture.

The official report of Musa to the khalif relating the history of the conquest after the victory of Xerez de la Frontera (July, 711) shows how vast an amount of plunder was taken. Thousands of captives were taken. "My camp is like the assembly of the nations on the day of judgment," wrote Musa. An able-bodied man sold in the market of Kairwan for a few ounces of pepper. Thirty thousand Christian maidens selected for their beauty were sent to the slave markets of Alexandria, Antioch, and Damascus. The riches of the Church, the accumulation of centuries, were appropriated. The Jews especially reaped a rich harvest from the misfortunes of their oppressors; profiting by the ignorance of the soldiers, they purchased for trifling sums the sacred utensils of the altars, the jewels which had graced the beauties of the court, and all the rich and costly appurtenances of luxury. From the Saracen conquest of Spain, with the enormous wealth it afforded them, dates the prominence subsequently attained by the Jews in the political and financial affairs of Europe.

The Saracen raids beyond the Pyrenees into Frankish Gaul, which culminated in the victory over them by Charles Martel in 732, had no permanent influence upon the Frank land. No Mohammedan conquest resulted; indeed their expeditions beyond the Ebro were never anything but plundering raids. This is evidenced by the interesting fact that the invaders invariably attacked the monasteries, for they had speedily dis-

covered, as the Norsemen were also to find in the next century, that the abbeys were the abode of great riches in the form of plate and jewels, hoards of coin and precious materials.[6]

By 750, when Baghdad was founded, Mohammedanism held sway over Arabia, the former Persian Empire, and all of Asia and Africa which had formerly pertained to Byzantium, except the provinces of Asia Minor. It possessed countries of fabulous wealth, capitals of world-wide commerce, ruled teeming millions of most industrious agricultural peasantry, skilled artisans, shrewd merchants. It was lord of the oldest trade routes known by land and by sea.

Yet still, in widening circles, unexhausted by its first prodigious conquests, the expansive energy of Islam radiated into lands which had ever been beyond the reach of Rome or Byzantium or Persia to rule. Not since the time of Alexander had western Asia seen such a revolution as Islam wrought. Following the great transcontinental trade route from Syria across Persia and so on into China, following the example set by Nestorian Christians driven out of Syria who found refuge and established a Christo-oriental civilization in the heart of Asia, Mohammedanism reached and crossed the Oxus River, Alexander's "farthest East."

It is strange that the daring, the flair for commerce which the Arabs possessed, their missionary zeal, did not early lead them to extend their sway along the east coast of Africa. That expansion was not to come to pass in numbers until the thirteenth century, although there is a tradition that soon after the Hegira (622) an Arab colony crossed the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, penetrated Abyssinia and gradually extended its influence as far as the Niger. The tradition, however, is so faint that scholars distrust it and incline to ascribe Mohammedan penetration into the western Sudan to Egyptian and Nubian influence, and consider it to be of late appearance.

It is now in point to examine the internal economy of the Mohammedan state, the form of settlement, the treatment of the conquered peoples, the administrative organization, in especial its fiscal practices. The widespread belief that the Arabs were ruthless despoilers and tyrannical taskmasters is wrong, and is a heritage of hatred of the Mohammedan by Christian Europe engendered during the Crusades and come down through the Ottoman Turk.

One must begin with the primitive Arab, who, despite some vices, was yet possessed of certain noble, austere virtues. Among these the most prominent was

[6] After the victory of the Franks at Tours the Austrasian soldiery divided an enormous booty among themselves. But much fell to the monasteries. A very large monastic treasure of exclusively Arabic gold is mentioned in the *Sermo de relat. corp. Vedast.* c. 4 (*Mon. Ger. Hist.* S.S. XV, 402, lines 40–41).

his grand notion of honor, whether shown in the battle or at home, in generosity to the vanquished, in protection to the stranger, in reverence for women or in loyalty to the tribe and the neighbor, extending even to the terrible blood-revenge. . . . For an Arab to refuse protection to the stranger . . . would have been an endless shame to the whole tribe, if such a refusal ever took place, which may well be doubted. . . . When the night came fires were lighted near the tents of the Arab chieftain that strangers wandering in the desert might be guided to the hospitality and protection of the Arabs. . . . Another point of honor was the holding to the given word. The word of a man of honor was inviolable and oaths were only resorted to in later times when the people had become demoralized by contact with Greeks and Persians.

Upon this high sense of honor Mohammed, who was both a great religious teacher and a great social reformer, built up a new Arabic society. The Koran is both a book of religion and a book of law, as the Old Testament was among the ancient Hebrews. For in every Semitic people the government has been a theocratic one. This is the genius of the Semite. Mohammed's legislation with reference to the family, marriage, the rights and obligations of parents and children, prohibition of infanticide, care of orphans, the aged, the poor, the ill, the insane, the slave, possession and inheritance of property, for intelligence, justice, clemency, certainly does not suffer by comparison with the Christian and Roman legislation of the Theodosian Code and Justinian's Digest. The equality of all Mohammedans before the law, the absence of antagonistic class distinctions in Mohammedan society, the absence of any priestly caste—for in Islam every man is his own priest—the freedom of Mohammedan society from the evils of an ambitious and avaricious clergy like the bishops and abbots of the Byzantine Empire—these qualities stamp early Mohammedanism with a new and refreshing vigor.

Although terrible in battle, the Mohammedans were merciful victors. The famous watchword "The Koran, tribute, or the sword" gave the conquered Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Jews, liberty to retain (as "client" nations) their own religion, their own customs, their own speech, their own means of livelihood, and guaranteed the protection of the government, upon payment of a capitation tax, which was a surtax in addition to the regular taxation demanded of all Mohammedan subjects. This poll tax, levied on male adult unbelievers, amounted to about 40 dirhems a year (the dirhem was worth about twenty cents weight for weight, without reference to the fluctuating value of exchange or the modern difference in purchasing power) for the rich, 20 for the middle class, and 10 for the poor. But women and minors, the very old, the very poor were exempted.

By conquest Mohammedanism had become heir to the lands of fallen

Persia and the Asian and African provinces of Christendom. But besides the rich resources of these countries and their position of control of the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and trans-Asian routes, it possessed an even greater resource in the dense population of subject nations, Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Jews, who from remote times were proverbial for commercial adroitness and mechanical skill. The wise policy of Islam in recognizing these non-Mohammedan peoples as the "peoples of the covenant," and permitting them to retain their own religion, their own speech, their own social institutions, made tranquil and industrious citizens of what otherwise might have been intractable populations. The uniform development of Arabic power must be ascribed to this policy. And it is important to observe that even when sectarian influence in Islam itself broke down the political unity of the Baghdad Khalifate, its cultural unity, both material and moral, was preserved.

It is not strange that the millions who had groaned under the religious persecution and the fiscal oppression practised by the Byzantine Empire availed themselves of this new form of religious and civil liberty. On the other hand Islam also was a gainer. For the Arabs had need of the contented labor of the farming peasantry, the skilled craftsmanship of Christian artisans, the commercial enterprise of the mercantile class in great cities like Alexandria, Antioch, Damascus, Aleppo.

To escape the poll tax, to be eligible for service in the army (civil offices were freely open to non-Mohammedans) many went over to Islam. The balance of preponderance of Christian over Muslim population also was slowly inclined more favorably to Mohammedanism because of the far more rapid increase of the Mohammedan population than the native Christian population. This was due to polygamy. In pre-Mohammedan times in sterile Arabia, where population continually pressed upon subsistence and hunger was a constant condition, excess of population had been canceled by infanticide. But with the richest lands of the known world in their possession infanticide was no longer necessary. Moreover, the instinct of self-protection, if the Arabs observed, as they must have, the great disproportion between their numbers and the teeming Christian population, inclined them to polygamy. The registers show a steady increase of the Mohammedan population, and this increment was not wholly accounted for by the addition of proselytes from Christians. In the upper classes very large families were common. The wealthy made concubines of Greek, Coptic, and Persian slave girls. Al-Mughirah-ibn-Shubah had four wives and seventy-six concubines. Al-Muhaleb is said to have had 300 children. In Egypt by 832 the numerical preponderance of Muslims over the Christians was established, for then began the settlement of Arabs in the villages and on the land instead of, as formerly, in the great cities.

By degrees and in course of time the Arab conquerors and the Mus-

lim proselytes became fused together, leaving the tolerated "clients" as a separate non-Muslim class. The various causes which tended to lower the old veneration for blue blood—not least among them the general tolerance of illegitimacy—soon raised the new converts almost to the level of their converters, and the "clients" by degrees acquired most of the rights of the true Arabs.

In the matter of taxation in Mohammedan countries, if the fiscal life of a great country is the measure and proof of its prosperity or its poverty, then the population of Egypt, Africa, Syria was happier under the crescent than they had been under Byzantium. The texts prove that the scale of taxation was a just one and graduated according to capacity to pay and condition. Leaving aside the poll tax, which was, as said, paid by non-Muslims, on the question of finance, we find that the chief source of income (besides the very important one of war-spoils) was the *zekah,* or prescribed alms, which was levied on all Muslims but the very poor, and consisted of a certain proportion, generally about 2½ per cent, of their camels, sheep, money, produce of land, etc., which went to pay the army, to provide the salary of the officers who superintended the levying of the tax, and to support the poor. The most curious feature of the administration was the annual distribution of the balance of the state treasury to the faithful, in fixed proportions. Omar had a careful census taken of the whole body of Muslims and every addition or decrease caused by birth or death was duly registered from time to time. The distribution of the treasure began with the Prophet's family. His favorite wife, 'Aisheh, received 12,000 francs a year; the other widows 10,000; each of the "helpers" and "exiles" who had fought at the battle of Bedr 5000; and the khalif received the same sum. So the distribution went on until it came down to 300 francs a year given to certain ordinary men of the Yemen. Women who had left Mecca for Medina after Mohammed's flight had 6000 a year; children at the breast 100, increasing to 200 and more as they grew; and foundlings were similarly brought up at the state expense. The tremendous effect of this fiscal system in giving unity and power to Islam's empire may be imagined.

This centralization was supplemented by a courier system which covered every land and bound it to Baghdad. There were lines of couriers between all the most important cities of the empire and the capital; and stations at intervals for change of horses. The number of these stations in the entire empire amounted at one time to nearly a thousand. The speed of the post is amazing, for we read that a courier traveled 750 English miles in three days. The pigeon post was also used. A part of the public revenue was to be set aside for the construction of roads and repair of the greater routes. The government supplemented—almost supplanted—the zeal of the individual

to dig wells, establish hotels, to place milestones to mark the distances. Zubaydah, the favorite wife of Harun ar-Rashid, constructed the Darbal-Sharki, or Great East Road, from Mecca to Medina, and caused wells to be sunk and hostelries to be established along the whole route from Baghdad to Mecca. For the latter city she built an aqueduct ten miles in length. The prodigious sum of two million gold pieces was expended on these improvements.

In form of government the Arabs borrowed the Byzantine administration. Even the Greek language remained an official language for over a hundred years in Egypt until increase of the Arabic population and the number of proselytes made Arabic the natural speech of the majority of the people. The immense quantities of papyri which have been unearthed in Egypt in the last thirty years—official reports, registers of land, tax and rent rolls, surveys—have thrown a flood of new light upon the subject. These show that the Arab conquest of Egypt was for the most part pacifically made; that taxation was just and light; that administrative abuses were watched against and checked; that life, religion, and property were protected.

In Egypt a special department of irrigation was established and inspectors of dikes and dams were appointed annually. Local dikes were left to the care and expense of the local villages. Gibbon says that "a third part of the tribute was appropriated to the annual repairs of the dikes and canals." Lane-Poole says that "'Amr developed the productiveness of the land by irrigation, and the immemorial corvée system was enforced. One hundred and twenty thousand laborers were kept at work winter and summer maintaining and improving the dams and canals." Occasionally, as in 615, there was a serious failure of the Nile flood and always with terrific results.

While Alexandria still remained a rich and populous city, it ceased to be the capital of Egypt. The Arabs were too fearful of losing it in event of attack by the Byzantine fleets, and perhaps too much of the desert to wish a seaport to be made their seat of government. 'Amr fixed the new capital at Fustat, near an ancient Roman fortress which Trajan had erected. It was the Egyptian capital until Cairo was founded in 969.

The English pilgrim Arculf, who visited Alexandria about 670, speaks of it as a centre of world-wide commerce, where "innumerable people" came to buy; and under the dynasty of the Fatimites Alexandria was accounted very prosperous. As to manufactures, they were almost wholly a continuation of the industries under the Byzantine government. Probably under the combined demands of the West and the khalif (for whom many fancy fabrics were woven), textile weaving improved and greatly increased in volume. Alexandria, Tinnis, and Cairo were large, thriving, and rich cities. In 1047 the Persian traveler Nasiri-Khusran

visited Tinnis and was astonished at its prosperity. He speaks of "10,000 shops and 50,000 male inhabitants." A thousand vessels were moored at the island, which grew nothing and depended on trade for all provisions. The rise of the Nile swept away the girdling flood of salt water, and filled the vast underground "cisterns, and reservoirs with sweet water enough to last for a year." The splendid colored stuffs worn by the Copts were of more value than ever. In the sultan's looms fabrics were woven for him alone; a single turban cost 40,000 dinars; but these fabrics were never put on the market. Besides these royal textiles, a fabric was woven called *bûk alimûn,* a short silk of lustre so fine it was said to change color every hour of the day. The steel cutlery of Tinnis was almost as famous as the products of its looms.

The untiring 'Amr desired to bind Egypt to Arabia by economic and commercial ties. One of his first efforts was to open up the ancient canal from the Nile to Clisma at the head of the Red Sea, a distance of some ninety miles; almost immediately Egyptian wheat was sent by water without transshipment from the Nile to the Arabian coast. 'Amr also planned to cut the Suez isthmus by a canal; but Omar forbade it because he feared it would let the Byzantines into the Red Sea, stop the pilgrimages, and interfere with commerce. The Clisma canal soon began to fill up and it was actually destroyed about 761 in order to reduce revolting Medina by starvation. However, this canal was the regular route for merchandise from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean.

Much of the Red Sea trade, though, came through the port of Berenice on the western coast of the Red Sea, whence it was carried by caravans across the desert to the upper Nile and loaded on barges and so freighted down the river. The passage across the desert occupied some thirty days. Another route was across the isthmus of Suez to Pelusium (Faramish), a port of some historic importance and richness even before this. This route reduced the land carriage to four or five days and might have been more used if the harbors on the upper Red Sea had been better.

After the Nubian war a treaty was signed (652) according to which an annual tribute of 360 slaves was paid to an Egyptian officer at El-Kass five miles from Assuan, the frontier town of Egypt and 40 slaves additional were exchanged for wheat, barley, lentils, and horses. The treaty and the slave tribute remained in force more than six centuries.

Communication between Italy and Egypt seems never to have been completely broken, even in the days of Arab supremacy. Willibald in 722 saw a ship from Egypt in the harbor of Naples, and in the ninth century it is certain that Alexandrian stuffs were coming to Italy through the activity of Venice, though much of it came via North Africa to Amalfi. In 827 or 828 the Venetians appeared at Alexandria and carried

off the relics of St. Mark, "who seems to have become their patron as the guardian of Christian Egypt, and as their protector on the long and dangerous voyage to this their earliest distant market."

In the time of Charlemagne, Harun ar-Rashid sent an ambassador to the Emperor, and the course of the journey was along the coast of North Africa, and then by sea to Italy. An elephant, which was a gift to Charlemagne, was conducted by land to Tripoli, and thence was shipped to Porto Veneris in Italy. There was evidently some reciprocal security for Christians and Mohammedans in countries of the other, even at that time, and it is not unlikely that traders took advantage of it. The fact that no treaties have been found which prove that there were commercial relations between the Arabs and Christian states in the early period does not warrant assertion that the trade relations did not exist as early as 800. As Mas Latrie suggests, very probably for quite a long period the agreements were verbal, and the traders engaged in their work without any formal agreement. A treaty would hardly be thought necessary before there was a considerable trade which required protection.

EUROPE
C.800 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Empire of Charles The Great, 768
Conquests of Charles The Great
Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire
Saracen Caliphate
FRANKISH KINGDOMS
AUSTRASIA
NEUSTRIA
BURGUNDY
AQUITAINE
BRITTANY
ALLEMANIA
SUABIA
BAVARIA
LOMBARDS
KINGDOM OF ITALY
DUCHY OF BENEVENTO
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
KINGDOMS OF GALICIA & ASTURIAS
SPANISH MARCH
MAGHREB
ATLAS MOUNTAINS
BALEARIC IS.
MERCIA
WESSEX
EAST ANGLIA
NORTHUMBRIA
Aix-la-Chapelle
Rome
Naples
Tunis
Kairwan
Cordova
Granada
Toledo
Saragossa
Barcelona
Tangier
Gibraltar
Cadiz
Lisbon
Dublin
Waterford
York
London
Paris
Rouen
Orleans
Tours
Poitiers
Bourges
Toulouse
Bordeaux
Narbonne
Marseilles
Lyons
Vienne
Milan
Pavia
Verona
Venice
Genoa
Ravenna
Ancona
Spoleto
Subiaco
Monte Cassino
Benevento
Dyrrhachium
Messina
Palermo
SICILY
SARDINIA
CORSICA
MINORCA
MAJORCA
Ratisbon
Passau
Wurzburg
Bohemia
Mainz
Worms
Treves
Verdun
Metz
Cologne
Paderborn
Magdeburg
Goslar
Utrecht
Verden
Saxons
Sueves
Danes
Danube R.
Rhine R.
Loire R.
Ebro R.
Douro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Oder R.
Drave R.
Save R.
5° Longitude West
0°
5°
10°
15° Longitude East
20°
15°
10°
5°
0°
5°
10°
15°
55°
50°
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40°
35°
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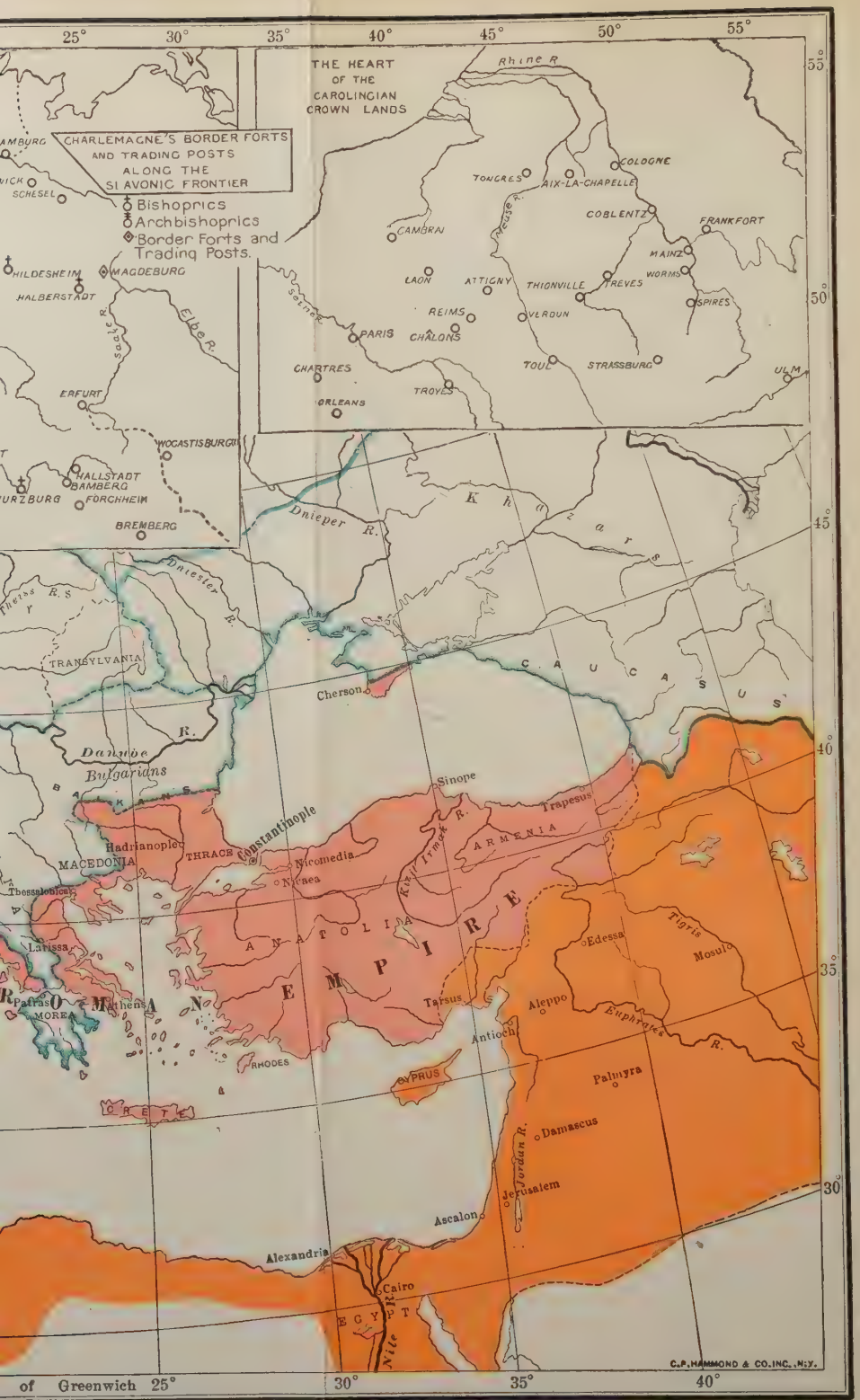

25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
50°
55°
THE HEART OF THE CAROLINGIAN CROWN LANDS
CHARLEMAGNE'S BORDER FORTS AND TRADING POSTS ALONG THE SLAVONIC FRONTIER
Bishoprics
Archbishoprics
Border Forts and Trading Posts.
Rhine R.
COLOGNE
AIX-LA-CHAPELLE
TONGRES
COBLENTZ
FRANKFORT
MAINZ
WORMS
SPIRES
CAMBRAI
LAON
ATTIGNY
THIONVILLE
TREVES
REIMS
VERDUN
PARIS
CHALONS
CHARTRES
TOUL
STRASSBURG
ULM
ORLEANS
TROYES
SCHESEL
HILDESHEIM
MAGDEBURG
HALBERSTADT
ERFURT
WOCASTISBURGH
HALLSTADT
BAMBERG
FORCHHEIM
BREMBERG
Elbe R.
Saale R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Theiss R.
TRANSYLVANIA
Cherson
Danube R.
Bulgarians
BALKANS
Sinope
Trapesus
Hadrianople
THRACE
Constantinople
Nicomedia
Nicæa
MACEDONIA
Thessalonica
Larissa
Patras
MOREA
Athens
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
ANATOLIA
EMPIRE
ARMENIA
Kizil Irmak R.
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Euphrates R.
Edessa
Tigris
Mosul
Palmyra
Damascus
Jordan R.
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
Nile R.
KHAZARS
CAUCASUS
C.P. HAMMOND & CO. INC. N.Y.
of Greenwich 25°
30°
35°
40°

CHAPTER VIII

MEROVINGIAN AND CAROLINGIAN FRANKISH GAUL AND GERMANY. CHARLEMAGNE (768–814) *

In the chapter upon the German invasions it was shown how the Franks slowly filtered in and expanded over the region between the lower Rhine and the Somme rivers without opposition, owing to the desertion of the country by the Roman population. As far as the Somme their movement was one of colonization. But by 486 they had reached the edge of peopled territory, and from that time forth the Frank expansion was one of conquest. In rapid succession northern Gaul, where still a nominal imperial rule persisted, Burgundian Gaul in the southeast, and Visigothic Gaul in the southwest were over-run. By 567 Frank domination reached the Pyrenees and the Atlantic on the west, while in Germany, in addition to holding on to their old Frank territory in Hesse, the Franks conquered the Allemanni (496), the Thuringians (532), and the Bavarians (552). Not only the greatest and most enduring state born of the Germanic invasions was thus created, but a new kind of state was formed. For the Frank kingdom was the only German kingdom which combined free Germany, which Rome had never ruled, with conquered Roman provinces. It was a Germano-Roman state in a different and far greater sense than any other Germanic kingdom. The balance of the two fundamental racial ingredients, Roman and German, in it was a more even balance than in any kingdom heretofore.

In another important way also the Frank state was a different state. It was catholic and not Arian like the others. We have seen how religious difference was a factor in ruining the Ostrogothic and Vandal kingdoms; how it was a source of grave weakness in Visigothic Spain. In the Frank land, on the contrary, the Church became a sustaining arm of government, and—what perhaps is just as important—there was no antagonism between the Roman and catholic population and the Franks. This fact made both for harmony and effectiveness in government and for blood fusion between the two peoples. In a word, from the beginning, the Frank state was not divided against itself. It needs no words to signify the moral and social effects of this absence of cleavage.

The episcopate in Gaul was rich before the arrival of the Franks. As soon as the Church was recognized it was assured by legislation of the right to secure legacies, to acquire gifts, to take title to land. The idea

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 53.

of rich reward in heaven to the generous on earth was sedulously cultivated. "Give and it shall be given unto you" was the constant word. The Frankish clergy astutely utilized the zealous veneration of the saints, a remarkable religious phenomenon of the sixth and seventh centuries, for the purpose of increasing the Church's endowments. It was the saint, often a merely locally venerated one, who became the actual proprietor. For the intensely personal and proprietary ideas of the age required that the invisible Church be given some sort of personal expression, even if the patron was an invisible personage. Invocation of the saints, saints as spiritual godfathers and godmothers, became general; for the saints interceded in heaven for their protégés. The name of a church donor was inscribed upon the church registers.

One may distinguish three classes of donors. Many bishops, who increasingly sprang from the landed aristocracy, devoted their inherited property to the sees which they ruled. The historian of the Franks, Gregory of Tours, abounds with examples. Secondly, rich lay proprietors were lavish in donations to the Church. Finally, the Frankish kings were the most generous of all donors, so much so that the reduction of the crown lands injured the political power of the Merovingians and materially contributed to their weakness. In order that these resources should never be diminished the Frankish Church, following up a resolution of the council of Carthage in 398, interdicted all alienation of Church lands.

The laws of the Church provided that one-fourth of the income was to be for the expenses of the bishop's household; one-quarter was to be devoted to the relief of the poor, another quarter to the support of the clergy, a fourth quarter to maintenance of established church edifices or the building of new ones. The Frankish clergy were great builders. Probably in no other century of the Middle Ages before the religious revival of the eleventh century were so many new churches erected. Some of the bishops were capable financiers. Of two bishops it is recorded that, after having expended large sums upon churches, they left 20,000 gold pieces in the treasury when they died.

Land ownership not only conferred harvests, fruits, wines, timber, and other material resources; it also conferred serfs as cultivators of these domains. The bishop or abbot who possessed thirty domains possessed a population of thirty villages, for each domain had its village; and he was therefore proprietary master over some thousands of tenants. Each of these domains was a distinct economic and social unit. In each village the bishop or abbot had barns and granaries, a mill, a wine-press or a brewhouse. Most of the tenants were engaged in agriculture, but household industries and the crafts and employments necessary to a farming community were found, like weaving, tanning, leather-working, wood-turning, smithing. The surplus natural produce and the products

of craftsmanship in excess of needs were sold in the local market, itself often under the control of the bishop or abbot.

The civilization of the Franks was more barbarous than that of the other German nations. But while it exhibited the grosser evils of barbarism, it was at heart a more wholesome civilization than the Gothic, in spite of its brutality. It is true that the Merovingian kings were almost all cruel, faithless, vicious, and that the *History of the Kings of the Franks* by Gregory of Tours (ca. 600) seems largely to be a chronicle of battle, murder, and sudden death. The kings were the spoiled children of fortunate conquest, who indulged their own barbarian vices and cultivated those of the decadent Roman society with which they were in contact.

But the real strength of the nation was not in the kings but in the great landed proprietary class, of Gallo-Roman or new German or mixed blood and tradition. Below this ruling class, in which the landed bishops must be included, was the mass of the people, Roman and German, free or servile, which, too, tended to fuse into a single whole, as each was catholic. Hence Frankish society was organic, a fusion of racial ingredients, instead of, as in the other German kingdoms, an association of disparate and antagonistic elements.

14425

Religious antagonism in Italy, southern Gaul, and Spain had kept Roman and German asunder. No such enmity existed in Frankish Gaul. The result was of immeasurable importance. The Church threw its great influence into the scale to promote the stability and expansion of Frankish rule. It never challenged that rule as the Church in Arian lands did. It retained its vast possessions unmolested and successfully resisted the few attempts made by the Merovingian kings to tax it. The bishops naturally were all of Gallo-Roman extraction. It is not until the seventh century that we begin to find clergy of Frankish blood. Many of the high clergy were violent and gross, for even they could not escape the moral tincture of the time. Yet there were great and good churchmen among them, like Gregory of Tours, the earliest historian of the Franks. The Church not unsuccessfully sometimes moderated the cruelty of the laws, especially by asserting the right of asylum, though it was lenient toward the crimes of its benefactors. Notwithstanding the fact that many of the clergy were self-indulgent and misappropriated ecclesiastical revenues, the practical charity of the Church in the form of poor relief in an age of grinding poverty and terrible suffering of the lower classes owing to almost constant civil war, in maintenance of hospitals and almshouses, in care of widows and orphans, was large. The Church was not wholly recreant to its duty as a social agent.

As for the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, secured in possession of its estates and under no form of oppression, it completely identified itself with the Frankish domination. Its administrative experience was invalu-

able to the kings. Some of the best commanders in the Merovingian armies were of Gallo-Roman blood.

In the collapse of Roman provincial government urban life in Gaul, at least in the south, acquired new energy. We still find in the sixth century the municipal *curia,* municipal *duumviri* and *defensores.* All the great towns were surrounded by strong walls, and even small towns were fortified. Feuds between towns—apparently an insurgence of the hostility between the ancient Celtic clans or different tribal ingredients which the long rule of Rome had not completely eradicated—added to the strife between the Merovingian princes.

Violent and gross Frankish society was, but it possessed a ruggedness, a force, a vitality, a genuineness which Visigothic and Ostrogothic society was without. It was a natural society, and normal for its time, instead of being artificial and abnormal in its nature. For this reason the Frank nation was destined not only to be the most enduring, the most influential of all the German nations; it was also destined to be the most constructive, to become the renovating and integrating force which would erect a new Europe upon the debris of the Roman Empire. The other Germanic kingdoms were too friable, too brittle to endure. The Franks alone, with the Church, were destined to accomplish the transition between the ancient world and the medieval world. It has been said by some historians that the Franks produced a Germanic reaction or arrest of Romanizing development. Thus baldly stated, I think the statement is an exaggeration. In the fusion of Germanic with Roman institutions there was room for the simultaneous play of each, both in spirit and in function. It would be a difficult task to select from Merovingian and Carolingian institutions any example and say that such was purely Roman or purely German.

This transition is clearly seen if we examine the nature of Frankish society, and contrast it with that of the later Roman Empire. Frank society was composed of four classes, exclusive of the clergy, and their status was determined by wealth. At the bottom were the slaves; above them, serfs, theoretically free but actually bound to the soil by weight of debt; freemen, who were small landowners; and finally the great land-holding class, called *optimates* or *proceres.* There was no nobility of race among the Franks. The class arose through office-holding and landlordism. The Frankish government was a landed polity. As a result of the conquest of Gaul the extensive imperial domains within the territory occupied by the tribe and probably also all unoccupied land left over after the tribe had settled, fell naturally to the king as the conqueror or as the successor to the emperor. This put into the hands of the king a source of great power. The Frankish king having seized the imperial fisc, became a great landed proprietor—indeed, except the Church, the greatest. These domains were used by him not only as a source of reve-

nue, but as a means of rewarding those who served him. The grants were in the beginning, it would seem, gifts outright; it was not until later that the great value of the royal possessions in creating a royal administration was fully appreciated and was developed into a system of feudal patronage.

It is important to consider the classes from which these supporters of the monarchy were drawn. They were, in general terms, those with whom the king was familiar and upon whose service he had depended when he came into possession of his new power. The king had his own *comitatus,* or bodyguard of warriors; men bound to him by a close personal tie, who fought under his leadership, sharing his dangers and his glory, from whom he chose those who served him in his new position, and who were rewarded from his new possessions. The best instances of this are found in the Frankish *antrustiones,* sprung from the war-band of the king. Still another class of persons near to the king was to be found in his half-free and unfree servants, especially those concerned with the management of his household. The king found in them men trained in the service which he required. The fact that the great officials of the Merovingian court, *major domus, senescalcus, marescalcus, camerarius,* all bore titles originally applied to unfree servants, points to the servile origin of these important offices. But the *comitatus* and the household of the king did not furnish all the new officials of the monarchy. Increasing numbers of other persons, especially the landed class, recognized the advantages attendant upon employment in the royal service and sought to enter that service, but it seems altogether probable that in the beginning the majority of the new officials were taken from those persons immediately surrounding the king.

The *villæ* or royal domains were scattered all over Gaul and the Rhine lands, and in the aggregate were known as the fisc. Some of them were estates within former Roman towns like Paris, Orleans, Rheims, Treves, Metz; but most of them were huge farms, the favorite ones being close to some great forest as Clichy, Chelle, Choisy, Epinay, Marlenheim; for the Frank kings were passionately fond of the chase. Cultivated fields, meadows and pasture lands, forests, fishponds, quarries, mines might all be included within a domain. The habitation consisted of a manor house of Gallo-Roman architecture, usually built of wood upon the most favored site in the property, and flanked by lesser structures to house the king's officials, stables, granaries, storehouses, and the cabins of the servants' quarters. The king had no fixed capital. The seat of administration was wherever the king might be temporarily established; for the whole rout of officials, retainers, servitors, guards, and personal servants rambled from villa to villa, as indeed was necessary in an almost complete agricultural economy, when commerce and trade were slight, roads bad and monetary taxes few. The king, as the

saying went, "lived of his own." Local taxes were chiefly paid in produce, a fifteenth of the harvest, a tenth of swine and cattle, etc. The royal domain was, therefore, the most important source of the king's income.

The Merovingian kings remunerated the service of their officials by grants of land, and in course of time the landed aristocracy awoke to the fact that the royal service might furnish lucrative employment, and furthermore that a weak or minor king might be wheedled or bullied into making out-and-out gifts of land from the royal domains to his favorites. As countships, palace offices, army commands were supported by endowments of land it naturally followed that these administrative officials became a proprietary class and, *vice versa,* the *potentes* or great landed proprietors tended to engross the administrative offices. A truly feudal structure of society, a truly feudal form of government, either in theory or form, was yet far off; but the roots of later feudalism may be said to have come into existence during the Merovingian epoch. The grandees in public office, the counts, were more or less irremovable and their tenure inclined to become hereditary; while the great landed proprietors, lay and ecclesiastical, tended to become independent of the royal authority. This was largely due to the civil wars in which the crown endeavored to purchase supporters by gifts of land out of the fisc. It is true that the perfected feudal tenure—the benefice—is a development of the Carolingian period, but under the later Merovingians gifts of land from the royal domain approximated that form of holding. This tendency of the landed aristocracy to become independent was accelerated by the growing practice of granting immunity to the holders. "Immunities" originally were given solely to ecclesiastical lords, bishops and abbots, and their effect was to release clerical estates from the jurisdiction of the local count. Public officials, who were often oppressive and often corrupt, were enjoined from entering such estates to try causes or to collect taxes, and the holders of immunities were thus responsible only to the king. But as the kings were frequently far away or weak or minors, the nobility quickly saw in the immunity a means to acquire greater independence in their estates and wrung exemptions from the crown accordingly. Thus the royal authority and the revenue alike suffered by this practice, and the power of the landed aristocracy grew apace. The representative of this domineering class in the seventh century was the mayor of the palace.

The beginning of this office was originally a lowly one, even held by one of servile origin. The supervision of the receipts and expenditures of each royal villa was under a bailiff or steward, and as the court traveled from royal farm to royal farm, the king's chief official, the mayor of the palace, audited these local accounts, so that in a sense the mayor became

the controller of the king's revenue and the distributor of his patronage. Imperceptibly the office also became one of political influence, so that in the reign of a weak or minor king the mayor might become actual regent. Among his functions was that of confirming alienations of the royal domain, of granting or withholding royal favor, of collecting the taxes. "The palace had become the state, and he who was great in the king's household was great in the Frankish monarchy." As a result of this condition of things, in 613 the landed aristocracy acquired control of the monarchy through the permanent seizure of the mayor's office by Pepin of Landen, the chief of the nobles.

The growth of landlordism had an important effect upon the condition of freemen. There may have been thousands of German freemen among the Franks when they entered Gaul at the end of the fifth century, but it is evident that by the seventh century their numbers had become greatly diminished. The oppressive practices of the landlord class, official intimidation, "hard times" owing to occasional famine and pestilence, and above all the anarchy of the two long civil wars (573–613 and 674–87) reduced many of the free class to serfdom. The existence of large estates in the hands of the king and his officials and friends, in comparison with which the alods of the freemen sank into insignificance, not only served to make the freemen appear as a distinctly lower class than the new landlords, but gave opportunity for the reduction of the freemen to a position of dependence upon their more powerful neighbors. This latter part of the process was a matter of slower development and did not become general until the later Merovingian period. In the early period the contrast is apparent between the ordinary freeholds and the great estates, but the freemen in the mass appear to be independent. The long civil wars were as disastrous for the weak and unprotected as they were favorable to the strong and those possessed of the natural sources of wealth and of personal retainers. The small freehold which under simpler conditions had sufficed for the support of a family, now in a more complex state of society and under the weight of heavy public burdens, resulting largely from the waste of the numerous wars, became inadequate to the needs of its owner. The need of a private protector at a time when all public guarantee of safety had practically disappeared, induced the simple freeman to seek to ally himself on what terms he could with some powerful official or wealthy lord. Yielding to this double pressure, the ordinary freemen in considerable numbers appear to have surrendered their holdings to a neighboring lord, either to receive them back again *in precario* or to take other lands of the lord's domain. In this way the lord won a hold within the neighboring village community, and sometimes succeeded in reducing a whole village to a dependency of his estate. It is probable also that such surrender of his

land by the freeman was not always voluntary; among instances of oppression of their subjects by the public officials there is frequent mention of "usurping the land of another."

Another class of freemen who became tenants of the lords was made up of those who possessed no land of their own. The claim of the king to the unoccupied land had taken away from the village community the opportunity of expansion. This resulted either in the splitting up among several heirs of a freehold barely sufficient in its entirety for the support of one family, or in leaving a part of the population without land. These landless freemen found employment upon the great estates of the lords, and became serfs.

The Roman practice and the Roman name of *precarium* were continued in the Merovingian period. The causes are to be found in the existing conditions in the later Merovingian kingdom. The small proprietor "commended" himself to the protection of a great proprietor and became a tenant of the lord, a relation in which we see the beginning of overlordship and vassalage in the feudal epoch; the landless sank to serfdom, not merely individual free farms but entire free villages being engrossed by the great proprietors—a condition which gave rise to the manorial régime of the eighth, ninth, and later centuries—and were blended with the *coloni* and the *laeti* of latter Roman times. This process resulted, on the one hand, in furnishing the lord with a following of devoted retainers and a body of officials to be used in the management of his estates, and, on the other, in giving a protector and a means of subsistence to those who either were without land or preferred to exchange a precarious freedom for a safer and more profitable dependence. The sinking of the small free land-owner into the dependent tenant finds its true explanation in the economic stress of the later Merovingian period.

It is a matter of importance to observe that the proprietary class was stronger in the north—in Austrasia—than anywhere else. It is a significant evidence of this process that village names do not appear before the seventh century, which indicates that it was then that the life of village and manor was beginning to become a fixed economic unit and social form. These names were often derived from the name of the proprietary family. But north of the Loire and extending into Germany place-suffixes like *-heim, -hausen* and *-ingen* are found, which gives ground for the belief that in this area the Germanic occupation was denser than in the south, as indeed we know was the fact from much other evidence, especially that of a linguistic nature. Interspersed among these unfree manorial villages were other villages of German freemen, preserving, until caught in the coil of feudalism, the social nature and economic practices of the ancient German village community.

Below the servile class was the mass of slave population, which was a

heritage from Roman civilization, but included also some German slaves. The greater proportion of these were common field hands, as were the serfs, too; others were domestic servants in the villas and manor-houses of the rich proprietors. The servile and slave classes from this time forth tended to fuse, or at least to become blurred, and their lot to become a hard one. A master had the right of life and death over his slaves; though the council of Châlons in 643 forbade the sale of a Christian slave out of the realm, the slave trade, both domestic and foreign, flourished; enfranchisement was rare. Almost the sole social advance in the degradation of the slave was that he was permitted to marry and his children were not regarded as bastards. The social attitude of the time is reflected in testamentary documents which enumerate serfs and slaves together as property, though technically only the latter were chattels, and bunch the children of slaves and serfs together as a litter or brood (*sequela*), like puppies or young pigs.

The Salic Law, the code of the Franks, and the legislation of the Church show that the Merovingian age was a hard and violent one. Of 418 articles, 343 deal with the suppression of crime, mostly crimes of violence against persons usual in an agrarian society. Cattle-stealing was the commonest crime against property. Criminal procedure followed one of three processes:

(1) Compurgation. In old Germanic law, proof at law fundamentally rested upon the value of the given word, confirmed by oath. An accused person was not compelled to bring proof that he had not committed the alleged crime, but was required to declare himself innocent on oath and to get a certain number of other persons called "compurgators" to swear, not that they knew him to be innocent, but that they believed that he told the truth.

(2) Trial by ordeal, hot iron, hot water, or throwing into deep water. Ordeal was resorted to when proof by oath was not satisfactory, the theory being that divine agency would reveal the truth or falsity of the accused's declaration. To refuse to submit to the test was, of course, a confession of guilt. The psychology of the ordeal by cold water is most curious. If guilty, the water would not receive him and he would float; if innocent, he would sink. The dilemma was a hard one: if he floated and so was saved from drowning he was punished as a criminal; if he drowned he was believed to be innocent and his memory was perpetuated as that of a just man. In practice, however, the ordeal of cold water did not often go to this extreme.

(3) The duel or trial by battle, sometimes called the judgment of God, on the theory that the innocent man would always win. This last could only be employed among the free and the noble; for neither serfs nor slaves were permitted to bear arms.

A feature of the Barbarian Codes, carried to an exaggerated degree

with the Franks, was the system of *wergeld,* a monetary composition or fine for offenses. These fines were singularly graduated, so much for an injury inflicted to an arm, a leg, a foot, an eye, a finger, a tooth. These were all ancient German practices. The Church added the crimes of sacrilege, rape (of nuns), sorcery, and the kings added treason to the category. Social privilege was carefully guarded in these penalties. The murder or injury of a Frank was more heavily penalized than that of a Roman; that of a noble than that of a freeman; that of a freeman than that of a serf or slave.

The Frank régime, therefore, both in form of government and in social texture, thus came to possess the elements of feudalism; but it was feudalism of an inchoate and unregularized nature. Some of the germs of these institutions were of Roman, others of German origin, although in stricter truth they were more the product of the political, economic, and social decay of ancient civilization than of racial origin and so the phenomena of transition.

The Merovingian kings tried with scant success to maintain the continuity of the Roman system of taxation which they found in Gaul. The fiscal system left by the Romans gradually disappeared. It was difficult either to impose the old customary taxes or to establish new ones. The two which survived in a mutilated form were the land tax (*census*) and the *péage,* or toll. The collection of taxes was largely made impossible by the immunities. The Roman *telonium,* originally a 2½ per cent *ad valorem* duty, degenerated to a more or less arbitrary imposition upon all commercial transportation, both commodities and means of carriage being taxed, as the legal terminology shows: *pontaticum* (bridge tax), *rotaticum,* wheel tax; *pedagium,* foot or peddler tax; *ripaticum,* river-bank or landing tax. In the matter of taxes on land the Franks fell heir to the Roman cadastral surveys preserved in the municipal archives, but the mechanism of collection was too intricate for the Franks to understand. From the first the Franks themselves refused to pay the land tax, so that it was collectible only from the Roman inhabitants. Moreover, as the landed aristocracy grew stronger, whether Roman or Frank, they repudiated such imposition. In 580 the king of Neustria ordained a revision of the cadastral valuations, but as a result of the troubles arising from the attempted new valuation against which the aristocracy rebelled, Chilperic burned the registers with his own hand. Insensibly the Roman land tax degenerated to a feudal tribute, levied under the name of tallage or *taille* by the nobles upon the real property of their tenants, and as such passed into the feudal system. So deformed did these ancient cadastral surveys become in the course of time that a relation between them and the later polyptychs or monastic surveys is doubtful.

In the matter of commerce it would be a mistake to infer that the

German conquest of Gaul resulted at once in its destruction. The material civilization of the Roman Empire resisted barbarian influence. Trade, industry, urban life slowly shrunk or were changed, but there was no abrupt collapse. The process was one of gradual decline.

The commercial relations of Gaul with the Orient did not cease during the Merovingian kingship. Marseilles, Narbonne, Arles still remained the chief ports of the south. Exchange between the East and the West seems to have been relatively frequent. The sources of the time indicate considerable commercial activity in the chief cities. This was nothing but a continuation of that which had been in Roman times. The Frank kingship accepted without change the road system of the Romans and we know that the Alps were crossed in the sixth century or earlier by the Great or the Little St. Bernard, and that the entire road by the coast from Marseilles to Genoa was much used, although without doubt the wars of the time created confusion. The same is true of Spain, which was in constant relation with southern Gaul, and thanks to Roman roads the Pyrenees were crossed at two points. In addition to the great Roman highways there were very many other roads of lesser importance connecting town with town. Of course the commerce of the times was not as lively as in the Gallo-Roman epoch, and some centres formerly active disappeared during the invasions; but it is necessary to distinguish the special reasons in each local case. The north was more agricultural than the south, and industry was mainly an annex to agriculture.

The documents prove that the commerce of the towns of the south and centre of France was quite prosperous, thanks to ships out of the East which continually brought the chief products of those remote countries. Italian, Greek, Syrian, and Egyptian merchants thronged in the Mediterranean towns and even made their way into the far north of Gaul. Much of the great commerce was in the hands of Jews, who were many in the south and centre of France. Strange as it may seem, these merchants seem to have been very ignorant. We are told that they did not know how to write, and hired scribes to conduct their correspondence and keep their accounts. The chief imports were wheat, wine, oil, dates, spices, pepper, ginger, aloes, ivory, and silk goods, much of which was used by the clergy. We have less precise information upon the internal commerce and industry of Gaul. It is probable that the industries of certain cities which were appreciated in the imperial epoch had disappeared. We still hear of cloth fabric in Bigorre and of the linens of Cahors.

Local fairs drew the people of the country into the towns and we know that some of these periodical markets had a high antiquity. The fairs of Paris, of Troyes and that near Cahors are mentioned in Merovingian documents. Dagobert founded the Fair of St. Denis in 629. They tended to become numerous as the monasteries increased. These

fairs were held on saints' days, sometimes even in front of the churches which were dedicated to them.

Commerce grew more difficult because of the insecurity of the roads and the multiplication of provincial tolls. In Roman times such taxes had been used for improving the roads, for the construction of causeways, the building of bridges, the repair of highways; but in the Frank period they lost these characteristics, and the public revenue was pocketed by officials or local nobles. The ignorance and avarice of the Frank kings and the nobles led them to increase this kind of taxes. It is true that occasionally an official protested and at least once Chlotair II was compelled to abolish some of these abuses and put the collection of taxes upon the ancient footing (A.D. 614), but in proportion as the royal power declined local usurpations and privileges increased; churches and monasteries profited by grants to collect taxes.

The roads, especially those which bordered the many forests which at this time covered Gaul, were very insecure because of highwaymen, which compelled merchants to travel in groups or under escort; and yet in spite of the insecurity it is evident that the roads were frequented by workmen, artisans, and peddlers journeying from town to town, who kept their cash in a little bag about their neck and spent the night in the taverns, which at that time existed in the cities or in private houses or monasteries, if they were so fortunate as to be near one. It is a singular fact that travelers preferred the by-roads to the great Roman highways, for the double reason that there was more security and less liability to tolls. The itineraries of the relics prove this statement. River routes were preferred to roads, and the commerce of the time employed the boats and vehicles familiar to the Romans, as the words used by Gregory of Tours and Fortunatus prove. The industries, except in the south, were chiefly those annexed to an agricultural condition, as tanners, leather-workers, wood-turners, weavers, potters, or attached to the court, as gold and silver smiths. These crafts were all distinguished by Latin names. The texts mention masons and stone-cutters. We find them repairing the walls of the town, the aqueducts of the city, and building a church. We cannot say to what class these workers belonged; whether they were free or servile.

The city in early Frankish times was not like the ancient city, nor was it yet clothed with the characteristics which it was later to have. Reduced though it was, there were numerous social degrees in the urban population. The laws group these classes all together, but it is none the less possible to distinguish them. By the side of high royal officials there were great local families and numerous freemen at this epoch employed in industrial and commercial ways. Some of the old Roman corporations were still powerful. That of Verdun in 600 borrowed seven thousand gold pieces from the king. Syrians, oriental Greeks, and many

Jews were in business. The entrance of Guntram into Orleans shows us the variety of languages which was spoken even in a town in the centre of Gaul.

Even this early one can see the grave symptoms which were destined to transform the urban character of the cities. The economic revolution already under way at the end of the Empire was still in process in the sixth and seventh centuries. With the shrinkage of population within the city itself we begin to find open fields, gardens, and orchards. The texts prove the existence of vineyards, gardens, and orchards side by side with the houses, a fact which was a serious disadvantage in time of war. But these open spaces were destined to be very important when the population began to augment again, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The mass of the people of Frankish Gaul, both of Roman extraction and of German origin, was exclusively agricultural. The Franks derived their knowledge of agriculture largely from the Romans, and after the manorial régime became established, and the German villages lost their liberty and were reduced to a manorial condition, one sees how the farming methods of the villa affected those of the German villages. Roman influence is evident in the names of vegetables, fruits, and farm implements, the plow, the harrow, the cart. The vine was cultivated by slaves of superior condition, as is proved by the wergeld which protected them. Cattle-raising played a great part in the life of the Franks, and herds were numerous, though wolves were a pest. Sheep abounded in Champagne, swine in Germany. The use of cream reveals a Latin influence; the German word for cheese comes from the Latin *caseum*. "Butter" also is a Latin derivative. For centuries the Roman adhered to his "two-field system" of agriculture and rectangular fields, and the Germans preserved the ancestral "strip system" of fields of their village communities. Even the reduction of these free villages to manorial villages and the fiscal pressure of the manorial régime failed completely to fuse or even much to modify these immemorial farming practices.

The most expert, intensive, and lucrative form of agriculture was wine-growing. The Goths had learned the use of wine from the Romans in the fourth century, and developed the taste during their occupation of Spain and Italy. The Franks when they entered Gaul found the land covered with vineyards, especially in the valleys of the Rhone, the Marne, the Moselle, and the Garonne.

Among the Germans themselves, however, refined cultivation was exceedingly rare at the time of the invasions. From what we can learn of the Bavarians and the Swabians they knew nothing of vineyards. The *Lex Salica* knows vine-dressing as long practised, but the preparation of wine was in a low stage. In what the Franks knew, the Romans were their instructors. Among the Salian and Ripuarian Franks in the

fourth and fifth centuries, when they were living along the Rhine there was very little advanced agriculture—a few gardens and vineyards. Wine-growing did not reach any considerable extent among the Ripuarian Franks until the sixth century, when it became important around Bonn; even then it was considered a luxury by the Salians, among whom it did not appear until almost two centuries later. When it did appear it was treated as a part of general agriculture, and the special necessities of vine culture were not appreciated until later.

Various means were devised to make the local wine tolerable, cooking it, spicing it, etc., but there is no doubt that much of it must have been singularly bad. The nobles, lay and clerical, took some trouble to bring vines to their own lands, foreign wine being increasingly expensive. The clergy, especially, needed wine for the sacrament, and the monasteries, as elsewhere, became the chief producers. They cleared the waste lands, planted the vines, and taught others how to do so. The wine not used for their own consumption was marketed. Soon they not only satisfied local demand in wine, but gave commerce hitherto undreamt-of impetus.

In view of the later progress of wine-growing, that of the Rhine and Moselle was the most important. But in the Middle Ages a large number of vineyards sprang up in other places, which deserve a cursory mention, though they have little subsequent history. The most important of these were the vineyards along the Danube, which may have been planted in Roman times. The first appearance of wine in Swabia is between 716 and 720. The first wine grown in Bavaria was on the Gasteiberg near Munich; it was brought there in 724 by the bishop of Freising. In Thuringia it appears first in 786 at Dorndorf. The wines most preferred were those of Châlons, Mâcon, Dijon, and of the Moselle; the muscat of Béziers was also popular. The Spanish wines were popular even in southern Gaul, those of Saragossa being most preferred. Italy, even the Orient, sent rare wines, those of Gaza for example. They were generally drunk mixed with water. The Franks made much use of hot wine during winter. Gregory of Tours speaks of a mixture of wine and honey. Beer was the preferable drink in northern Gaul and Germany, of which the Franks consumed great quantities. We do not know what plant was used for fermentation, for hops were not introduced until the ninth century. Beer also was mixed with honey. Contemporary writers speak of liquors made of aromatic plants, like roses and fruits. This was an ancient practice which was perpetuated.

In spite of strong Roman influence, the social life of the Franks remained very German. Men went clean-shaved except for the upper lip. The mass of the nation continued to wear German clothes. Only the upper classes, and they rarely, affected the Roman fashions. Few even among the rich could afford the luxury of silk, gold braid and embroid-

ery, red Syrian leather shoes. In house architecture the wealthy classes adopted or imitated the Roman style of villa, with its ample rooms and verge of garden and lawn surrounded by barns, stables, granaries, outhouses, and cabins of the domestics. The entire agglomeration was called a *Hof*. The Frankish peasantry lived in wattled and thatched cottages, but those of Roman stock generally built cottages of stone. Isolated manor-houses were often surrounded by a ditch and palisade, making a *curtis*, which remained a common form of habitation of smaller proprietors all through the Middle Ages. German house-building words today are all Latin derivatives, like *Fenster, Kalk, Kammer, Pfeiler, Söller, Ziegel.*

While in Gaul commerce continued along old Roman lines, in eastern Germany, owing to the union of Gaul and Germany by the Franks, an extension of commerce was made in advance of anything that the Roman Empire had known. The still barbarian Thuringians and Saxons dealt in peltry and hides, honey and wild wax, and had no higher commerce until the eighth century. The tribute of the former was paid in marten skins. Even beyond the German border Frankish trade was extended, across the Elbe and the Saale rivers.

Europe was divided by a line northward from the Adriatic to Denmark into a Slav east and a German west at this time. Yet in spite of the antagonism between the two races, from early Frankish times a certain amount of border trade seems to have existed between the Germans and the Slavs. Desire for commercial aggrandizement was a not unimportant motive of German eastward expansion and subjugation of the Slavs. As far back as the first half of the seventh century there is mention of adventurous Frankish traders penetrating into the Slavonic wilderness, bartering for slaves, amber, and beaver and marten skins.

In the reign of Dagobert I (629–39) an alleged renegade Frankish trader named Samo established commercial relations with the pagan Bohemians, Moravians, and Carinthians, and is said finally to have abjured Christianity and to have established a short-lived barbarian state which extended from the Drave and Silesia to the frontier of Thuringia, and was powerful enough to defeat the Frankish arms and important enough to have its alliance sought by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius.

That a brisk commercial intercourse between the Frankish state and Samo's kingdom existed in the seventh century is evident from the incident that some Frankish merchants were killed in Bohemia in 631, and when Dagobert sent an ambassador to Samo, this untactful messenger insulted him and Samo had him literally thrown out of the country. After that, Dagobert invaded the country with an army composed of Allemanni, Bavarians, and even of some Lombards from Italy, but was decisively defeated at Wogastiburc. Samo became thor-

oughly domesticated in the country of his adoption, and is said to have married at least twelve wives; if we may believe Fredegar, he had twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters. He ruled thirty-five years; when he died, the great territory which he had consolidated seems to have fallen back into its component parts.

In the next century the *Life of Sturmi,* Boniface's disciple and abbot of Fulda, who died in 779, shows that a regular trade route ran from the Saale River to Mainz through the Thuringian forest. This eastward drift of Frankish power, however, was less due to commercial enterprise than to internal economic and social forces which made for expansion. For as a result of increasing landlordism the dispossessed and evicted turned to the forests for refuge, there to carve out a clearing in the wilderness and to establish a new home. The forest was the poor man's home. But the coil of private ownership gradually wound itself around the forests, too. Traces of the intrusion of private proprietorship upon the forests appear in the Burgundian and the Visigothic codes. The forests of the Vosges began to be appropriated in the time of Gregory of Tours (ca. 600), those of the Ardennes by the early seventh century.

The rise of that influential landed aristocracy, the *leudes,* was a development in the later Merovingian period, and a manifestation of the growing feudal tendency of the times. The *leudis* was always the *leudis* of some one. The class was strongest in Austrasia and a Frankish rather than a Gallo-Roman aristocracy. It first appeared with any influence in 564 when Sigebert of Austrasia, at war with his brother Chilperic of Neustria, called in tribesmen from across the Rhine to his assistance and proposed to reward them by gift of the towns along the Seine which he had conquered, which would have been tantamount to another German occupation of northeastern Gaul. But the Austrasian aristocracy had no mind to see this and successfully protested. In the long strife between those two ferocious queens, Brunhildis and Fredegundis, the *leudes* enlarged their power. In 613 this landed aristocracy by seizing control of the office of mayor of the palace in the person of Pepin of Landen became the power behind the throne. The new condition was equivalent to a political and social revolution by which the great Austrasian landed proprietors acquired control of the crown. Henceforth the Merovingian kings might "reign," they did not govern. Except for the interval between 656 and 687 when reaction was temporarily triumphant, the dukes of Austrasia were in uninterrupted control of the Frankish monarchy. Pepin of Heristal (687–714), Charles Martel (714–41) and Pepin the Short (741–68) governed the Frankish realm by and for the landed aristocracy, until finally in 752 the last deposed Childeric III and took the crown which his son Charlemagne was to make so illustrious.

The decline of the Merovingian kingship and the accession to the

throne of Pepin the Short in 752 was more than a political and dynastic revolution by which the house of Austrasia, through its long control of the office of mayor of the palace, supplanted the Merovingians. It was also a social and economic change of vast significance, for the ascendancy of the great landed aristocracy was now complete. Frankish government, society, and economy became semi-feudal in spirit and in form, although the term "feudal" had not yet been devised to define the new condition. The Carolingian era is characterized by the determined establishment of government and society on a basis of what may be described as feudo-aristocratic organization. The change was the logical culmination of the gradual growth of power of the Austrasian magnates.

When one compares the dejected observations of Fredegar's *Continuator* upon the senescence of the world in the seventh century with the testimony of historians of the early Carolingian age, "one realizes how low an ebb European society had reached in the seventh century, and what a great revival was brought in by the Austrasian conquests and reforms."

The true source of power and centre of gravity of the Frankish kingdom was in the North, in Austrasia. Charles Martel had welded the separated realms of Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine into a unity with the support of the Austrasian magnates. Moreover, the North—not the South—was the seat of a really forward and constructive policy. The conquest of heathen Frisia, the promotion of the great missionary and colonization enterprises of Boniface in eastern Germany, such as the abbeys of Fulda, Hersfeld, Amoeneburg, the founding of the bishoprics of Freising, Erfurt, Fritzlar, were evidences in the eighth century that the expansive and administrative faculty of the Frankish nation was not yet exhausted.

This process had been accelerated by the Saracen invasions of Gaul, in which the battle of Tours (732) and the sieges of Avignon and Nîmes (737) were the chief military events. The Romance population of the southern provinces of Gaul, especially in Provence, where the proprietary class was not so strong as in the North, had long manifested resentment against Frankish domination there. Racial and social antagonism in cases went so far that some of the leading nobles of the South even connived with the Mohammedan advance. In consequence Charles Martel's forces were almost wholly drawn from the more Germanic North. The dynastic and political revolution of 752 confirmed the victory of the Frankish landed aristocracy. Another reason for the growing power of the feudal classes is to be found in Martel's military expedient of expropriating many tracts of land which pertained to the Church, bishoprics and abbeys, and bestowing them as benefices (*beneficia*) upon his supporters, a procedure which both assured their support of his government and materially worked for aristocratic centralization of

authority. This action was undoubtedly a drastic one, but justified in the emergency, although the Church inveighed against it as "spoliation." [1]

Martel's resort to this practice was no more than utilizing for the benefit of government the device which the Church had long used. It was the system of lending or leasing lands, with or without the payment of rent, for a fixed or indefinite period, to persons who cultivated them and appropriated the usufruct of them. This was known as the benefice system and such lands were given *ad beneficium*. If given to clerks for their support no rent was required; and the grant was called a "farm"—which it was. If leased to laymen a rent was exacted. Such a grant was called a benefice and it became the progenitor of the later feudal fief. This practice, which Charles Martel resorted to as an emergency device, became a permanent feature of Carolingian government. The crown disposed of church lands and crown lands *in beneficio*, so that the whole aristocracy, lay and clerical, was bound to the crown by the obligations entailed in these grants.

Akin to this policy, but one capable of greater abuse, was the growing practice from this time on of conferring church offices—and of course with them the power to dispose of the revenues pertaining to them—upon laymen with the purpose of utilizing the church's resources for secular ends. Such "lay" abbots and "lay" bishops were ecclesiastics only in name; all their reminiscences and attachments were feudal. Thus the line was narrowed between the Church and the world. The Church was feudalized and entered into the feudal organism of the age. Fighting bishops and fighting abbots with their retainers were brigaded in the Frankish armies and the art of war became an important episcopal accomplishment. The abuse of pluralism soon followed upon this new course. Charles Martel's stanch friend and supporter Milo "was a cleric only by his tonsure" and was made "lay" abbot of two monasteries. His nephew Hugo surpassed even this and was "lay" abbot of five abbeys.

The system of patronage, which grew up, as we have seen in the late imperial and early barbarian epoch, under the Franks acquired a form and fixity not possessed before. Feudalism prevailed over all and permeated all in these times. The landed aristocracy was jealous in pre-

[1] "What Charles Martel appears to have done in the difficult circumstances in which he found himself, was not indeed to order a general confiscation of church property—of that he seems to be unjustly accused—but in many cases to use the right of resumption of grants which at least theoretically resided in the crown, in order to take away lands from a bishopric here or a monastery there, and bestow them on some stout warrior whom he was sending as count to rule a distant province or to fight the Frisian or the Saracen. In many such cases the actual occupation of the soil would not be changed, but the holder of the *beneficium* would be ordered to pay his rent (as we should call it) not to the churchman, but to the count."—Hodgkin, VII, p. 61.

serving the right of advowson in manorial parishes. The proprietors appointed whom they willed as priests just as they appointed bailiffs and stewards; controlled the parish revenues; retained over parish property the same right of ownership which they had over the buildings on their estates; sold, bequeathed, or otherwise alienated them as they pleased. Even Charlemagne was unable to regulate, let alone abolish this abuse. Seven times he tried and seven times failed. The system lasted as long as feudalism endured.

But while the Frankish state thus experienced the revolutionary changes by which a feudal form of government, a feudal structure of society, an aristocratic centralization was substituted for the loose and ineffective Merovingian régime, an external revolution of quite another nature, and one adverse to the economic condition of western Christendom, took place also in the eighth century. This was the Saracen conquest of the Mediterranean. Pepin the Short's capture of Narbonne in 759 drove the Saracens out of Gaul. But their conquest of Carthage in 697, of Spain in 711, gave them bases for constant attacks upon Sicily (664, 740, and thereafter frequently until Palermo was captured in 831, Messina in 843), Sardinia, Corsica, and the coasts of France and Italy, as a result of which the Christian commerce in the Mediterranean was destroyed until the eleventh century. The latest example of a papyrus document in the West is of the year 787, from which we may infer that by that time Arabic interception of traffic in the Mediterranean was becoming effective. By the middle of the ninth century Islam was a formidable Mediterranean power.

The simultaneity of the closure of the Mediterranean to western commerce by Islam and the rise of the Carolingian state without foreign markets or the rich oriental trade of the past, a state of an almost universal agricultural economy ruled by an agrarian aristocracy, is not an accidental one. There was relation between these two events. From the economic point of view the Carolingian period was an age of retrogression. Under the Merovingians some degree of ancient Roman commerce and trade practices had survived. Under the Carolingians these vanished. By the ninth century Provence, once the richest province of Gaul, was among the poorest. The Syrian colonies there disappeared. The monks of Corbie, who had long enjoyed the lucrative tolls of the port of Fos, by 716 found themselves holding an empty bag; Marseilles dwindled to a grass-grown port and finally disappeared from history for over two hundred years. Other evidences of the telling change in economic conditions in the Frank land, in addition to the falling off of trade, are the abandonment of the Merovingian poll tax, the shrinkage of the towns, the immobile and local nature of commodities, the prevalence of almost complete agricultural activity over commercial activity, the substitution of an economy of consumption for the previous (at least partial) econ-

omy of exchange, the degeneration of the *telonia* to local, arbitrary tolls; the union of mints and markets; the dramatic change in the coinage from at least the nominal gold standard of the Merovingians to a positive silver basis, for "it is inconceivable that the Carolingians would have reduced the monetary unit to a thirtieth of its former value if there had been preserved the slightest bond between their states and the Mediterranean regions where the gold *solidus* continued to circulate." It is significant too of the altered economic and commercial condition of the West under the Carolingians that even the terminology of business suffered change. Thus classical Latin *emere,* to purchase, disappeared and was supplanted by *comparare,* which means to bargain or chaffer; *mercator* became *comparator; forum,* a public meeting-place, became *mercatus,* a market.

The monetary system of the Franks is an intricate and technical subject, and unnecessary to enter into except in so far as the changes in the currency reflect the conditions of gradual commercial decline and economic transformation. When the Franks came in contact with the Romans they became familiar with the Roman coinage system instituted by Constantine, according to which 96 pennies composed a pound. The treasure of Childeric, discovered in the seventeenth century, has shown this. But it is one of the curious facts of monetary history that the Merovingian kings, after having adopted the Roman system of coinage, abandoned it and reverted to the old Celtic gold and silver currency, as it had been modified by Cæsar, whose gold staters had become familiar to all the Germans before the invasions from the Rhine to the Carpathians and far down the Danube. This was the coinage with which the Franks first had become familiar when they crossed the Rhine. An important difference, however, was that the Merovingian *solidus* was exactly the half-stater of the former system, and of course there was a corresponding change in the value of the subordinate coins. This alteration, it must be understood, was not a degradation of the coinage, but a recognition that a smaller coin was a more convenient purchasing instrument than a larger one: or, in other words, it is evidence that the purchasing power of money had greatly increased—as much perhaps as fifty per cent—within the seven hundred years between the first century B.C. and the sixth century A.D. The Merovingian government was not wholly "barbarian," for it was able to perceive the nature of the economic revolution which had slowly taken place during the course of centuries, competent to effect the change and able to adjust the old Germanic system of *wergelds* to the new arrangement.

The tariff of compositions and penalties in the Salic Law plainly shows that an anterior money condition once prevailed and that the fines had to be revised in the seventh century in order to adjust them to

the new monetary arrangement. This explains the constant repetition of such phrases as "600 *denarii* (pennies) which make 15 shillings," "2500 *denarii,* that is 62 shillings," and "120 *denarii,* which makes 3 shillings." One hundred head of cattle were valued at 200 gold *solidi.* Silver was used for small payments. This coin was the silver *denarius* or *argenteus,* 40 of which made the Roman gold *solidus.* The ratio of gold to silver was about 1 : 12. With reference to the purchasing power of money in the sixth century it is difficult to form an estimate. If the Roman gold *solidus* was roughly of the value of a five-dollar gold piece and a cow, as we have seen, was valued at 2 gold *solidi,* the value of a cow in the sixth century would have been ten dollars. Today even an ordinary cow perhaps will bring $100 in the market. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the purchasing power of money was at least ten times as great in the sixth century as now.

Gold was still in circulation in the Merovingian epoch, though in diminishing quantity, partly because it was drawn off to the East in trade, partly because the violence of the time induced hoarding of the precious metals, in addition to which an enormous volume of gold was "frozen" in the form of sacred vessels and church decoration. By the eighth century all gold had disappeared from the public eye, and was to remain out of sight until the eleventh century. The economically retrogressive nature of this change has already been observed. The utter disappearance of gold entailed a new monetary system for the Carolingians. The Merovingian currency, as said, was based on a shilling of 40 pence. Pepin the Short issued a new *solidus* of 12 pence. There is reason to believe, however, that this devaluation was not as drastic as it may seem. The old shillings seem actually to have suffered devaluation already through wear and tear, and moreover, there was a rise in the economic value of silver owing to the shrinkage of the quantity of metal in circulation. The net result probably was to bring the new shilling up to the value of the old one, or nearly so, in spite of the fact that the former *solidus* consisted of 40 pence and the latter of 12. This displacement of gold by silver for the second time made necessary an alteration of *wergelds,* and therefore an important readjustment of the position of classes in Frankish society; moreover, the change is evidence of a now somewhat sudden increase in the purchasing power of money, owing, as pointed out, to the ruination of the foreign commerce of the West by Mohammedan sea-power in the Mediterranean. Compared with present conditions, if the purchasing power of money was as 1 : 10, under the Merovingians, it probably was as 1 : 12 under the Carolingians, or even less. Agriculture became more and more important, commerce and industry more and more declined, a "natural economy" came more and more to prevail, so that fines were often paid "in kind." *i.e.* in produce,

although still registered as though in actual money. In other words a man discharged a court penalty by paying so many shillings' worth of sheep or cattle, so many shillings' worth of grain, etc.

Thus it is historically to the economic revolution in the eight century and the legislation of the first Carolingians that Europe owes its famous system of coinage by which 12 copper pence made one silver penny (or shilling), and 20 shillings or 240 copper pence made one pound. But the pound was *not* a coin; it was simply a measure of value. The silver penny, or shilling, was the largest coin in circulation.

Carolingian taxes, like the monetary system, reflect the changed economic conditions of the age. The Merovingians, as has been said, found it impossible to impose the former Roman *census* or land tax. The magnates refused to pay it and the clergy secured immunity from it. But what nobles and clerics themselves refused to pay they imposed upon their tenantry, and by the eighth century the *census* had become a manorialized tax collected by every proprietor from the householders upon his lands. In similar wise, though not to the same degree until the ninth century, the *telonium* or tax on commerce tended to become a proprietary tax. In brief, under the Carolingians, almost all revenues were collected and expended by local authorities. Many services which today are of a public nature, like internal improvements such as roads and bridges, were regarded not as state obligations but as local obligations discharged as compulsory local services, or *corvées*, and were exacted by the proprietors of their tenantry and dependents. All military service was sustained at the expense of the recruit. The government provided nothing. The *heerban* was probably the heaviest tax borne by the people; its weight thrust many poor freeholders down to serfdom.

It was the fashion of historians in the nineteenth century, when the economic interpretation of history began, to attribute to Charlemagne a great commercial renaissance of Europe as well as profound political change. But a closer and more critical scrutiny of the documents has shown that commerce, when compared with agriculture, played an unimportant part in the Carolingian revival. It is true that Charlemagne's legislation shows solicitude for merchants within his empire; but that solicitude was of narrow application. In the time of Charlemagne none of the independent merchants was of Frankish blood. They were outsiders, the privileges to whom gave rise to the institution of the market, power to found which was a regalian right until usurped by the feudal lords when the Frankish Empire broke asunder in the ninth century. There were very few professional merchants except Jews and Syrians, who had hardly any other source of livelihood, until the Frankish conquest of Lombard Italy and the annexation of the Roman State to the Empire seems to have led some adventurous Lombard merchants dealing in Levantine goods to cross the Alps and establish trade connections

with northern Europe. A letter of Alcuin refers to a *negociatorem Italiæ mercimonia ferentem*. These merchants were not engaged in general trade, but supplied the court, the Church and the richest of the nobles with luxuries. Many of them were servitors, attachés of the fisc or the monasteries, as the constantly recurring formula "for use and necessity of such and such a monastery" shows, transporting local products and locally manufactured wares to markets and fairs like those of St. Denis, Lyons, St. Bavo in Ghent, and St. Giles, and purchasing desired commodities there. The monasteries, owing to their wealth and the privileges and immunities which they enjoyed, were the most active factors of trade. Their barges plied on every navigable river, their caravans were to be met on all the important roads. St. Denis had warehouses and markets at Esslingen in Württemberg, at Aachen and Münster, at Dreux and Étampes in the Seine basin, a haven and a market on the Rhone at Lyons, another at Vienne.

The evidence with reference to Carolingian industry, except that of local or household necessity, like weaving, leather working, woodturning, blacksmithing, soap-boiling, brewing, is as limited as the evidence of commerce. All higher industry, as gold and silver smithing, glass-making, was employed by the court and the Church in building and decoration, and most if not all of such employees were Italian or Byzantine artisans. Skilled native Frankish craftsmen must have been rare in the Carolingian Empire.

Absurd and grandiose economic ideas have been attributed to Charlemagne by modern historians which are really reflections of modern, not medieval, commercial enterprise projected back into the Middle Ages. Charlemagne's unsuccessful effort to conquer Venice was not in order that the Franks might acquire control of Venice's lucrative Levantine commerce, but to suppress the Venetian slave trade and extend his rule over the city which was a place of asylum of Lombard plotters and Byzantine intriguers. The Frankish conquest of the Avars in 804 has been exaggeratedly represented as due to Charlemagne's desire to open the lower Danube route to Constantinople which had been closed since the barbarian invasions, whereas it was merely the reduction of a formidable, predatory foe who constantly imperiled eastern Germany and northern Italy by his raids. Similarly Charlemagne's relations with Harun ar-Rashid were in order to establish the claims of western Christians to visit the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre and to protect pilgrims going there; no idea of promoting commercial relations between West and East motivated these negotiations. The most that can be said is that pilgrims often trafficked along the road and peddlers and chapmen frequently assumed the guise of pilgrims in order to secure exemption from tolls, a practice of evasion which was condemned in the famous treaty between Charlemagne and Offa in 795, in which we read:

Concerning pilgrims who for the love of God or the salvation of their souls wish to visit the residence of the holy apostles, let them go peaceably without any molestation; but if persons, not seeking the cause of religion, but that of gain, be found among them, let them pay the customary tolls in the proper places.

The solicitude expressed in Charlemagne's legislation for honest dealing, honest weights and measures, again was not primarily for economic reasons, but for moral reasons. His famous maximum law for regulation of prices in 794, in a year of "hard times" likewise was intended more for relief of the distress of the poor, which the Church enjoined as a Christian duty, than for an economic purpose. The emperor was morally indignant over the sharp practices of forestallers and profiteers in wheat and other foodstuffs. His economic sense was little stirred. It has escaped many historians that this restraining legislation was ordained in a Church council, and not in the form of a capitulary.

Much the same sort of observation may be made regarding Charlemagne's concern over the maintenance of roads and bridges. His capitularies abound with injunctions of this nature. But here, again, the primary purpose was not to promote commerce but to insure swift and effective movement of his armies. It is fanciful to think that the construction of the never completed *Karlsgraben* (*Fossa Carolina*), or canal which was to cut the narrow watershed between the upper Danube and the upper Rhine near Weissenburg in the Franconian Jura, was intended to promote commerce. The primary aim was to provide an all-water route from north to south, and from east to west between Aachen and Regensburg, which was the military base for the whole of south-eastern Germany. The bridge across the Rhine at Mainz was also primarily a military erection. Even the location of Charlemagne's favorite places of residence, *palatia* or great manor-houses (such as Aachen, Heristal, Meersen, Ingelheim, Tournai, Diedenhofen, Nimwegen, Kiersey) was made with reference to military exigencies. All along the great military roads these manors were echeloned, at convenient stages from one another, where stores of supplies and draught oxen and horses were always to be found. These lines radiated from Aachen and the thick cluster of manors of the fisc in Belgium, following the courses of the rivers, and one can pick out the routes by these dépôts.

It must not be understood, however, from the above generalizations, that there was no external commerce in Charlemagne's time. An empire embracing Gaul, Germany, Italy, and part of Spain must have had, and did have, relations with other lands. Those relations were naturally with adjacent countries and the commodities exchanged were the natural products of the related regions. Italy's contact with Byzantine and Moslem lands made her the only importer of Levantine luxury wares,

for the eastern basin of the Mediterranean was not terrorized by Mohammedan corsairs, thanks to the Byzantine fleet, as was the western Mediterranean. But the commerce of southern Gaul and the Spanish March was negligible. The Biscayan ports of Gaul, like Bayonne, Bordeaux, were places of entry for Spanish olive oil and Spanish nuts, the former being used both as a food in the monasteries and for lamps in the churches throughout the southwest, as the *Life of St. Philibert* shows. Oriental goods, especially silks, found their way into Gaul through Islamic Spain in spite of the warfare of Moslem and Christian. Theodulf of Orleans minutely describes silk mantles which he had seen, "dyed in various colors" and of strikingly beautiful pattern, and linens, woolen stuffs, and leather goods from Cordova, white, purple, and red.

Trade relations between Brittany and Poitou and Ireland, which we have seen were as old as the later Roman Empire, increased after the conversion of Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries. St. Columban reached Nantes in a trading brig plying between Gaul and Ireland bringing Irish marten skins, basketware and pottery. Under Charlemagne diplomatic and commercial relations with Ireland grew more intimate than in the time of the Merovingians. But here again it is difficult to distinguish between Irish pilgrims who trafficked en route and real merchants. Almost invariably these pilgrims traveled in company with merchants.

We know more about trade activities in Austrasia, Frisia, and Germany than in any other parts of the Frankish Empire, as is natural, since the seat of Frankish power was in Austrasia. Aachen, Charlemagne's capital, was admirably situated both for the whole area of the Rhine and its affluents, and as a junction point between North Germany (Saxony and Thuringia) and northern Gaul. A study of the river system of central Europe is illuminating for an understanding of Carolingian —and later—trade routes. For almost everywhere the great roads followed the river valleys.

The intense missionary activity of the Benedictine monks in the heathen borderlands of the Frankish realm in the seventh century, a century otherwise troubled by much civil war, is one of the anomalies of the later Merovingian period. While the body of the kingdom was Christian, paganism still lingered on the edges: in the Jura, the Vosges, the upper Meuse and Moselle, and above all, in Flanders, Brabant, and Frisia where thick forests and wide moors covered the country. In these remote places the great abbeys of Luxeuil, Stavelot, Malmédy, St. Bavo, St. Omer, St. Bertin, St. Riquier, St. Wandrille, were founded between 600 and 680, and in turn established new houses. The effectiveness of these missions was intimately connected with the growth of their patrimonial proprietorship. Agriculture, cattle-raising, and the arts and crafts connected with husbandry made rapid progress; the monasteries

became local markets and exported by river and road the surplus of their produce to other markets. In this particular it is not open to doubt that the later Merovingian and early Carolingian epoch, until the invasions of the Norsemen in the ninth century barbarized the land again, was an era of material prosperity in these regions. Under the direction of the monks the local population, most of which were serfs of the monasteries, drained marshes and fens, cleared forests, and converted wild and desert regions into meadows and fields.

One of the most important economic events pertaining to the early history of the Carolingians, was the Frankish conquest of Frisia. In the palmy times of the Roman Empire this region, answering roughly to southern Holland, had been one of surprising commercial activity. The Frisians pastured thousands of sheep in the salt marshes—Frisian wool was famous—and were middlemen in the cross-Channel trade between the lower Rhine and Britain and between Roman Gaul and the Germans. From the middle of the fifth century until the conquest of the Franks in the first half of the eighth century the North Sea, commercially speaking, was almost a Frisian lake. The English and Saxon conquest of Britain bound Frisia and Lower Germany closer together than before with what had formerly been Roman Britain, and widened the sphere of Frisian commercial activity. Procopius, a sixth century historian, even says that Frisians participated in the Saxon invasion of Britain. Certainly their merchants appear early in London and York.

At the same time the Frisians searched out the Scandinavian countries and penetrated into the Baltic. Birka on Lake Mälar in Sweden, Björkö on the Swedish mainland opposite the island of Gothland, Birkkiö in South Finland, Björkö near Viborg, in Norway Björköen on Trondhjem Fjord, Bjerkeröen near later Bergen, were Frisian trading posts. The Irish Sea was called the *Fresicum Mare* by a sixth century historian. There were Frisian merchants in Cologne and Mainz when the Franks crossed the Rhine. All this commercial energy radiated from Duurstede on an arm of the Rhine near later Utrecht.

There was commercial ambition as well as missionary zeal in Boniface's project to convert the Frisians, for the sword of Charles Martel and of Pepin the Short backed up the missionary movement. In the wars which followed, the Frisians were fighting for the freedom of their trade and to prevent Frankish absorption of it, as much as for their religion. They quickly perceived that Frankish Christianity spelled Frankish commercial subjugation. It was Charles Martel who first visualized this problem and settled it by the conquest of Frisia. Already as early as 753 a diploma shows that Frisian merchants were to be found at the fair of St. Denis. In the ninth century we find Frisian merchants buying wine in the Moselle lands and Alsace. Sheep-raising became a profitable industry on the moors of Frisia and Frisian wool was an im-

portant raw product of the Carolingian period. Duurstede was the chief emporium of the region whose market and mint were widely known. Less important was Witla on the island of Walcheren. Both these places were destroyed by the Norse in the ninth century, with the result that the trade of Duurstede retreated up the Rhine to Tiel and Cologne or retired inland to the valley of the Yssel, where Deventer sprang up. The conquest of Frisia and the development of the wool trade there in turn brought the Franks into closer connection with the English. Bede mentions the presence of a Frisian merchant in London, and in 795 Charlemagne and Offa, king of Mercia, made a treaty for the mutual protection of merchants of the other in their lands. It is significant that the only real commercial duties collected by the Carolingian government were at the Channel ports of Quantovic near Boulogne, at Schlusis (Sluys) and at Duurstede. All other tolls for bridge or road were merely for maintenance.

But retribution was destined to follow this downfall of the Frisian "empire." The Franks were not a seafaring people and the place once occupied by the Frisians in the ninth century was taken by the Vikings. The rise and spread of the Norsemen and the tremendous commercial energy which they displayed, were made possible by the destruction of the Frisians. The legacy of commercial exploitation of the Great North Lands fell to the Norsemen, not the Franks.

The extension of trade relations in eastern Germany with the Slavs, the beginnings of which, we have seen, were as old as the time of Dagobert, was continued under the Carolingians. After the subjugation of Saxony, in 805 (probably, the date is not certain), Charlemagne for the first time legislated in regulation of this border traffic, and established a chain of fortified trading posts along the Slavonic frontier from the mouth of the Elbe to the middle Danube. These posts were Bardowick and Schesel (near later Hamburg), Erfurt in Saxony, Magdeburg on the great bend of the Elbe, Halzstat (near later Bamberg), Pfreimt (in the later Oberpfalz), at the confluence of the Wald Nab and the Pfreimt to form the Nab, Forcheim, Lorsch, and Regensburg on the Danube at the mouth of the Nab.

Although the Frankish sources are silent as to the nature of this border trade, except the mention of arms and armor, the exportation of which was forbidden, we know from other sources that this trade was chiefly in furs, wax, enormous quantities of which were used for making church candles and sealing documents, honey, flax, of which the Slavs were great cultivators, hemp, and slaves. Before German coin began to circulate among the Slavs strips of linen passed as currency like wampum among the American Indians in early colonial times. Weaving, pottery-making, and wood-carving were their principal industrial occupations. Fishing, in both fresh and salt water, was a universal means

of livelihood. The Slavs of the Baltic coast were pirates and slave traders. The little port of Reric (near later Wismar, which was not founded until 1237), is mentioned in the *Annals* of Einhard (*anno* 808) as being frequented by Danish merchants. These traders were chiefly men of Schleswig. In southeastern Germany, Bavaria, and the East Mark, there is slight trace of any commerce. Venetian merchants worked through the Brenner Pass to Augsburg, perhaps, and ventured as far as Regensburg, especially after the fall of the Avars, whose enormous treasure, representing the spoil of the Balkans and the cities of North Italy during two hundred years, was so great that like Alexander's capture of the treasure of Darius, when all the accumulated coin and plate was thrown upon the West it had the effect of temporarily reducing the purchasing power of the Frankish currency and raising prices, until drawn off to the Orient in trade or hoarded once more. It has been calculated that between 779 and 799 the pound was worth one-third more than after 804. The annalist records that the victorious Frank army carried away fifteen wagonloads of gold, silver, precious stones, and silk.

It is an exaggeration of very meager evidence to contend that the restoration of Europe under Charlemagne was characterized by a great commercial and industrial revival. It was not. The evidence for the preponderance of agrarian conditions over commercial and industrial activity is too strong to be gainsaid. The whole system of Carolingian government, the variety of social classes, was keyed upon landed proprietorship, the possession of great estates by the few and the dependent condition of the many. The period was preëminently one of agrarian conditions and natural husbandry. The polity, the society of Europe, was based upon and sprang from a prevalent agrarian régime, and Charlemagne's most constructive economic activities were connected with agriculture. Even in this sphere his energies were limited to systematizing and regulating the administration of the immense number of crown lands (the fisc). His legislation had nothing to do with the management of the domains of the clergy and the nobles, the administration of which was exactly like that of his own estates, and some of which were better managed than those of the crown, so that the emperor charged the counts in every county to examine these with a view to improving his own lands. The "good times" of the Carolingian era were owing to the energetic effort of the emperor, the clergy, and the great land-owners to introduce better order into the management of their domains. What the emperor did, the bishops and abbots and nobles did; what bishops, abbots, and nobles did, the emperor did. But we have far more information concerning the fisc than concerning church and lay lands; moreover, the emperor's legislation was far more important for the reason that the imperial lands were so great in number and so widely distributed.

A painstaking scholar has computed that the Carolingian fisc comprised 1615 separate domains, many of them as large as townships and even as counties, dotted with villages. They included an immense number of vast farms (*manors* or *villæ*), *palatia,* vineyards, forests, mineral lands, quarries. A "domain" was an agglomeration of villas or manors organized as an administrative economic unit, each manor or great farm being under the supervision of a local steward, who in turn was under the local count. Some of these domains were very large, comprising 30, 35, 63, even 70 manors. The nucleus of this great heritage was the house lands of the Austrasian dukes in modern Belgium, which the Carolingians had enormously increased by annexing the crown lands of the Merovingian kings, most of which lay in the lower Rhine and Moselle region and northeastern France. The area may be indicated on the map by drawing a line from Heristal, the ancient seat of the Carolingians, down the Oise to its confluence with the Seine, up the Seine to the mouth of the Marne, up the Marne to Vitry-le-François—nearly the *locus* of Ponthion, a villa of the dukes of Austrasia in Merovingian times—thence to the Moselle at Diedenhofen, down the Moselle to Coblenz, thence down the Rhine to Utrecht, and so back to Heristal again. Within this huge trapezoid of territory, which today comprises much of Belgium, Luxemburg, northeastern France, Lorraine, and Rhenish Germany, lay the largest, the richest, and the most thickly clustered crown lands. Compared with this ample patrimony the rest of the fisc was widely scattered—in Germany, in Italy, in the rest of Gaul—and inferior in revenue. These manors were useful for supporting local officials and as bases for army supply in case of war in these regions. The central location, the consolidated nature of the great block of lands indicated, the richness of the soil, the long, warm valleys of the Moselle and lower Rhine so admirable for the vine, the metals of the Hunsdrück, the network of navigable streams—all those conditions conspired to make this favored region the core and pith of the Frankish monarchy. We know the name and location of something like 300 great estates in this region, and there were many more whose identity has been lost.

It is easy to see, therefore, that the administration of his great farms was an essential matter to Charlemagne, as to every other medieval sovereign. Charlemagne was an unusually able ruler, and took the minutest supervision of his properties. Each farm was under the management of a bailiff, or steward, who was responsible for its upkeep, and was required to make an annual statement of its resources and its incomes. A number of such farm inventories have come down to us. For the guidance of these stewards Charlemagne himself, who was the soul of method, prepared a sort of manual of farm management called the *Capitulare de villis.* It is composed of seventy separate sections,

some of them quite long, and gives an amazing insight into the rural economy of his time. But before quoting from this interesting document it will be convenient to describe the great "manor-house" in which Charlemagne lived when at one of his farms. It was a huge agglomeration of several buildings set in quadrangular form, and almost all of them only one story high. It stood in the midst of a compound protected by a palisade. The approach was up a road bordered with trees. One went through an outer and then an inner gate, the latter of which entered immediately into the great living room. Back of this great "hall," as it was called, in the form of a square surrounding a lawn of turf and flowers, were other buildings connected on the outside by a portico like a cloister, running around the square. In the rear, but connected with the chief part of the building, were other structures, the kitchen and rooms for servants and retainers. The farthest away of these buildings were barns and stables.

Inside this compound were other structures, as granaries, stock pens, and pent-houses, and a vegetable garden. The high wooden tower contained the best sleeping rooms. Its balcony was a pleasant place in summer time. Everything was built of wood. Stone structures were rare before the twelfth century, except in the case of great church edifices. Brick was little known before 1100. The Romans had been famous brick-makers, but the art of brick-making disappeared in northern Europe in the Dark Ages and was not revived for many years.

Within, the great "hall" was furnished with a big table and some benches; but the most comfortable seats were chests which stood against the walls around the room, used for keeping things in. They were covered with fur robes of bear skin, wolf skin, and deer skin. On the wall hung hunting weapons and weapons of war, with here and there the antlered head of a big elk or deer, or a wild boar's or bear's head. The floor was sanded in summer, or covered with willow wands. In winter skins were substituted. The only fireplace was in the kitchen (with the dining hall adjoining) which did duty in winter for a living room. Everything except bread was roasted or broiled or boiled in the open fire, in pots and frying pans. Roasting was done on a spit which a cook-boy kept turning so that all sides were equally exposed to the flame, yet none burned. The fireplace was big enough to roast an ox or a wild boar whole. Baking was sometimes done in the oven in the chimney. More often, however, the oven was a separate thing outside the house. Wood or charcoal was the sole fuel. Rooms without fireplaces were sometimes warmed with a brazier of live charcoals, but the ventilation had then to be carefully watched.

Life in the great manor-house of a Frank noble was ruder, but not unlike that in the manor-house of Virginia planters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nearly everything necessary for living was

produced on the place. The wool for garments was raised, cleaned, carded, dyed, and woven on the premises. Hides were tanned and cut into shoes by serf cobblers. Meats were corned, smoked, and pickled. All kinds of household and farming crafts were represented by the servile peasantry on the estate—shoemakers, tanners, dyers, weavers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and carpenters. But it is to be noticed that there is no allusion to any market in the domains, which indicates that commerce was not highly developed. The only reference in the *Capitulare de villis* to markets is found in section 54, in which it is enjoined that the bailiffs shall see to it that "our serfs do not wander off to visit markets and fairs."

The subjoined extracts from Charlemagne's actual instructions in most cases are self-explanatory. Where they seem not to be so I have added a few words:

Each steward shall make an annual statement of all of our income; an account of our lands cultivated by the oxen which our plowmen drive, and of our lands which the tenants of our farms are working; an account of the pigs, of the forests, of the fields, of the bridges and boats, of vineyards and those who owe wine to us, of the hay, fire-wood, torches, planks, and other kinds of lumber; of the extent of waste land; of the vegetables, millet, panic; of the wool, flax, and hemp; of the fruits of the trees; of the nut trees; of the grafted trees; of the gardens; of the beets; of the fish-ponds; of hides, skins, and horns; of honey, wax, fat, tallow, and soap; of mulberry wine, cooked wine, mead, vinegar, beer; of new and old grain; of hens and eggs; of geese; of the number of smiths and workers in metal, swordmakers, and shoemakers; of bins and boxes and measures; of colts and fillies. They shall make all these things known to us, set forth separately and in order, at Christmas, that we may know what and how much of each thing we have.

In each of our estates our stewards are to have as many cowhouses, piggeries, sheep-folds, stables for goats, as possible, and they ought never to be without these. And let them have in addition cows furnished by our serfs for performing their services, so that the cow-houses and plows shall in no way be weakened by the service on our domain.

Our stewards must provide with the greatest care that whatever is prepared or made with the hands, that is, lard, smoked meat, salt meat, wine, vinegar, cheese, butter, malt, beer, mead, honey, wax, flour, all should be prepared and made with the greatest cleanliness,

Charlemagne aimed to make his great farms not unlike a gentleman's country estate, as the following shows:

Each steward on each of our domains shall always have for the sake of ornament swans, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, and turtle doves.

One of the articles reads:

For our women's work, they are to be given at the proper time, as has been ordered, the materials, that is, the linen, wool, woad, vermilion, madder, wool-combs, teasels, soap, grease, vessels, and the other objects which are necessary.

The article dealing with the furnishings of the chambers requires

that in each of our estates the chambers shall be provided with counterpanes, cushions, blankets, pillows, bedclothes, coverings for the tables and benches; vessels of brass, lead, iron, and wood; andirons, chains, pothooks, adzes, axes, augers, knives, and all other kinds of tools so that it shall never be necessary to go elsewhere for them, or to borrow them from a neighbor.

Though the fullest and most important of such regulations, this capitulary is not an isolated example. On many occasions the emperor showed the importance which he attached to efficient management of the royal farms, especially enjoining careful inventories. Fortune has preserved one of these surveys complete, and we have a fragment of another, which are among the most valuable examples of medieval statistical documents.

The inventory of an estate of Charlemagne which has come down to us reads:

We found in the domain estate of Asnapum a royal house built of stone [evidently one of his best places] in the best manner, 3 rooms [that is, hall, dining room, kitchen]; the whole house surrounded with balconies, with 11 apartments for women; beneath, a cellar; 2 porticos; 7 other houses built of wood within the compound, with as many rooms and appurtenances, well built; 1 stable, 1 mill, 1 granary, 3 barns. The yard is surrounded carefully with a hedge with a stone gateway, and above a balcony. There is an inner yard likewise enclosed with a hedge, planted with fruit trees.

Then follows a specific enumeration of the articles of furniture, the number and kind of tools; the amount of produce, barley, spelt, wheat, rye, oats, beans, peas, honey, butter, lard, fat and cheese; and finally a census of the head of stock, which included 51 large cattle, 5 three-year-olds, 7 two-year-olds, 7 yearlings, 10 two-year-old colts, 8 yearlings, 3 stallions, 16 cows, 2 asses, 50 cows with calves, 20 young bullocks, 38 yearling calves, 3 bulls, 260 hogs, 100 pigs, 5 boars, 150 sheep, 200 yearling lambs, 120 rams, 30 goats with kids, 30 yearling kids, 3 male goats, 30 geese, 80 chickens, 22 peacocks. In this enumeration the contrast is striking between the poverty of furniture and household equipment and the large reserves of food supplies and livestock, which points to a highly developed rural economy. Finally the omission of any men-

tion of money points to the fact that little currency was in circulation in Charlemagne's Empire.

Charlemagne furthered wine-growing in two ways, apart from the general establishment of internal peace—always of importance to the vineyarder, for the grape does not grow to maturity in a single year like wheat. In the first place he had many vineyards on his own domains, where the growing and preparation of wine was carried out under his own instructions. He took a quite natural exception to the ancient practice of all the Mediterranean peoples of treading out the grape and enjoined the use of hand-presses instead. He had special stewards on his lands who took over vineyards as their own and worked them. He did not make wine a crown monopoly; on the contrary, he took every measure for its spread. In the second place he favored the churches and monasteries with many gifts of land and with tax and toll exemptions. Consequently there was a great increase of vineyards on church and monastery lands during this period. Many of the landed clergy, regular and secular, devoted themselves to the intensive cultivation of the grape. All the sunny slopes on their lands were put to its use. Viticulture was carried by the monks even to lands where the result cannot have been very successful: the Bavarian plateau, Switzerland, and deep into Thuringia. The emperor's example influenced the lay nobles, and they too became interested in wine-growing; at this time arose the practice of setting aside manors for specialized, more intensive forms of cultivation. A class of workers grew up who, though servile and owing a large part of their produce to the lord of the manor, still cultivated their bit of land, or vineyard, as renters, not serfs.

The Jews, whom the emperor protected, were the great middlemen for the wine of South France. The synod of Frankfurt in 794 passed measures to prevent monopoly or forestalling of wine and the exportation of wine in case of a bad crop. In the intercourse between Charlemagne and Harun ar-Rashid, Frankish traders brought back oriental spices wherewith to prepare their wines, and Frankish wines began to be exported into the East. Charlemagne's conquests opened new routes to the northeast and merchants went to the Slavonic frontier to trade Frankish wines for amber and furs from the Baltic.

Burgundy wine was brought by the Seine to Paris and Rouen. The gildated bargemen of the Rhine and Moselle drove a thriving business in exchanging Rhenish and Moselle wines for Frisian wool. All the rivers of Frankish Gaul carried a heavy traffic in wine, which was largely controlled by the monasteries, whose great privileges and toll exemptions, as well as their many wharves and warehouses at central points, made them the true heirs of the former *nautæ* of Roman days. The agents of the monasteries shared with the Jews what was almost a monopoly of the wine trade.

The distinction between the peasants who were serfs on the great manors, and those who were tenant farmers is made in this manual of Charlemagne. The original German law provided that every freeman should have a freehold. But the tendency was for him to lose this. Every freeman had to do military service and the wars were frequent, so that, as campaigns were always made in spring and summer, he was often called away when his farm needed him most. If he fell behind, on this account, or because of the failure of his harvest, the freeman ran into debt. First, he was compelled to mortgage a part of his farm and finally perhaps all. Usually a near-by lord, or the Church, took the mortgage. The same process that happened in ancient Rome worked over again. The rich grew richer and the poor poorer. When the mortgage was foreclosed the freeman, perforce, became a tenant farmer. If again he fell behind in his obligations he lost his freedom and was reduced to serfdom. When Charlemagne lived the number of free manors—that is to say of manors in which the allotments of land were held by free tenants—seems to have been more than the number of servile manors. Under his grandsons in the middle of the ninth century this ratio was reversed.

The ruinous weight of the *heerban,* or compulsory military service, was a potent influence in depressing freemen to a state of dependency, even to serfdom, on the lands of great abbeys and great nobles and accordingly an influence which induced the hardier to seek the frontier. The capitularies again and again complain of evasion of military service through the practice of freemen voluntarily sinking to serfdom as a means of relief.

Freemen gave themselves up to bondage because they could no longer stand by themselves; they did so not only by ones and twos, but in groups or in communities. Somewhere before 820 a group of fourteen freemen at Neauphlette gave up their lands to the abbey of St. Germain, and themselves as serfs "because they were unable to fulfil the king's demands upon them for service in war." [2]

It is clear beyond doubt that "smaller freemen did acquire new openings for their labor, but these openings were certainly bound up with a *depression* of their condition: they exchanged independence for a more lucrative and a better protected dependence." The extension of the manorial régime, the adoption of more intensive agricultural methods, in particular on the manors of the fisc and of the Church, slowly tended to depress the small free farmer into the condition of a tenant or a serf upon his own lands, the proprietorship of which passed from him to some adjacent noble or high cleric; or else the changing order of things

[2] Coulton, *The Medieval Village,* 108.

ejected him from his ancestral holding and made him a homeless wanderer—a *homo migrans*. The small landowner could not compete with the grand proprietor in the economic and social transformation which was in process in these years. Some historians have argued that a greater hardship than military service was the oppressive and grafting practices of the Carolingian officials. But although this was an admitted evil of the time, complaints of misgovernment are as old as government and must be discounted.

Dobbert, in his excellent monograph upon the *missi dominici,* has well said:

> We have abundant evidence of the grasping character of the Frankish grandees. We see their unceasing attempts to aggrandize themselves at the expense either of the emperor or of the still existing remains of the free commonalty. . . . It was the *missi* who alone could battle against these tendencies. . . . We have, perhaps, to thank the institution of the *missi* for the fact that the poor independent freeholder did not disappear even sooner than was actually the case.

The legislation of Charlemagne's late years is very luminous as to this condition of things. The *Capitulare Langobardicum* in 803 runs in part:

> We hear that the officers of the counts and some of their more powerful vassals are collecting rents and insisting on forced labors, harvesting, plowing, sowing, stubbing up trees, loading wagons and the like, not only from the Church's servants [i.e., on *beneficia* granted by the Church], but from the rest of the people; all of which practices must be stopped, because in some places the people have been in these ways so grievously oppressed that many, unable to bear their lot, have escaped by flight from their masters or patrons, and the lands are relapsing into wilderness.

In the *Capitulare de expeditone exercitali,* published at Aachen in 811, Charlemagne laments:

> The poor complain that they are being thrust out from their property and that quite as much by the bishops and abbots and their *advocati* as by the counts and their *centenarii.* They say that if a poor man will not give up his property to the bishop, abbot, or count, these great men make some excuse for getting him into trouble with the courts or else are continually ordering him on military service till the wretched man, quite ruined, has to surrender or sell his property. At the same time his neighbor who has surrendered his property [and thus became a serf instead of a freeman] is allowed to remain at home unmolested.

This slow degradation of small freemen and the poor farmer is closely connected with the expansion of the Frankish peoples into the borderlands of the Empire.

In the reign of Charlemagne the *Drang nach Osten,* or eastward drift of the Frankish people, the beginning of which we discovered in Merovingian times, was greatly accelerated. In order to escape from the pressure imposed upon him by the increase in the number and the extent of these great landed estates, both lay and clerical, west of the Rhine and in the Middle Rhinelands, the small land-owner and the dispossessed freeman tended to drift eastward into the basins of the Saale and upper Main rivers, where land was freer and the population less dense. There are signs of soil exhaustion as early as the ninth and tenth centuries in the lower Moselle and Rhine regions. Absolute statistics are, of course, impossible as to population in the Middle Ages. But modern scholars have made some relative determinations. In Carolingian times favorable regions, like the valley of the Moselle, seem to have had a fairly dense population. Indeed, along rivers which were important highways of trade, the place-names seem to have been more numerous then than now, particularly along the Meuse. In late Merovingian times and down to the invasions of the Northmen, between the Seine and the Rhine the density of population is estimated to have been as much as 300 per square mile. The population of the East Frank kingdom, *i. e.,* Germany, in late Carolingian times, is estimated to have been from two and one half to three millions. By 800 the upper Moselle, the Sieg, and the upper Main rivers began to be penetrated by German settlers, as the Saale valley had been colonized, chiefly by the Bonifacian monasteries, in the time of Charles Martel. The subjugation of the Saxons does not seem to have been followed by any large influx of Franks.

The fall of Bavarian independence in 794 had opened the southeast as not before, to an influx of Frankish colonists, chiefly monks and nobles, who vied with each other in hunger for land and desire to exploit the native population in the development thereof. The monastic and aristocratic nature of the colonization of the Danubian lands is marked.

It is clearly evident that this mixed missionary and colonizing movement was directly inspired by the Frankish court, and less a popular, natural expansion than in the north. The road of entrance from Aachen into Bavaria was the natural—and military—road through Upper Franconia via the Main River, where the bishopric of Würzburg, founded by Boniface in 741, was the Carolingian base of the evangelization and subjugation of the southeast. The heavy labor on these plantations of the Church was done by the conquered and "converted" Slavs. Already as early as this the word Slav has become equivalent to "slave" and the systematic exploitation of that race by the Church through the imposition of the tithe an established practice.

In the unappropriated lands the villages of the Slavs maintained a precarious existence, beset on every side both by newly established monasteries and settlements of German immigrants from farther west

who hewed out clearings for themselves in the forests. Many of these German incomers, however, were not free, but serfs belonging to the great proprietors who moved them en masse from their crowded domains in the Frank land to their new domains on the frontier. Commingled with these dependents doubtless was a considerable number of the lower grades of Carolingian society, the *hospites, peregrini, et pauperes* of the great capitulary of 789, article 75, whom economic distress and social strain had detached from their anchorage. Such people, without family or village ties, were only too glad to find lodgment in a hovel upon the domain of some great landlord, even at the price of loss of liberty and heavy toil. The great famine of the year 791 may have increased this class, and in this way have been a factor in promoting German colonization in the southeast. For Saxony was not yet subdued, and any strong eastward drift of population thither not yet manifest.

From the head of the Adriatic to the mouth of the Elbe the Slavonic border peoples were either expelled or subjugated by this wave of German conquest and colonization. It was an irrepressible conflict in which race supremacy, religion, language, trade, customs, and land to live on were the issues. On the part of the Germanic peoples the struggle became a gigantic series of missionary campaigns and colonizing conquests. Monk missionaries penetrated the Slavonic wilderness bent on peaceable or compulsory conversion of the Wends, and the sword of a semi-theocratic kingship was stretched out to protect or avenge the priests whom the Wends slew or expelled. But back of the enmity of race and religion was the fierce land hunger of the people fighting for fields to till in order to feed mouths whose hunger it was hard to satisfy in the primitive conditions under which agriculture was then practised. A sullen Wendish peasantry cleared the forests around the monasteries, tilled the fields, and tended the cattle, for these frontier monastic foundations were, economically speaking, little more than ranches along the border. Charlemagne perceived the value of this pioneer class seeking new homes along the frontier. Twice in his capitularies he enjoins upon his officials, "Wherever capable men are found, give them woodland to clear."

But all this southeastward progress, which had extended the sphere of German occupation as far as the Enns before the end of the eighth century, was arrested, and much of it even destroyed, by the Avars. In 791, 793, 796, Charles the Great made campaigns against these formidable marauders. Two subsequent campaigns, in 803 and 811, completed their conquest. At the diet of Regensburg in 803 the emperor formally organized the Ostmark, destined so many years later to grow into the duchy of Austria, and linked it up with the chain of marches which guarded the eastern frontier of the Empire from the mouth of the Elbe to the head of the Adriatic. At the same time, as in Saxony, whose con-

quest was just completed, forcible conversion and the heavy weight of the tithe were imposed upon the Avars in order to complete their subjugation.

While the population from the more densely populated Austrasian provinces thus overflowed into the borderlands of eastern Germany, that of southern Gaul found a similar exit into the Spanish March, the territory between the Pyrenees and the Ebro which was conquered by Charlemagne and erected into a buffer province to guard the southwestern flank of the Empire against Islam. But the conditions and policy radically differed in the peninsula. East German colonization was largely spontaneous and individualistic in its nature. But in Spain Frankish colonization was a deliberate policy of the government. The territory had been reduced almost to desert in the course of the wars between Mohammedan and Christian since 711, and was a conquered land the whole of which was regarded as royal domain in which grants were carefully allotted under feudal and manorial terms. These grants were not numerous, and were usually very extensive. They were largely to Frankish warriors and officials, but some were made to Gothic nobles also. Not many Franks migrated to Spain to reside permanently, for it was too far away from their homes. But Charlemagne was anxious to have a small class of powerful nobles resident in the March to represent the domination of Frankish power. To gain such a class he granted lands to his warriors who had fought there. The large Frankish vassals called in their fellow soldiers and gave them lands as subfiefs. The lands were cultivated by serfs according to the seignioral system, or were leased to tenant farmers.

A second form of land grant was the *adprisio,* a special form of freehold somewhat similar to the former "homestead" practice in the United States. The same form of land concession may have been in vogue in other parts of the Frank Empire, but the term seems to have been unique to the concessions in the Pyrenean region.

All the recipients were not *Hispani;* but the majority of them were. The capitularies are entitled: *"Pro Hispanis," "De Hispanis."* Who were these *Hispani?* Were they the inhabitants of the March who had, on the approach of the Arabs, fled to the mountains and were again returning to their homes in the valleys? Such a view might seem plausible at first sight; but it is more probable that they were Christian Spaniards from the regions south of the Frankish conquests, who now perceiving a Christian power established within their reach, fled from the domination of the Mohammedans. These Spaniards migrated not only for political and religious reasons, but were also attracted by the rich land of Catalonia, Roussillon, and Septimania, and the generous inducements of the Frankish monarchy. There were among them also malcontents from among the Arabs. In 812 this class of land-owners sent a delega-

tion of forty men to Charlemagne, and the *Præceptum* of that year gives their names. This list of names is interesting because it indicates some of the nationalities living in the March. Nearly all of them seem to be divided between the indigenous inhabitants with Romanized names and the Goths. But we find other nationalities mentioned: Cazerellus the Lombard, Ardaricus the Gascon, Zoleiman, who may have been a Moor. Louis the Pious says that these Spaniards put themselves under the protection of the Frank monarchy of their own free will. Therefore, he gave them good terms in granting them lands.

In addition to the magnates with their groups of servile laborers and free settlers, the monasteries also became the corporate owners of immense tracts of land in the Spanish March. Here as in eastern Germany the monasteries were the pioneers of civilization. It was in this period that the great monasteries of Christian Spain were founded: Aniane, Caunes, La Grasse, Arles-sur-Tech, Montolieu, Thibery, St. Hilaire, Psalmodi in Septimania, and Ripuli, Besalu, etc., in the March. These institutions spread with great rapidity. When one had been well established it "swarmed" and the monks scattered to new locations, founding little *cellulæ* which possessed at first only a small chapel and a hostelry for travelers. But these little *cellulæ* soon attracted colonists to till their lands and soon the spot became a little community. Many of the villages of Roussillon and Catalonia had a monastic origin.

The first evidence that the Mohammedans of Spain were carrying on trade with the people of South France, is in 812. In this year Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, had an important mission to the extreme southern part of France, visiting Narbonne and Arles. At Arles he was offered crystals and oriental pearls in return for certain favors; and people brought to him coins of gold and silver upon which were imprinted Arabic words and characters; and he found people who owned vases with figures chiseled in them, and dyestuffs and cloths which came "from the country of the fierce Arabs." There were also swords, Cordovan leather, jewels and cloths of many kinds which were evidently of Arab manufacture. The conclusion must be that there were other relations besides war between Arabs and the people of that region. In spite of the religious differences between the peoples, commercial relations obtained, as Arab coins and Arab goods would hardly be found there, except on account of an exchange of products. It is possible, but not probable, that these things were spoils of raids made into Mohammedan lands.

Charlemagne greatly increased the landed wealth of the secular clergy, but was not a great friend of the monks. In 779 he legalized the imposition of the tithe, which hitherto had been a voluntary contribution of the faithful, although as far back as the council at Mâcon in 585 those who refused to pay tithes were threatened with excommunication. He

thus added to the fixed patrimony of the Church, and to the floating and uncertain incomes derived from oblations, a new source of revenue. Charlemagne also assigned to the clergy large portions of land in conquered Saxony, Lombard Italy, and Spain. Even the humblest parish priest had to be provided with a *mansus integer* and a male and a female serf. In his will, executed in 811, the emperor left two-thirds of his treasure to the twenty-one metropolitans in the Frankish Empire; each archbishop was enjoined to retain one-third of the amount assigned to his province and to distribute the residue among his suffragans. Nevertheless, Charlemagne had no illusions concerning the charity and integrity of the Frankish clergy. In a capitulary addressed to the bishops in the very same year in which he made his will, in the form of a questionnaire he inquired of the bishops how one could distinguish between those who had renounced the world and those who remained in it. "Has he renounced the world," he caustically asked, "who ceases not to augment his property by all sorts of means?—by promising paradise or threatening with hell in order to persuade the simple to impoverish themselves of their goods and depriving their legal heirs of them, who are thus sometimes reduced to live by brigandage? Has he quitted the world who gives himself over to avarice to the point of corrupting witnesses?" The emperor protested against the extortionate practices of the clergy as landlords. "The poor," he said, "cry out against those who deprive them of their property. They complain equally of bishops and abbots and their advocates, of counts and their subordinates." These abuses which Charlemagne thus condemned were destined to be multiplied and aggravated in the feudal period.

The influence of the Church upon, and its part in, the economic and social life of the Frank Empire was very great, far greater under the Carolingians than under their predecessors. The councils of the Church also deliberated upon and legislated for secular affairs; certain great representatives of the laity sat in them; Charlemagne used bishops and abbots as diplomats, *missi dominici,* and even as field generals in war. But the greatest influence of the Church—apart from religion—was exerted through its growing feudal influence. As we have already seen, the Church was richly endowed with land which was let to farm on lease, or else directly worked by the servile population, which ran up into thousands, who dwelt in manorial villages upon the Church's estates. In addition, many free land-owners, under economic stress and social pressure, renounced their independence in order to obtain the protection of the Church and "commended" their lands. The beginnings of this practise of surrendering land conditionally to bishoprics and abbeys appeared in Merovingian times; but it became an organized and systematic arrangement under the Carolingians, whose genius was feudal in nature and inclination. Many of these precarial transactions were for the purpose of

providing for the destitute, the infirm, and the unprotected, and were somewhat akin to a modern annuity, the capital invested reverting to the corporation at the death of the beneficiary, to the detriment of his heirs. But many other similar transactions were instrumental in increasing and consolidating the property of the Church, which thus became possessed of an enormous number of dependent farms. Society gained in more orderly social adjustment and poor relief by these arrangements, but the practice carried with it the danger of the Church becoming more interested in things proprietary and patrimonial than in things spiritual. Moreover, the rapid increase in the landed endowments of the clergy excited the resentment of the lay nobility. From this time forth for centuries one finds recurring evidences of feud between the high clergy and the high nobility, the root of which was economic. Even the clergy was divided into two rival camps. For the secular clergy resented the greater popularity of the monks, whose abbeys were usually more richly endowed through gifts and bequests of the faithful. Charlemagne's sympathies were palpably with the secular clergy. He seems to have feared the overgrowth of monasticism. Hence his annexation of many abbeys and their lands to the fisc. He never encouraged monasticism and indeed, few houses were founded by others during his reign.

Not only the great ecclesiastical centres like sees and abbeys were thus feudalized. The process also caught rural parishes and local churches in its coil. For the creation of rural parishes independent of the landed aristocracy was almost impossible owing to the prevalent practice of patronage. A local proprietor, having established a church upon his own lands, claimed the right as lord of the manor to choose the local priest to minister to its members, all of whom were usually his own tenantry. In addition the patron controlled the parish revenues and profited even from bequests and endowments made to the parish church. A proprietor's motives in founding a local church were often far from disinterested or pious. There were few more profitable investments than building a church or founding a monastery in the feudal age.

> The proprietor who built a church or a chapel upon his land owned that church or chapel. He could put a slave or a villein into the benefice [called a "living"]. He could charge burial fees and christening fees. He could force his villeins to attend. He could sell or otherwise alienate the church. He could dismiss the priest, or flog him, or make him pay gifts upon his appointment. He could use him as a secretary or a bailiff, or farm servant. He could make him wait at table or tend dogs or lead a lady's horse, or watch sheep.[3]

"Living by the altar" became a form of exploitation diligently practised by the proprietary class.

[3] Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, I, 254.

CHAPTER IX

THE BREAK-UP OF THE FRANKISH EMPIRE *

The most important historical fact of the ninth century was the dissolution of the Frankish Empire. The real cause thereof was feudalism, and feudalism was fundamentally an economic and a social force. The great landed proprietary class upon which the government of Charlemagne had been based, in the ninth century gained the mastery over the crown. Even in his own reign the elements and the process of decomposition may be observed. Already so early the administrative structure which he created began to be permeated and penetrated by the invasion of local proprietary interests, whose power rapidly grew stronger as it fed upon the vitals of the Empire. The system of *precaria,* benefices, and immunities in the end spelled the ruination of the monarchy.

The weakness of Louis the Pious (814–40), the strife between father and sons, the wars of the brothers culminating in 843 in the partition of the Empire at Verdun, the treachery and revolt of the baronage, one and all of these were but special expressions of feudal particularism. Everything became local because nothing could remain general.

And what was feudalism? By feudalism is meant the delegation or appropriation, the seizure or exercise of public authority by the private individual, in a greater or less degree over territory of greater or less extent. It was the bearing of rule, the administration of justice, the imposition of taxes by a proprietary noble, layman or cleric, baron or bishop or abbot, within a fixed territory and over all the population therein. In such a polity the substance of government was particularized. The crown retained only a vague overlordship (suzerainty), a mere ascription of authority, and the king was reduced to a shadow. In the ninth century the practices of feudalism were still inchoate and in process of formation. It was potential feudalism, destined in the next two centuries to grow stronger and to harden as it grew, and so form ultimately that Europe of the feudal age whose peak of power was attained between 1150 and 1250. Feudalism was a form of government, a structure of society, an economic régime based upon landed proprietorship.

The feudal nature of the Carolingian Empire clearly appears in the partition of the Empire made by Louis the Pious in 817 between his three sons, Lothar, Ludwig, and Pepin. It is evident from the preamble of this document that the demand for a division of the Empire was

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas,* 56.

initiated by the proprietary class. Why? Because under the system of land tenure then prevailing, at the death of the ruler all contracts of "fidelity" and "recommendation" at once lapsed and had to be renewed. Only freehold land (alods) were exempt from this requirement. In other words, all lands in benefice lost title. The crown might, or might not see fit to renew the contract with the same original proprietor. There was nothing in law to compel the crown to do so, though it was the customary practice. It is evident that the prospect of such a sharp and sudden rupture of so much land ownership or possession of land naturally disquieted the whole proprietary class, who in order to avert such a calamity urged the emperor to settle the future at once. As the Frankish Empire was a vast and complex congeries of benefices and rights of patronage, confusion was certain to ensue upon the emperor's death unless that event were anticipated by immediate partition among the sons who would succeed him. The theoretical indivisibility and actual unity of the Empire were sacrificed to the inevitable interests of a feudality which was distributed all over the Empire and the allegiance of whom was necessarily divided among the three princes. The partition of the Frankish Empire into kingdoms was as unavoidable as it was unfortunate.

It was the triumph of feudalism. Hence the bitter strife between the sons of Louis the Pious. Moreover, every noble struggled by fair means or foul to enlarge his proprietorship; he wheedled or bullied or rebelled against his overlord in order to acquire new grants of land and warred with his weaker neighbors in order to despoil them of their lands; he labored to compel recognition of hereditary possession of his lands, whereas revocability of feudalized lands was the only security of public authority against private usurpation and dissolution of government.

But there was even a deeper ground of feud between the princes than this bitter territorial rivalry and strife to acquire *fideles*. Each of the princes desperately fought to compel the emperor to divide the patrimony of the Carolingian house, the fisc, and to get for himself the largest possible share of it. The fisc not only was great material wealth in itself; it was possible out of the fisc to confer benefices, to distribute honors, to buy the support of *fideles*, to increase political power. These crown lands were scattered all over the Empire from the Pyrenees to the bend of the Danube, from south of Rome to Frisia, and ranged in size from small *villæ* or manors to enormous arable tracts peopled by thousands of serfs. The revenues from them constituted the largest and most substantial material resource of the crown. The wide-spread character of the Carolingian fisc, with the ample revenues arising therefrom owing to the efficient management of it introduced by Charlemagne, made the fisc like a vast net in which the Empire was held. The division and dissipation of the fisc was a more important factor in the dissolution of the

Frankish Empire than the local political ambition of the proprietary nobles. The successive partitions of the Empire culminating in the divisions made at Verdun (843) and Meersen (870) were fundamentally distributions of the fisc among the sons of the emperor.

The historical fact that the heart of the fisc was situated in central Europe accounts for the partitions of central Europe in the ninth century, and made these regions a battle-ground of kings long before they became a battle-ground of the nations which ultimately emerged out of the wreck of the Frankish Empire. The dividing frontier between future France and future Germany was drawn in the ninth century because the greatest block of the fisc lay between them. The kings east and west coveted possession of the middle kingdom created in 843 in order to get the rich crown lands therein, and so rent apart the territory and divided the spoil. A heritage of war for Europe might have been averted if the Carolingian fisc had lain in a different region, or had never been dissipated.

It has been well said that "if the Carolingians could have looked forward instead of back, they would have abandoned forever the idea of empire, withdrawn within the ample boundaries of the treaty of Meersen and built up out of their patrimony a powerful duchy; would in fact have claimed for themselves the chief place in the feudal order that was coming into being."

Charlemagne had clearly perceived the political and economic importance of preserving the integrity of the fisc, especially that of the great central block in Austrasia, and "as good as never" alienated a domain. In all his long reign he gave only nine domains away. What donations he made—and they were few—were made from estates which were isolated. He tenaciously held on to all those which lay along the military roads or river courses, or which formed local compact groups in the provinces. Compared with this rich and extensive central block of crown lands the rest of the fisc was widely scattered, in Germany, in Italy, in southern and western Gaul, and inferior in revenue. It was too remote, too widely scattered, too difficult to administer, to be of great value. It was useful for supporting local officials and as bases of army supply in case of war in these regions, but economically was not to be compared with the block in middle Europe. The fisc was the object of the envious greed of the sons of Louis the Pious and of the cupidity of the feudality. The partition of the fisc was the basic fact in the partitions of the Empire, and the destruction of the integrity of the fisc destroyed the unity of the Empire. For the cornerstone of the Frankish Empire was the fisc. In proportion as the fisc was divided or dissipated, in that proportion the monarchy lost power and the feudality acquired it. As long as the integrity of the fisc was maintained, so long was feudal agglomeration and feudal rebellion against the crown prevented. For the domains of

the aristocracy were numerically much less numerous and much less compact.

But the crown lands were only a part of the extent and richness of the Carolingian domains. All this region of central Europe abounded with monasteries which were large land-owners. Many of these abbeys were of Carolingian foundation and so pertained to the imperial house, which enjoyed the right of advowson, and thus not only controlled the management of these "royal" abbeys, but touched their revenues also. Still other monasteries had fallen into the control of the Carolingians from their Merovingian predecessors, so that very many monasteries, certainly over half in central Europe, were assimilated with the fisc. They were as good as crown properties. The same is true of the bishoprics, whose office was in the patronage of the emperor, and from whose beneficed lands the crown drew large revenues. Countships, too, were conferred in like manner. In short, the imperial government was a vast proprietary system and the emperor, by virtue of the double fact that he was the greatest landed proprietor and head of a proprietary government, was an enormously potent and enormously rich proprietary ruler.

This colossal fortune, consisting of house lands of the Carolingian dynasty, crown lands, church lands identified with the fisc, state and ecclesiastical offices (*honores*) supported by endowments of land, which both provided revenue and constituted patronage, was worth fighting for by the princes and the proprietary nobles who supported them in their pretensions. The appetite given this class by Charles Martel in the century before, when he seized and distributed huge tracts of Church land among them, was given the opportunity to sate itself in the ninth century.

Each of the rapacious sons of Louis the Pious was abetted by a following of land-hungry nobles and high clergy, every one of whom hoped for a slice in the form of benefice or endowed church or government office. The bishops and abbots craftily made such demands under cover of requesting "restoration" of the church property which Charles Martel had secularized in 732. The emperor, as well-meaning as he was weak, was incapable of resisting the pressure. His intention had been to preserve the integrity of the fisc, yet early in his reign his biographer records that his gifts from the crown lands were so lavish that "never either in ancient books or in modern times [the use of the word *modern* in the ninth century is worth observing] was such royal prodigality known."

Time and time again, there was a new and ever unsatisfactory division of territory, or rather distribution of feudalized lands—in 829, 831, 833, 834, 836, 837, 839. The crisscross of boundaries, the tangle of allegiances, the feudal and personal resentment created by these successive divisions

culminated in a condition so aggravated that only civil war could result from it. The crucial fact in all these partitions is the constant dissipation of the crown lands. Bishoprics, abbeys, and counties were subjected to the same distribution. The economic factor had become *the* factor in the question. (*Omnes videlicet episcopatus, abbatias, comitatus, fiscos et omnia intra prædictos fines consistentia cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus in quacumque regione consistebant*, etc.) The elder brothers complained that Charles had received the *best and most fertile* portion (*ad Carolum vero plus fertilem et optimam largivit partem.*) By 839 the economic nature of the strife was pronounced. In the conferences which preceded this partition, for the first time inventories of the revenues of the crown lands, of the bishoprics, of the abbeys, and of the counties were employed. But these *polyptica* were too few or too meager for the purpose (*propter ignorantiam regionum*).

The death of Louis the Pious in the next year (840) was the signal for a rising of all the partisans of every faction. Lothar was determined to have and to hold the great central block of Austrasian crown lands lying in the heart of the Empire between the Rhine and the Seine, between the Alps and Frisia; Ludwig was resolved to get the populous cities and rich wine lands in the valley of the Rhine (. . . *nonnullæ civitates cum adjacentibus pagis trans Rhenum propter vini copiam*); Charles the Bald had his eyes fixed upon acquisition of the thick cluster of crown lands lying between the Seine and the Meuse (. . . *inter Mosam et Sequanam . . . ad Karolum . . . potissimam regionem . . . sibi debeat vindicare.*) Each of the brothers "hastened to attach *fideles* to himself either by force, or by gift of benefices." Many men either out of desire to acquire more or in fear of losing what they already had, commended themselves at once to one brother or the other. Lothar gave out that all vassals everywhere in the Empire would forfeit their lands unless they supported him. Cautious men watched and waited to see which way the tide might turn, resolved to take it at its flood and ride to fortune. In the intricate complexity of things distinction of race, of country, of language, of past allegiance, was obscured. It can hardly be said that in the confusion Gaul largely supported Charles, or Germany Ludwig, or that the Midlands and Italy chiefly adhered to Lothar. Almost all Aquitaine was against Charles, eastern Lombardy was favorable to Ludwig, the Rhinelands were divided—or rather the vassals in them—between Ludwig and Lothar. Personal interest or local attachment dominated everything. There was no geographical or national determinant in the alignment of parties. Both the clergy and the feudality were cleft into factions. No single order of society, as no single country, was single-minded in its allegiance. All sense of the once great unity of the Carolingian Empire was lost, except in the minds of a few, forlorn political

idealists who mourned over its dissolution. There were no straight lines of cleavage anywhere. Europe was a mêlée.

Nothing but war could cut the Gordian knot. It came in the battle of Fontenay (841), where Lothar fought heroically—the chronicler describes how he rode into the conflict standing erect in the saddle and plying his sword like a flail—against his brothers Ludwig and Charles. For Pepin now was dead and no one of the brothers acknowledged his son Pepin II's right of succession to his father's "kingdom" of Aquitaine. The feudal nature of this huge battle is expressed in a sentence by a contemporary historian: "In this battle," he says, "every man fought either to enlarge his domains or to protect his property from seizure." Fontenay was a battle of partisans. Brother was divided against brother. Count Nithard, from whose pen we have the clearest history of the conflict, fought on the side of Charles; his brother Angilbert was under Lothar's standard. It is said that the custom of Champagne of permitting female inheritance in an age when all succession followed the male line, was due to the slaughter of the noblesse at Fontenay.

Yet it was not for over a year that Lothar consented to negotiate for terms of peace. At Easter (842) the younger brothers met in Verdun, where messengers came from Lothar, who was now in a mood to parley. After four days of deliberation with the bishops, a reply was sent that Lothar might have his old territories, Italy, the valley of the Rhone, and the Midlands (but the last less the Ardennes and the Carbonaria or *Kohlenwald* which Charles demanded), with all the crown lands, bishoprics, abbeys, and counties therein. But Lothar refused, saying that it was not sufficient to reward his partisans, especially since he would have to indemnify all those who had forfeited their benefices in the other kingdoms. The point was yielded in order to prevent more effusion of blood.

The general nature of the partition was now arranged and the preliminary treaty was signed on an island in the Saône near Mâcon on June 15, 842. The settlement was put in the hands of a commission. Ludwig went off to Saxony to crush a rebellion of the peasantry, Charles invaded Aquitaine to suppress his nephew Pepin, and Lothar went hunting in the forests of the Ardennes. The commissioners removed their conference to the church of St. Castor in Coblenz. They had early discovered that they did not possess complete enough information to make an equable partition, so during the summer many *missi* were sent out to collect this statistical information and to present it in carefully arranged accounts. But this investigation took longer than expected. Indeed the *missi* and the commissioners worked all through the long and unusually hard winter in compiling the data. The very rigor

of the season abated the cupidity of the nobles, and no one raised his voice for a new war.

It may surprise the reader to learn that medieval governments, the medieval church, medieval proprietors, were careful accountants. Their archives were crammed with rent rolls, tax lists, receipts and records of expenditure, surveys, inventories, etc. The whole technique of such administration went back to Roman imperial times, from which clergy and feudality derived it. We have already seen how complete must have been Gregory the Great's statistical information. When the Germans settled within the Roman provinces and founded their realms, they utilized the cadastral surveys in the provincial archives of every province in partition of the lands between themselves and the Roman proprietors. The Merovingians tried to keep these tax records up to date, as we know from Gregory of Tours's account of Chilperic in 580, but failed. Childebert sent officials to Poitiers to make an inventory of the resources of the inhabitants. By the sixth century the term *polyptichum* (meaning "many leaves") was in common usage as descriptive of such statistical documents. Charles Martel made an "extent" of the Church lands before his famous act of secularization. Boniface made the monasteries which he founded keep careful accounts. In 751, when Pepin made partial restoration of the lands which his father had confiscated from the Church, a preliminary *descriptio* was prepared. In 765 Chrodogang of Metz made a census of his diocese. Charlemagne's capitularies and the *capitulare de villis* show what a careful manager the great emperor was. A tax schedule was given to every *missus* when he set out, and he was forbidden on pain of fine and removal to exact more than what was authorized therein. Some fragments of such surveys have come down to us, notably the *Brevium Exempla.*

There is ample evidence to establish the fact that the good times of the Carolingian period were characterized by energetic attempts on the part of the State and of the Church to introduce order into the management of their domains. The Carolingian renaissance produced a number of attempts to systematize and to regulate the administration of crown estates and of the *beneficia* detached from them. Nor did these efforts of royal administration remain without influence on the arrangement of ecclesiastical institutions. Lamprecht was right in illustrating the connection between these spheres by comparing the *Brevium Exempla* with the *Rental of Prüm.* Charlemagne ordered a census of the Saxons to be taken in 777. After the death of his wife Hildegarde in 783 an inventory was made of her estate. In 787 an inventory was made of the property of St. Wandrille. In 805 a census was made of all Franks owing military service. In 808 another census was made of all Franks owning less than three manors. In 812 a description of all benefices, lay and ecclesiastical, and of the fisc was made "that we may be able to know how much we

have." In this survey were listed single estates, buildings, dwelling houses, utensils, grain, cattle, horses, fowls, population according to manner of employment. In the ninth century the volume of this statistical evidence greatly increased. In 829 Louis the Pious ordered a military census to be made of the Empire. In 846 the bishops at the council of Meaux petitioned Charles the Bald to have "imbreviated" (the technical term employed) "a list of the domains which in the time of your grandfather and your father were in possession of the crown, and of those lands which are held *in beneficio*." Unfortunately all these secular inventories have perished, but we have two substantial examples of monastic surveys in the *Polyptichum* of the abbey of St. Germain, made between 811 and 826, and that of St. Rémy (ca. 870), two invaluable statistical documents of the ninth century, and we know that many such abbatial surveys were made at this time. Charles the Bald seems to have been much interested, as exigency compelled him to be, in such inventories.

In the light of this evidence, the sending forth of a commission in 842 to take stock of all the crown lands and benefices involved in the impending partition was not a chimerical undertaking. The bureaus of the palace at Aachen and local archives certainly possessed the required data, and every ecclesiastical establishment knew both the extent of its lands, the resources derived from them, and the number and class of working population upon them.

Late in the summer of 843 the commission met again at Verdun, where, with all the statistical data gathered by the *missi* before them, the final act of settlement was concluded on August 10. It is abundantly evident that economic interest was uppermost in this division. Fertility of soil, kinds of products, population, and contiguity were the ruling considerations. The partition was a tripartite distribution of bishoprics, abbeys, counties, and crown lands, with special regard to their area and their resources. Ludwig insisted upon having the rich vineyards in Franconia and got them by waiving possession of lands lower down the Rhine around Cologne, which were awarded to Lothar. Thus Ludwig sacrificed the principle of "difference of language" which he had formerly pleaded, for an economic advantage.

It is manifest that such a form of partition, in which bishoprics, abbeys, counties, and crown lands were dealt out like a pack of cards, ignored and violated any distinction of natural boundary or of race or of language which might inconvenience an even economic settlement. The frontiers between the kingdoms formed a confused and intricate network, sometimes coinciding sometimes not, with difference of race and language, sometimes following for a few miles a natural line of division like a river, but as often as not crossing rivers and leaping ranges. Every property, in the very language then used, was weighed in the

balance. If it proved too big as a single allotment, it was shorn down or split. To the twentieth century mind such practice seems monstrously unjust. But it must be remembered that neither racial feeling nor national sentiment then existed. Kingdoms were mere agglomerations of fiefs. Fiefs were agglomerations of manors. Political thought was wholly local—of a province or a county or a fief. The two ruling classes, clergy and nobles, were an order (*ordo*), a caste, alike in every kingdom. The peasantry, serfs and villeins, were also a caste, but a lowly class, bound to the glebe lands of their lords. They, too, were alike in status and condition in every kingdom. Thus the political ideas of men functioned along vertical lines, the man below, whether noble or serf, looking to the man above him; the man above, again whether noble or serf, looking to the man below him. There was no sense of either social or territorial amplitude, no sentiment of nation or of country.

If one were not already convinced of the economic nature of the civil wars of the ninth century, the event of 870 completely demonstrates it. In defiance of the right of their nephew Louis II to the kingdom of Lorraine and of the pope's protest, the two uncles made a partition treaty at Meersen on August 8, 870, and divided the Middle Kingdom after the good old rule of divide and conquer, between themselves. We know exactly how the partition was executed, for we have the documents in detail, and they show what must have been the earlier practice at Verdun. The entire realm was considered as "domain." The experience of 843 had not been forgotten, nor the statistical surveys nor maps lost. "The division was settled with cautious minuteness, and the schedule enumerates all the parcels, as a conveyancer would say." The text enumerates, first for Ludwig, then for Charles, all the bishoprics, monasteries, the counties attributed to each. The manors of the fisc are not mentioned by name, but were included in the *cadres* of dioceses and pagi, as the recurrent phrase *cum omnibus villis in eo consistentibus, tam dominicatis et vassalorum,* indicates. Ludwig got 2 archbishoprics, 4 bishoprics, 43 monasteries, 31 counties, 4 half-counties and 2 "districts" (fragments of counties). Charles got 3 archbishoprics, 6 bishoprics, 33 monasteries, 30 counties, and 4 half-counties. No attention was given to natural boundaries, nor to difference of blood and language among the populations. In the effort to make the partition as nearly an even one as possible the treaty of Meersen exceeded the vicious parcellation of territory made in 843. For each king actually was given enclaves wholly included in the kingdom of the other. Veritably feudalism triumphed.

To the end of their history the Carolingians east and west wasted their patrimonial heritage, and so sapped the ground from under their feet. Even when fortune threw new acquisitions into their hands, they dissipated them. In 906 when the powerful house of the Babenbergers

was expelled from Franconia and its extensive lands confiscated to the fisc, they were soon distributed among favorite nobles of the court, the Church in the person of the rapacious Hatto of Mainz getting a large share of them—*facultates et possessiones . . . in fiscum redactæ sunt et dono regis ad nobiliores quosque distributæ*. By 911 nothing except scattered fragments of the once magnificent fisc in Germany remained. There were 83 in Franconia, 50 in Swabia, 21 in Bavaria, 12 in Thuringia, 5 in Saxony, and 5 in Friesland. The vintage lands of the middle Rhine were the richest portion—*propter vini affluentiam quæ in his locis exuberabat*. In this capacity the western Carolingians were more impoverished than the eastern.

But the term of disintegration was not reached with the partition of the Empire and the dissolution of the fisc. The same forces of feudalism and decomposition operated also to divide and decompose the kingdoms themselves. As the Empire was reduced to a vast and amorphous agglomeration of fiefs, so each kingdom tended to dissolve into separate fiefs, a process accelerated by local historic survivals of race, language, custom in every province. This process was more extreme in France and Italy than in Germany, for the reason that in the Romance lands two great and very different cultures, one Roman, the other German, were commixed without being thoroughly fused together, whereas in Germany there was greater homogeneity of race, language, and institutions.

Organized gangs of brigands—and brigands, too, of noble birth, whom the chroniclers call *infideles, latrones, scachatores* and their association a *herizuph*—swept over the country pillaging the lands of the king, of the Church and of other nobles. These "satellites of Belial," as Archbishop Hincmar once described them—the lands of the church of Rheims suffered terribly from their depredations—were banded together into an association, the members of which were bound together by an oath never to betray one another and always to operate in common. But not all these desperadoes were of the laity. Certain of the bishops were just as rapacious and just as violent. Bishop Hatto of Verdun, who turned his coat after Fontenay and went over to Lothar, was notorious for his bold and rapacious expansion of the episcopal domains. The bishops and abbots, between whom a perpetual feud existed, fought for one another's lands like the nobles, and despoiled each other as wolves devour their fellow wolves. Hincmar's own nephew and namesake, Bishop Hincmar of Laon, having been entrusted by Charles the Bald with the management of certain crown lands, annexed them to the episcopal domain and resisted by force the king's attempt to recover them.

Under such assault and by such violence the former grand proprietorship of the Carolingian period tended to become reduced to small proprietorship. The big domains of the time of Charlemagne were

fractured and fractioned into lesser domains, and thus a crowd of small proprietary nobles was created. Even *villæ* and manors inclined to decompose under the stress. Manors dissolved into *manselli* or small fragments of a single former manor. In the tumultuous laboratory of the history of the ninth century the elements of the Carolingian state were dissolved into molecules, the molecules into atoms. Everything—government, law, institutions, society—inclined toward almost infinite localization, infinite particularism. Particularism in the ninth century was not a question of race or blood, but of those families whose interests became localized.

It would be wrong, however, to regard the break-up of the Frankish Empire only as a destructive process. An epoch of change and transformation is seldom in history wholly an epoch of decadence. The ninth century witnessed the birth throes of a new Europe, a feudal Europe. In this great sense the period was a formative one. For the Carolingian institutions were unadapted to the new age which was on the way, they possessed neither the vitality nor the plasticity necessary to preserve themselves or the Empire under the new conditions which developed. The triumph of feudalism was necessary and inevitable. By the middle of the ninth century the Frankish Empire had become a colossal anachronism. Side by side with, and working simultaneously with, forces of decay and dissolution, were other forces working for the reintegration of government and society upon a new basis more in harmony with the conditions of the time and the spirit of the age. Out of the soil made by the corruption of old things a new and far richer feudal Europe was destined to spring up. Selfish as the practice of the great feudality was in robbing the crown of lands and prerogatives, cruel, rapacious, and unjust as its policy often was, even in its practice of usurpation and spoliation, even in its frequent use of violence, the instinct of the feudality was right and in the long run of history justified.

Bernhard of Septimania seems to have the honor of having first methodically employed bands of armed men recruited chiefly from the lower feudality. Yet the future was to be in the hands of these men of violence. They will become nobles, vassals, ancestors of the Crusaders, dukes, and peers of France. The kings were weak, these men were strong, and local society instinctively tended to rally around the man who was strong. The imperial institutions were often out of harmony with local institutions and often rode them down. These local barons understood them, reflected them, and applied them.

But this new spirit of provincial autonomy did not always rally around the greatest local magnate and patrimonial proprietor. Very often such magnates were of Frankish lineage and not sufficiently representative of local feelings and antagonisms. Again, the small feudality, lesser nobles, together with freemen who feared lest their alods be coerced into fiefs

by the strong noble, sometimes the local bishop or powerful abbot who was jealous of lay preponderance in the region, were hostile to these pretensions. They knew that under cover of the "public weal" these ambitious barons were laboring for their own interests. They were jealous and suspicious of the high aristocracy. Thus as the high feudality struggled against the crown and against each other, the lower feudality and freemen struggled against the high feudality. As often as not they won, and frequently the king in his fear of the power of the great nobles threw his influence in favor of the small noble, or even in favor of the local man who was strong and popular in a region, although he was not of noble lineage at all. The terrible decimation of the old Frankish aristocracy as the result of the civil wars, the Norse invasions, the Saracen ravages of the southern coast of France, made the rise of this new baronage easier, and in proportion as it took root in the soil, feudalism grew.

The growth of these "self-made" dynasts in the ninth century is an interesting political and social phenomenon, an example of the law of compensation operating in a period of distraction and anarchy to save society from dissolution. (*"Istas rapinas et depræ dationes quas iam quasi pro lege multi per consuetudinem tenent."—Adnuntiatio ad Confluentes,* 860.) Taine has vividly described this process:

> After Charlemagne everything melts away. But by way of compensation the dissolution of the state raises up at this time a military generation. Each petty chieftain has planted his feet firmly upon the domain he occupies, or which he withholds. He no longer keeps it in trust or for use, but as property and an inheritance. It is his own manor, his own village, his own county. It no longer belongs to the king; he contends for it in his own right. The benefactor, the conservator at this time, is the man capable of fighting, or defending others. . . . The noble, in the language of the day, is the man of war, the soldier (*miles*). . . . His extraction is of little account. He is oftentimes a Carolingian count, a beneficiary of the king, the sturdy proprietor of one of the latest free territories. In one place he is a martial bishop or a valiant abbot; in another a converted pagan, a retired bandit, a prosperous adventurer, a rude huntsman. . . . In any event, the noble of the epoch is the brave, the powerful man, expert in the use of arms, who at the head of a troop, instead of flying or paying ransom, offers his breast, stands firm and protects a patch of the soil with his sword. To perform this service he has no need of ancestors.[1]

The relief which Europe felt from the misery of the later Carolingian epoch by the growth of feudalism must be appreciated. In spite of abuses, feudalism was better than disorder verging on anarchy, and in the baronial court even the serf had standing. "Thus we find growing

[1] *Ancient Régime,* p. 6.

prosperity and growing civilization fermenting amid a chaos of barbarism, disorder, and evil tyranny."

The aristocratic tendency of the times is illustrated by the resentment of the older noblesse toward these upstarts. When Louis the Pious elevated Ebo, who was the son of a serf, to the archiepiscopal see of Rheims there was an outcry of protest both from the high nobility and from the high clergy; for as the Church became more and more feudalized, the bishops increasingly were recruited from feudal families. One of the grievances of the anti-court party against Bernhard of Septimania was that, though high-born himself, he catered to nobles of low estate and even to men of common birth. When Charles the Bald foully murdered him in 844 for alleged conspiracy, he was really guilty of no worse conduct than many another high noble who was working to establish his local power; but he had committed the unforgivable crime of "breaking caste," and the great feudality consummated his ruin. In Germany the hostility of the Swabian aristocracy to Liutward, chief minister of Charles the Fat, drove him from office because he was *ex infimo genere natum*. When the princess Judith eloped with Baldwin of Flanders the court at Compiègne was in a flutter; for it was a mésalliance in the eyes of the aristocracy. "Some of the great feudatories were unquestionably saplings growing from old roots or grafts upon the old trunks; but the majority neither talked nor cared nor knew about such pedigrees." Within two or three generations this parvenu aristocracy was quite as high as its predecessors. As the ancient Frankish aristocracy gradually perished off the soil, the new, self-made aristocracy supplanted it. The crown lost its power to administer justice, to collect taxes, to require military service, not only over the great magnates, but also the power of control over peasants and artisans outside the feudal hierarchy. In this state of social and political degradation the organic nature of society saved it. New forms of social adjustment, new forms of political authority developed.

For the perpetuation of the old *villæ* system an order of things such as had obtained under Charlemagne was necessary. But the order of things changed when Europe was beset by Northmen, Saracens, Hungarians, and rent within by private warfare. War devastated and divided. It produced a gravitation of the population toward fortified places, the lee of a castle or of a walled monastery. This process entailed a redistribution of the land. Villages were destroyed or transformed. Social life became centred in village or town groups and the corporate importance of these increased. Castles (*castella*) and strongholds (*firmitates*), fortified monasteries, and ramparted convents supplant the ancient *villæ* as centres of the manorial organization. The château became the residence of the lord. This isolation of the lord entailed the dividing up of the domain by infeudation, the break-up of the old proprietorship and the formation

of new feudal and seigniorial "rights." The result was more feudalism.

The castle was the most striking expression of the nature of this new era of violence and lusty local power. In the time of Charlemagne when police power was effective, when law and order prevailed within the Empire and the only warfare was upon the frontiers, the proprietary class had dwelt in unfortified country houses and the peasantry in open villages. But this condition changed in the ninth century, when chronic war or brigandage prevailed within the Empire. Security, protection of life and property, is the first requisite of society, and when the governments—especially in France—proved incapable of giving it, then the members of the great landed aristocracy took things into their own hands and built castles to hold their lands against Norse invaders or marauders around them. Yet this practice was not always because of the default of government. With true instinct the nobles realized that to build castles for the kings was to strengthen the crown, and this they were reluctant to do. More than once Charles the Bald was compelled to discontinue work upon fortresses necessary to protect the realm from the Norsemen because he could get no one to garrison them. The nobles were too suspicious. When Ludwig III after Andernach tried to erect a castle near Cambrai to guard the region against Norse inroads he had to abandon the design for this very reason.

The right to build castles was a right of sovereignty and a royal prerogative. It was now usurped by the feudality. In France and Italy—but not yet in Germany, where the king's power still was strong—these structures began to rise, a true exhalation of feudalism. One might think there was just reason for them along the coasts, both in the north where the Norsemen with every year became more formidable, and in the south, where Saracen pirates harried the seaboard towns of France and Italy. But actually they were built in the very heart of the countries, too. For with territorial feudalism every fief had its own frontiers. Even insignificant topographical variations like a range of hills, a creek, became a frontier. Every advantageous site, as a steep hill, a sharp cliff, the loop of a river, the confluence of two streams where a naturally defensible angle of land was created, was seized upon and fortified. In flat, open country where none of these advantages was afforded, a crude engineering was resorted to and an artificial mound of earth erected on which the castle was built, the ditch from which the earth was dug forming a moat around the castle.

The kings yielded to the new necessity. In 862 Charles the Bald in a remarkable capitulary, the preamble of which presents a picture of appalling anarchy, confessed his inability to give protection, and enjoined upon every great landed noble the social duty of erecting castles. It was a needless confession of weakness, for already all around him these sullen structures were profiled against the sky. "Protection" too often

proved a shallow pretext. These castles became the abode of robber barons, the rendezvous of brigand bands who preyed upon the country round about, driving off the stock of the peasant, robbing merchants and travelers, blackmailing bishops and abbots. A cry of protest came up from defenseless freemen and peasants, from spoliated clergy, from pilgrims and traders. With quaint usage of Scripture it was said that the Norsemen came in occasional foray and went again, but that these robbers, like the poor, were ever with them. And so in 864 Charles the Bald ordered the destruction of the very castles whose building he had authorized two years before. The act was a mere gesture. The crown had confessed its weakness in promoting them; it had not the power to destroy them. Feudalism had come to stay in spite of kings.

And yet these erections were justified by the necessity of the times. Around the walls of the fortified monasteries, at the foot of the hill on which the castle stood, the servile population clustered, grateful for the lord's protection even when it was tyrannical and abusive. The crying need of this early age of feudalism was protection and security. It was gained at the price of liberty. Not all the submission of the peasantry to serfdom was owing to the violence of the barons. It was often gladly given. Not all infeudation of freemen was due to intimidation of the weaker by the stronger. Commendation and vassalage in the feudal world, serfdom and villeinage in the manorial world, were social necessities. They stemmed anarchy, they protected life and property and in so doing represented the phenomena of social progress, not of social decline.

Romance has pictured these edifices as stone creations, with walls, bastion towers, drawbridges, portcullis gates, etc. But all these devices were developed in a later and far more advanced period of castle building. These first European castles were built of logs, and were very like our early American frontier forts, such as Fort Pitt, Fort Vincennes, Fort Dearborn at Chicago and, later, the posts in the Far West. They were merely square, timbered blockhouses, with wide eaves and a steep-pitched roof containing vents through which water might be poured in case the roof were fired by blazing arrows dipped in tar, or the besiegers forced the log stockade or palisade around the castle and put fire to the walls. The moat was a mere ditch with a movable bridge across it. The windows were narrow slits. Within the compound formed by the encircling moat and palisade were a few buildings to shelter the lord's peasantry, who at the moment of alarm fled to the protection of the castle, and to house the stock. An indispensable adjunct to every castle was a well. In the ninth century, unless the castle was built in a flat country, cisterns and rain water had to be depended upon. To drill a well through strata of hard rock from the crest of a hill a hundred or

two hundred, or even three hundred feet high was the labor of years, and the result of the grinding work of hundreds of serfs.

The revolution wrought in manner of life and nature of civilization by the incoming of castles and their spread over Europe was a profound one. They inaugurated a new age, a predominantly military age, the feudal age. In the ninth, tenth, and even the eleventh century, before feudalism had found itself, so to speak, and developed a firm form of government, life was hard and brutal for all classes of society. It was only when feudalism became an ordered régime—at least as reasonably regulated as human government in any age may be—that life in the châteaux became more refined and more comfortable. By that time, too, military architecture had so advanced that the castles had ceased to be mere blockhouses and had become ample, even tremendous, edifices of stone. Taine has graphically pictured this iron civilization of the ninth century:

In this epoch of perpetual warfare only one regimen is suitable, that of a body of men confronting the enemy, and such is the feudal system; we can judge by this trait alone of the perils which it wards off and of the service which it enjoins. "In those days," says the Spanish *General Chronicle*, "kings, counts, nobles, and knights in order to be ready at all hours, kept their horses in the rooms in which they slept with their wives." The viscount in his tower defending the entrance to a valley or the passage of a ford, the count of the border thrown as a forlorn hope on the burning frontier, sleeps with his hand on his weapon. . . . His dwelling is simply a camp and a refuge; straw and heaps of leaves overspread the floor of the great hall; here he rests with his armed horsemen, taking off a spur if he has a chance to sleep; the loopholes in the wall scarcely allow daylight to enter; the main thing is not to be shot with arrows.

Thanks to these braves the peasant enjoys protection. He is no longer to be slaughtered, no longer to be led captive with his family in herds, with his neck in a pitchfork. He ventures to plow and to sow and to rely upon his crops; in case of danger he knows that he can find asylum for himself and for his grain and cattle in the circle of palisades at the base of the fortress. By degrees necessity establishes a tacit contract between the military chieftain of the donjon and the early settlers of the open country, and this becomes a recognized custom. They work for him, cultivate his ground, do his carting, pay him quittances, so much for house, so much per head of cattle, so much to inherit or to sell; he is compelled to support his troop. But when these rights are discharged he errs if, through pride or greediness, he takes more than his due. As to the vagabonds, the wretched, who in the universal disorder and devastation seek refuge under his guardianship, their condition is harder; the soil belongs to him because without him it would be uninhabitable; if he assigns them a plot of ground, if he permits them merely to encamp upon it, if he sets them to work or furnishes them

with seed, it is on conditions which he prescribes. They are to become his serfs. . . .

When we clearly represent to ourselves the condition of humanity in those days we can comprehend how men accepted readily the most obnoxious of feudal rights. . . . People accordingly lived, or rather began to live, under the rude, iron-gloved hand which used them roughly but which afforded them protection. The seignior, sovereign and proprietor, maintains for himself under this double title, the moors, the river, the forest, all the game; it is no great evil since the country is nearly a desert, and he devotes his leisure to exterminating large wild beasts, notably wolves. He alone possesses the resources, is the only one who is able to construct the mill, the oven, and the winepress; to establish the ferry or purchase a bull; and to indemnify himself he taxes for these or forces their use. If he is intelligent and a good manager of men, if he seeks to derive the greatest profit from his ground, he gradually relaxes, or allows to become relaxed, the meshes of the net in which his villeins and serfs work unprofitably because they are too tightly drawn. Habit, necessity, a voluntary or enforced conformity have their effect; seigniors, villeins, serfs, in the end adapted to their condition, bound together by a common interest, form together a society, a veritable corporation. The seigniory, the county, the duchy, becomes a patrimony which is loved through a blind instinct and to which all are devoted. It is confounded with the seignior and his family; in this relation people are proud of him; they narrate his feats of arms; they cheer him as his cavalcade passes along the road; they rejoice in his magnificence through sympathy. If he becomes a widower and has no children they send him deputations to entreat him to marry again in order that at his death the country may not fall into a war of succession or be exposed to the encroachment of neighbors.[2]

It was upon this patrimonial culture and seigniorial feeling that much of the civilization, material and moral, of the Middle Ages was based.

It is rare in history that some sort of progress does not coincide with some sort of decay. The whole history of the ruin of the Carolingian Empire is proof of this truth. The Norse invasions destroyed serfdom in Brittany in the ninth century, although it is just to say that feudalism never strongly obtained there—not because of any racial antagonism to it implanted in the Celtic heart, but because the granitic nature of the soil, the deep forests and wide moors were incompatible with an agrarian polity such as feudalism. Even in the basin of the Seine, where feudalism struck its deepest roots, the Norse invasions operated in a twofold way, both to accelerate serfdom and to diminish it. The weaker peasantry shrunk under the lee of the castle and accepted bondage as the price of security; the bolder forsook prædial serfdom by running away and joining the Norse bands. The famous chieftain Hastings was not a Norseman, but a runaway Frankish serf.

[2] Taine, *Ancient Régime*, pp. 8–9.

If there were any way of ascertaining the information, the history of the decline of population in the ninth century would be interesting and instructive. But the sources are so meager that nothing but generalization is possible. It is a certainty, though, that there was a serious decline in population everywhere, in Italy, France, Germany, probably least in the last. The Mediterranean coast in the south and northern Gaul may have suffered most, the former from the ravages of the Saracens, the latter from the inroads of the Norsemen. But central Gaul and inner Italy, although escaping these marauders, suffered greatly from the strife of baron with baron and the prevalent anarchy.

The movements of population during the ninth century would be interesting to trace, too, if it were possible. Here again the static and the dynamic tendency may be seen. While thousands of freemen went down to serfdom, the more resolute and hardy of the peasantry sought a refuge from troubled conditions by establishing themselves in the depths of the forests, where a century later, when the worst turmoil had passed, the Church and the feudality discovered tiny forest villages and caught this hardy population again in the coil of tithe and the net of manorialism. Movements like these are too fugitive to trace. But in two instances we get larger information in regard to whole blocks of people who removed or were removed from their old seat to a new place. In Flanders, partly owing to the ravages of the Norsemen, but more on account of inundations of the low coast by the sea, we find record of the exodus of masses of people. The anonymous chronicler of Utrecht, early in the ninth century, describes this population as "living almost like fishes amid the waters which hemmed them in on all sides, so that they rarely had access to outside countries except in boats." The annalist of St. Bertin describes an inundation in 839 which burst the natural dikes of the country—he calls them *dunes*—drowning many and driving into exile many more. Some of the refugees were driven into Germany, others drifted up the Rhine, still others crossed the Channel into England.

The movement of a mass of people from one region to another is colonization, although the word is most often used with a stricter significance than this. One notable chapter in the history of medieval colonization is that of the Spanish March early in the reign of Louis the Pious. The wars of Charlemagne in northern Spain against the Mohammedans had reduced much of the territory between the Pyrenees and the Ebro to a state of desolation. The desolation even extended up into Septimania. In order to repeople this devastated region Louis the Pious gave the deserted lands in benefice to favorite nobles, who exploited their holdings through a servile tenantry. But more interesting is the fact that multitudes of freeholds were made available to settlers on liberal terms. We find the same method of colonization of depopulated regions prac-

tised in the Rhone valley in the tenth century after the expulsion of the Saracens.

War, brigandage, inundation, and famine were the four greatest factors in this movement of population. Bare hunger, unless very acute and very prolonged, rarely drove a population to migrate. The suffering of the peasant, however, from adverse weather conditions was much greater than we imagine. A long, cold winter might kill his seed corn, a drought, a wet spring or wet summer, a plague of weevils or of locusts, might destroy his crops. Some of these famines were local, others more general. In the ninth century we have record of sixty-six such adversities. It was a stricken century. The effect of such privation in breaking down customary social inhibitions, in loosening men from the soil, in promoting wandering, in aggravating serfdom, may be imagined. And of course such adversity reacted, though in less degree, upon the landlord class which drew its sustenance from the tilled soil. What the influence of such condition and discontent may have been upon the land hunger of the aristocracy, and even their rebellions and brigandage, must be conjectural, but it could not have been without influence. We know for a fact that the hard winter 842–43 influenced the making of the treaty of Verdun.

For the first time in medieval history the question of the Jews arose, in the ninth century. They seem for the most part to have dwelt in Spain and Italy hitherto. But in the ninth century they spread northward into Gaul. The Frankish conquest of northern Spain and the Saracen inroads along the southern coast of France, from which they penetrated far up the Rhone valley, brought in their wake, apparently, a host of Jews. The wine trade was largely in their hands and they were great purveyors of Levantine goods—silk, perfumes, spices, etc. These numbers were increased by Lothar I's expulsion of the Jews from Italy, many of whom seem to have found refuge in Gaul. Agobard of Lyons issued a famous tract against them, the *De insolentia Judæorum,* the earliest expression of anti-Semitism in medieval literature.

But the archbishop's action was not simply that of a bigot, and the motive of the controversy in which he engaged was entirely honorable to him. He set his face against a flagitious custom of which the Jews, the great slave-dealers of the Empire, had the monopoly. He forbade the Christians of his diocese from selling slaves to the Jews for exportation to the Arabs of Spain, and sought also to place a variety of restrictions upon the intercourse of the two races. The emperor, however, supported the Jews, and Agobard could only resort to passionate appeals to the statesmen of the palace and to the bishops, in the hope of reëstablishing a state of things more consonant with the principles of the Church. . . . The truth was that under Louis the Pious, particularly after his marriage with his second empress, Judith, the position of the Jews might fairly be held to

menace Christianity. Charles the Great had shown them tolerance; Louis added his personal favor; and under him they enjoyed a prosperity without example in the long course of the Middle Ages. They formed a peculiar people under his protection, equally among the nobles and the Church; and their privileges were guarded by an imperial officer, the Master—he even claimed the title of King—of the Jews. Free from military service, the Jews were indispensable to the commerce of the Empire; on account of their financial skill it was common to trust them with the farm of the taxes. Nothing was left undone which might gratify their national or religious prepossessions. They had rights from which Christians were excluded, entire freedom of speech was allowed, and the very weekly markets were postponed to the Sunday in order that the alien race might observe its Sabbaths. The Jews built their synagogues and held their lands and pastures; they planted vineyards and set up mills in perfect security. At the court of the emperor they were welcomed with marked distinction. They went there with their wives, and were only known in the throng by the more sumptuous display of their apparel. The empress Judith was singularly attached to them and the courtiers, taking up the fashion, attended the synagogue and admired the preaching of the *darshanim* above that of their own clergy. The Jews in France, however, could not recover debts by ordinary process of law. They had to appeal to the Emperor.[3]

The slave trade was almost wholly in the hands of the Jews. The slaves were captives in war, mostly recruited from the German borderlands—Danes and Slavs. But the Stellinga rebellion in Saxony may have contributed some Saxons after the terrible repression of that movement. It is worth observing that in the tenth century the classical Latin word for slave, *servus,* no longer meant a chattel slave but a serf, while the word *sclavus,* derived from captive Slavs of the German east border became the common word for slave. The headquarters of these Jewish slavedealers was at Verdun, as we know from two tenth century chroniclers, where they had a walled compound for confining the slaves. From Verdun these were conducted up the Meuse, marched across the low divide of land to the Saône, conducted down the Saône to Lyons and thence down the Rhone to Avignon, where they were disembarked and marched overland, via Carcassonne, Narbonne, Perpignan, and Barcelona into Mohammedan Spain. Sometimes they were taken by sea from Marseilles. But the Mediterranean was so infested with pirates in the ninth and tenth centuries that this was unusual. The number of these slaves, many of whom were women, especially of Slavs, must have been very great and the traffic a lucrative one. For we learn from Spanish sources that the language of the harem in Cordova was Slavonic. The khalif's guard, too, was composed of Slavs. There is ground for suspicion that the empress Judith's favorite, Bernhard of Septimania, derived

[3] Reginald Lane Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought,* pp. 47–48.

profit from promoting the slave traffic with Spain, and Agobard's hostility to him may have had political reasons as well as humanitarian.

But the slave trade was not the only commerce of Frankish Gaul in the ninth century. Indeed, the activity and the amplitude of commerce in France during the reign of Charles the Bald to a considerable degree belies the allegations of brigandage and anarchy which are said to have been so universal. Even the destructiveness of the raids of the Norsemen is undoubtedly exaggerated.

The deeper we penetrate into the details of the history of this period the more we must qualify the ancient and sweeping judgment of the Benedictine scholars of the eighteenth century that "as to culture, politics, and commerce there are few monuments which can instruct us." Meager as the sources are and hard as the age was, the ninth century, nevertheless, retained more remnants of civilization than has been usually supposed. Whilst maritime commerce perished owing to Mohammedan sea-power in the Mediterranean, internal commerce persisted to a greater degree than was once suspected. We shall see that even the ravages of the Norsemen were not wholly detrimental to trade.

The almost complete cessation of commerce and trade in the ninth —and even in the tenth—century has been often asserted by eminent historians, and the statement widely believed. But the commercial prosperity of the Empire of Charlemagne did not at once disappear when he died. The admirable coast-guard system which he created only gradually declined. As late as 838 we find Louis the Pious renewing the Channel fleets. The raids of the Northmen were not formidable to France before 841, nor did the Saracen corsairs become a grave danger till the reign of Charles the Bald. The Frisian cloth trade continued during the reign of Louis the Pious (814–40). It even endured throughout the period of the Norse inroads. Maestricht on the lower Meuse and the abbeys of St. Wandrille in Thérouanne, and St. Riquier near Abbeville were important places of cloth manufacture. Even in the depth of the ninth century, though Duurstede was five times visited by the Northmen and twice burned, the Frisian cloth trade yet survived. A colony of Frisian merchants is found in Worms in 829, and another in Mainz in 886, where the trade routes of the Danube and from Lombard Italy converged, and which was the commercial centre of the Rhine lands in the Carolingian and Saxon periods. Of less importance than Quantovic but still called an *emporium,* lay Witlan, on the estuary of the Meuse, a tiny Antwerp.

The territory of the lower Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt from Roman times has ever been an important place of transit, a region where the wares of the north, of Britain, of Scandinavia, were exchanged for those of the south and the Orient. The evidence is in the abundance of coins of other lands which have been found in this region

or, vice versa, the abundance of coins struck in mints in the Low Countries which have been carried elsewhere. Frisian coins of the sixth century were imitated from Byzantine coins. Coins minted at Duurstede, at Maestricht, at Huy, at Dinant during the Merovingian epoch are less rare than coins from Frankish mints in Gaul itself. The coins from the mint at Duurstede afforded the most ancient types of money for Sweden and Poland. In the time of Louis the Pious the emblem was a ship, a form which also appears on the coins of Quantovic, the chief Channel port of the Frankish Empire. In the latter half of the ninth century Maestricht is called a *portus* upon its money and the same is true of Tournai and Valenciennes.

Brittany's peninsular shape early exposed it to the Northmen, who must have occasionally interrupted the trade relations of the lower Loire region with Brittany, Gascony, and Ireland, which were considerable from before the days of Charlemagne. Yet the salt trade of the Poitevin coast, the Biscayan fisheries, and even the Breton-Irish trade continued through the ninth century. Evidently also the trade of Brittany by sea with the south coast of France must have survived at least until the end of the ninth century. The Monk of St. Gall would not have said without reason that the Norse ships which invaded the harbor of Narbonne were mistaken for Breton vessels. But it is impossible to cite many details of Brittany's commerce in late Carolingian times. The most specific reference is a charter of 848 concerning the rights of the Lord of Bains over merchants and merchant shipping at the mouth of the Oust, in the time of Duke Nomenoe. The monks of Ballon near Redon and of Bussolium in Maine claimed a part of the port dues (*tonlieux*) levied upon merchants and shipping in the Oust in virtue of an early grant which could not be produced. The duke, failing the evidence of a written record, summoned the oldest inhabitants of the four parishes involved who declared that from time out of mind the rights of navigation had belonged to the Seignior of Bains and not to the abbots of Ballon and Bussolium. May not a similar commercial activity be assumed for other Breton ports and *écluses,* of which there were many?

A greater misfortune to the commerce of Nantes and the lower Loire country than occasional forays of the Northmen was the bitter feud between the Franks and the native Bretons for domination there. Count Lambert and the Breton duke Erispoe each sought support from the Northmen. The strife naturally drew the Church into the vortex, the duke sustaining one candidate to the bishopric of Nantes, the king another. In the end the latter's protégé was given the archbishopric of Tours instead (885 or 886). The victorious bishop Actard was given half of the port dues of Nantes, but later was driven out by Salomon, the successor of Erispoe. The exile avenged himself by endeavoring to ruin the commercial reputation of Nantes, falsely representing that the

city had been utterly destroyed by the Northmen in 853 and picturing it, in 868, as still in utter desolation, whereas their occupation in 853 was a mere episode and Nantes by 868 had resumed its former commercial prosperity. The real ruin of Breton commerce occurred after the death of Alain le Grand in 907.

The earliest complaint of the interruption of cross-Channel communication by the Northmen is in 846 in letter 71 of Loup de Ferrières, in which he complains: *"Intermissa transmarinorum cura."* The allusion is to the interruption of pilgrim travel, but the same complaint would apply to commerce. But down to the death of Louis the Pious in 840 the interior trade of France certainly was little affected by the Northmen. On March 21, 841, Charles the Bald crossed the Seine with his army in the campaign which culminated in the battle of Fontenay (June 25, 841) on twenty-eight merchant ships which were brought upstream to Rouen from the embouchure of the Seine, and had escaped the destruction of all other river craft by Lothar's agents. Before the civil wars of the Carolingian princes, with which the penetration of the Northmen into the interior of the realm coincided, the cities of central France probably still largely lived the life they had enjoyed under Charlemagne. The *Life of St. Philibert* by Falcon, written in the ninth century, describes Poitiers as a *populosa civitas*. Chartres is similarly characterized even in the first quarter of the tenth century. Hilduin, abbot of St. Denis, who died in 842, in a *Life* of the saint which he wrote, is certainly picturing Paris of his own time more than that of the emperor Domitian in the words: *"Parisiorum civitas, ut sedes regia . . . constipata populis, referta commerciis ac variis commeatibus, unda fluminis circumferente."* Adrevald, a monk of Fleury, who died in 878, is quite as eloquent: *"Quid Lutetia Parisiorum nobile caput, resplendens quondam gloria, opibus, fertilitate soli, incolarum quietissima pace, quam non immerito regum divitias, emporium divero populorum."* Aimon, a monk of St. Germain-des-Prés, describes Paris after the first capture of the city by Ragnar Lodbrok: *"Urbem quondam populosum . . . opiniatissimam Parisiorum civitatem."* The *quondam* in each of these two quotations testifies to the city's injury. Yet even in the height of the invasions, in spite of four visitations and a long and terrible siege, the commerce of Paris survived. The Northmen penetrated but once into the *Cité*. The faubourgs suffered severely in 845, 856, 861, 865, 885–86. But the Parisians always followed the same tactics, abandoning the banks to devastation and seeking refuge on the island. Here monk and priest, merchant and craftsman sought asylum. That the commerce of the city was not wholly destroyed we know from the circumstance that in January, 861, when the Northmen, who were established on the Isle of Wessel in the lower Seine, made an unexpected raid in the dead of winter, some merchants were captured by them. War

and commerce with the Northmen went hand in hand. A curious bit of information in the *Annals of St. Bertin* for 865 shows this. In that year both banks of the Seine were patrolled by squadrons of cavalry. The division on the left bank did its duty and repulsed a force of 500 Northmen bent upon Chartres along the old Roman road out of Rouen. On the right bank Count Alard failed in vigilance and a detachment of 250 penetrated to the environs of Paris in search of wine, but returned unsuccessful. The faubourgs were chiefly peopled by artisans and small tradesmen, most of them probably dependent upon the abbeys of St. Gervais, St. Merri, St. Germain le Rond, St. Laurent, and the church of St. Martin des Champs. But some free workmen still survived in France. The Edict of Pîtres (864) shows it, though they undoubtedly tended to diminish.

Almost all writers who have dealt with the age of Charles the Bald have somewhat unwarrantably assumed that the legislation of the king everywhere testifies to the degradation of the government and the dissolution of society. Yet it is significant that the legislation about bridges before 862 is purely commercial and does not deal with the defense of the realm. May not Charles's legislation with reference to markets, trade, etc., be an index of a revived commerce? To be sure the clergy—especially the monasteries—were the chief beneficiaries of this revival, since most fair and market concessions were made to them. But the point is that there was an active commerce in France at a time when the commerce of the country is usually represented as having been almost totally destroyed.

Charles, like his grandfather, held that the *mercatus* was the property of the crown. But in practice both granted concessions to the churches to establish markets upon their domains, annual, weekly, or otherwise. During the ninth century these markets increased greatly in number, but we have few particulars. The cupidity of the clergy and the proprietary ambitions and usurpations of the baronage undoubtedly inhibited the operations of commerce, yet the multiplication of these tiny localities which are *new* indicates that a process of economic spontaneous generation, so to speak, was nevertheless at work. The donations of the crown, from one point of view, may be taken as a symptom of the decline of the royal prerogative of control of commerce. But from the other point of view they are evidences of a progressive, not a decaying, transition, in which society was adjusting itself to new social and economic conditions. The mere protection afforded by castles, palisades, and walls, whose rapid erection is a striking phenomenon of this century, will not wholly explain the new order of things.

The interaction of those various elements which were so organic in medieval society—the religious, the military, the commercial—in

the formation of these "groups" around the castles and the monasteries, must always be appreciated. The sources for this enormous change in political organization and in social texture abound in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But the beginnings of this fecund social process go back to the period of the Norse invasions and the violence of the ninth and tenth centuries. The deeper we penetrate into the details of the history of these two centuries the more we discover that this epoch was fertile in social origins, in the adjustment of society to new conditions, in the evolution of new institutions. If the sources are so few, it is not because the times were so barbarous that they kept no records, but because the records have been destroyed. Fortunately, enough have survived, however, to show the organic life of the age. The most notable examples of these "new towns" are to be found in the northeast. In Flanders, Bruges, Bergues, and Ypres owe their origin to the concentration of local society around a castle. But the same thing is observable in the far south, in Roussillon, for example.

The churches, however, especially the abbeys, profited more than castles in the changing order. Under their walls the important fairs were held; within their precincts and in their employ as commercial agents were merchants whose activities up and down the rivers of France are the connecting link between the early Middle Ages and the rise of urban communities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Loup de Ferrières describes the building (in the winter of 851–52) of just such a barge as the monasteries must have used. It plied on the Loing, the Seine, and the Oise rivers. To construct it he had twenty trees shipped from Marnay in the diocese of Sens. Iron seems to have been the most difficult thing to get. At convenient points along the rivers, for traffic by stream was greater than by land, these episcopal and monastic syndicates had warehouses or magazines for the deposit of merchandise, called *aræ, casella* (Greek, *kaséla*), or *patella*. The eagerness with which the monasteries applied for port privileges along the rivers, even in the midst of the Norse inroads, shows that the interior trade of France still was lucrative. In 843 the monastery of Cormery was given exemption from all tolls on the Loire. Seine, Marne, Sarthe, *et cætera flumina regni nostri"*; in 852 St. Symphorien near Tours was given a port on each bank of the river; in 859 St. Germain d'Auxerre was absolved from every toll; in the same year the monks of Beaulieu were given immunity from tolls and the right of a market *"in Suiniaco vico"*; in 860 the church of Urgel was granted a third of all the revenues arising from commerce within the diocese; in 862 the monastery in St. Urban established a weekly market with the king's permission; in 864 St. Denis acquired the market rights in Pontoise; in 867 St. Vaast acquired Berneval on the Channel coast, a not unimportant port. But St. Wandrille seems to have pushed the principle of "nothing venture, nothing have" to the farthest

extreme, for in 863 this monastery actually acquired Caudebec as a port of deposit on the lower course of the Seine, right in the path of the Northmen.

As with commerce, so it was with industry. It prospered most under the wing of the monasteries. The thorny question whether the industrial corporations of the late Roman Empire survived the period of the barbarbian invasion and contributed to the origin of the medieval gilds need not be considered here. But an important historical fact is that in the ninth century we find numbers of artisan groups attached to the abbeys, and in a less degree to lay manors. Sometimes the news of the founding of a new monastery drew such workmen in numbers, where there was employment for masons, stone-cutters, carpenters, tanners, dyers, fullers, etc. The most notable example of such an industrial group in the ninth century is at St. Riquier, but there is evidence of other similar groups in Soissons, in St. Denis and its dependencies, and at St. Bertin.

In the case of St. Riquier and St. Bertin the details are sufficient to show that the trades were grouped in "quarters" around the monastery—*per ministeria,* says the *Chronicle* of St. Bertin. At St. Riquier we find the street of the saddlers (*vicus sellariorum*), the street of the bakers (*vicus pistorum*), the street of the furriers (*vicus pellificum*), the street of the cobblers (*vicus sutorum*), the street of the vintners (*vicus vinitorum*), the street of the fullers (*vicus fullinum*), etc, eleven "quarters" in all. The whole industrial organization of a town in the ninth century is unfolded in this document. It is notable that there is no evidence of an internal bond of association among the craftsmen of St. Riquier, although the industries seem quite differentiated. In the case of the shoemakers of Soissons, however, we find the tantalizing expression *clientala sutorum.* But this phrase can mean nothing more than one of those fellowship associations (perhaps of German origin?) which the Carolingian legislation sought to suppress, and to which the well-known statutes of Hincmar allude.

These evidences of commercial and industrial activity in France in the ninth century belie the jeremiads of the monks of the time, and show that we must take their pictures of the terrible disorder with reservation. There was still a handful of merchants in Rouen when Normandy was ceded to Rolf. It is undeniable that the distress of the monasteries was frequently deliberately misrepresented in order to prevail upon the crown to enlarge their possessions. Hardship and misery, the monks doubtless often endured, but it was a misery wholly relative. They suffered less than ordinary people and were amply compensated for their discomfort. Bourgeois pointedly has said that "the clergy with aid of false charters in general got more than they lost."

Other valuable evidence of the commercial activity of France in this

time is derived from the history of the *danegeld*. Merchants were several times required to contribute to this imposition. In 860 "*Karlus rex exactionem de thesauris ecclesiarum et omnibus mansis ac negociatoribus, etiam paupertinis fecit*" and in the next year these (or other merchants like them) were caught in a sudden raid of the Northmen near Paris, as we have already seen. In the same year Chappes, an important entrepôt on the upper Seine, was pillaged. In 866 the merchants again were assessed for a tenth. The great *exactio* of Compiègne in 877, however, and the supplementary provisions to this ordinance made at Kiersey soon afterward in the same year afford us the most detailed information regarding the classes of merchants found in France at this time. In the former both traveling and settled merchants were required to contribute to the *danegeld* according to their fortune. The collection of the tribute proved a difficult matter, and six weeks later, at Kiersey, on June 14, 877, a fixed quota was exacted in addition from other merchants in the kingdom—a tenth (of their capital?) from the *Cappi,* probably Syrian merchants, and Jewish merchants, and an eleventh from those who were Christian.

Great interest attaches to the identification of each of these merchant groups. These settled merchants of 877 must be related to those merchants mentioned in 860, 861, and 866, who with Paris as a base traded through the Ile-de-France and Champagne, using the rivers as highways, and at Chappes on the upper Seine probably touched the transalpine trade. Were they the predecessors of those *mercatores aquæ Parisiaci,* first officially recognized in 1121 in a charter of Louis VI? If so, then we have here evidence that the Parisian hanse had a continuous, if obscure, history from the ninth to the twelfth century.

It remains to discover the identity of the itinerant merchants who are mentioned in the Edict of Kiersey. It is today proved that in the history of the commercial development of both France and Germany in the early Middle Ages these "birds of passage" were prior both in point of time and importance to settled merchants. In the ninth century town life was not yet sufficiently developed, market rights were too ill-defined, local regulation too unstable, to enable provincial trade to compete in importance with the more lucrative "through" trade in eastern luxuries. Even as late as the eleventh century this still seems to have been the condition in France, if one may draw an inference from the *Treuga Dei,* whose provisions aim to protect the *person* of merchants, but say nothing of established markets. A comparison of the *exactio* of Compiègne, which taxed those merchants whose seat was in Paris, with Art. 31 of the capitulary discloses three kinds of traveling merchants—Christian merchants, Jews, and Cappi. Of these classes the mercantile activities of the Jews are so well known that no further consideration of them is necessary beyond, perhaps, observing that the number of Jewish

traders in France at this time is likely to have been greater than usual, since in 855 Lothar I had banished them from Italy. But who were the *negotiatores Christiani* in Art. 31? The *marchands de l'eau* of Paris cannot be meant, for they already had been taxed in the *exactio* of Compiègne. In spite of the fact that no one has yet ventured so to suggest, I venture to suggest that *Italian* merchants are here intended, although no specific mention of them as such is made.

The evidence for this belief is inferential, it is admitted, but it seems to me to have the color of probability. It rests partly upon the very close political relations between France and Italy which prevailed in the last years of the reign of Charles the Bald. These connections were closer and more intimate than is usually appreciated. The abbé Duchesne has aptly said, writing of the trouble of Pope John VIII, that "an Italian or a Roman felt quite at his ease at Arles, Vienne, Lyons, and even towns such as Rheims, Sens, St. Denis, and Tours were not altogether foreign to him. He was familiar with their names and traditions in his own language."

In the ninth century the Italians, especially the Venetians, were the most prominent Christian traders in the West, and at this time (877) the relations between Italy and France were peculiarly favorable to intercourse between the two countries. Both Lothar I and Ludwig II had recently made treaties with Venice providing for the free movement of her merchants through their territories by road and river, subject to the payment of the customary tolls, and the emperor Ludwig II, in 854, had made a special effort to protect merchants and pilgrims to Rome (from beyond the Alps?) from molestation. Heyd hazards the conjecture that Italian merchants possibly were purveyors of Levantine wares beyond the Alps as early as this, but the only reference he cites in support is mention of the presence of Lombard merchants at the fair of St. Denis in the reign of Dagobert, which is pointless for the eighth and ninth centuries. In 849 Loup de Ferrières was sent to Rome. We do not know by what route he traveled, but his letter (Ep. 66) is interesting. He took with him as a present to the Pope some German linen (*glizza*) and wrote in advance to a bishop on the Italian frontier to be ready to provide him with some *"Italicæ monetæ argentum."* Schulte has shown the commercial use of the Alpine passes late in the tenth century, and that Venetian merchants monopolized the eastern trade at the fairs of Ferrara and Pavia.

But a paragraph in the *Life* of Gerald of Aurillac, chap. 27, by Odo of Cluny, pertains to the year 894. In that year Gerald went to Rome to see Pope Formosus in the interest of the abbey which he was about to found. Upon his return he stopped at Pavia, the usual starting-place for travelers going over the St. Bernard Pass, and there fell in with some Venetian merchants. The extract is interesting and conclusive

evidence of the presence of Venetian merchants who dealt in oriental stuffs at the Fair of Pavia in the ninth century. Schulte is skeptical of the journeying of Venetian merchants so early as this beyond the Alps and thinks that French and German traders found their point of contact in the Lombard cities, especially Pavia and Ferrara, on the ground that "in general the number of hands through which wares passed had much increased since antiquity." But it seems to me more probable that the transalpine trade was plied by Italians than by Frankish merchants, and that Chappes was the place where the Italians changed wares with the Franks. Its location and the unusual importance attached to its merchants, who are particularly singled out in the edict, and are clearly distinguished from the Frank merchants taxed in the *exactio* of Compiègne, would seem to justify this view.

It must be borne in mind that at this time the Alpine passes were not yet infested by the Saracens, but were open and much used in political and military affairs, at least. The favorite route from Italy into France was via Pavia, Ivrea, Aosta, over the Great St. Bernard, whence two ways diverged: (1) via St. Maurice and Valais to Lyons; (2) via the Lake of Geneva, Orbe, Pontarlier, and the old Roman road to Besançon and thence to Langres and Champagne. Another route to Lyons was via St. Jean de Maurienne and Chambéry.

Now in the last years of the reign of Charles the Bald the nexus between France and Italy was very close. Boso, who was soon to found the kingdom of Burgundy in the valley of the Rhone, in 876 was the most powerful vassal of Charles, who had married his sister Richilde. In 870 the king gave him the abbey of St. Maurice en Valais and possession of the city of Vienne and the Lyonnais; in 871 he conferred upon him the government of the whole heritage of Lothar in the Rhone valley; in 876 Charles, having assumed the imperial title, entrusted the government of Italy to him; in 877 he received the reversion of the county of Bourges. Strategically Boso's position was incomparable, for he was in possession of the two chief routes between Italy and France—the route via Valais and that via St. Jean de Maurienne—and was lord on both sides of the Alps. In addition he held two important places in the valleys of the Rhone and the Loire; namely, Lyons and Bourges. Within his immediate territory lay the confluence of the Allier with the Loire and that of the Saône with the Rhone, the focal region of France from the point of view of communication between north and south or east and west.

This union of the two chief Alpine passes and the heart of the river system of France in one hand must have facilitated the commercial intercourse between Italy and France. It hardly could have been otherwise. Long before the Fairs of Champagne rose to their great importance, already in the ninth century the commerce of the region foreshad-

owed the coming destiny of the country. The importance of Chappes, on the upper Seine, has been seen. But Meaux also had a settled colony of merchants at this time, whose *habitacula* were destroyed by the Northmen in 862. In truth, as early as the ninth century the lineaments of the future Fairs of Champagne are outlined so clearly that there is as much of history as of legend in the celebrated romance of *Garin de Lohcrain,* which attributes the institution of the fairs to Charles the Bald. Their antiquity is greater than was once supposed. Flodoard makes explicit references to a fair at Châlons-sur-Marne in 963.

In the ninth century Chappes was the chief emporium in Champagne. Today it is a poor village in the department of the Aube, in the canton of Bar-sur-Seine, about two kilometers from Troyes. The discovery, not merely of the great historical importance of this place, but the actual place itself, is an interesting example of modern historical research. Until recently Chappes was known only as a chatellany of the counts of Champagne in the twelfth century, but it was a lost Pleiad among the fiefs of that house, for its location was unknown. By the twelfth century every reminiscence of its early commercial importance had vanished.

But what kind of merchants were the merchants of Chappes? Certainly they were not Frankish merchants, for they had already been taxed in the *exactio* of Compiègne, as has been shown. The *negotiatores Christiani* (Art. 31) and the Jews cannot be meant, for the *cappi* are distinguished from each of these. The *cappi* were probably Syrian merchants in France. The Greek word *kapelos* (κάπηλος) which is current from Herodotus down to Anna Comnena, passed into the Syriac *kapîla,* "merchant," whence through Syrian traders in the West it found its way into Frankish law.

By the eighth century, judging from the sources, the Syrians who had been so numerous in Merovingian times, had dwindled and in the ninth century there is no direct mention of them, save of the solitary Syrian scholar who aided Louis the Pious in reading the New Testament. The rupture between Rome and Constantinople over the issue of iconoclasm, and the friction of Charlemagne with the Eastern Roman Empire may possibly have influenced the trade of the Syrians adversely. The volume of oriental trade in Charlemagne's reign was not very great, and his commercial relations, at least, with Baghdad, were not intimate. It is difficult to believe, however, that the Syrians, who had been for centuries the chief bearers of this oriental commerce in the West, were completely shut out at this time. The argument that Syrian merchants no longer frequented the West after the eighth century is the *argumentum ex silentio* only. Certainly, although the volume of the oriental trade of the Frankland was reduced, it did not wholly disappear after Charlemagne.

There is contemporary evidence of the circulation of Levantine goods in France. Abbo's famous epic of the siege of Paris by the Northmen in 885–86 heaps scorn upon those whose manners were softened by eastern luxuries, rich attire, Tyrian purple, gems, and Antioch leather. To this we may add the familiar testimony of the Monk of St. Gall who, though nominally writing of Charlemagne's time, actually more reflects the civilization of his own.

The probable presence of Syrian merchants in France in the late ninth century having now been shown, the question arises: By what routes did they come? Did they still come by sea, as formerly, through Marseilles and *Fossæ Marianæ* in the delta of the Rhone, where Corbie in 716 was given the power to collect duties on aromatics and spices? No famous city of Gaul has an obscurer history than Marseilles from the time of Charlemagne to the Crusades. The Saracen corsairs plundered it in 848, from which time a veil hangs over it for centuries. Yet in spite of the fact that these pirates haunted the seas and harried the coasts of Italy and Provence for years, we have evidence that Christian shipping braved the perils successfully. For in 844 Charles the Bald in a charter of immunity to St. Denis exempts from all exactions boats engaged in trade belonging to the monks or to their commercial agents" *qui pro eorum utilitate ad Massiliam . . . seu per diversos portus . . . mercatus negotiandi gratia advenissent.*" Again, in 878 Pope John VIII came to Arles by sea and traveled thence to Lyons and Troyes. Most interesting of all allusions, however, to the commerce of the Rhone delta in these years is a charter of King Louis of Provence in 920 to Manasseh, archbishop of Arles, in which there is a direct reference to Greek merchants and an implied one to Syrian and Jewish.

The expulsion of the Syrian merchants from the West was probably due to the increasing competition of the Venetians, who gradually pushed them out of the field, although, at least through the ninth century, they kept their footing at Chappes. For, if the contention is tenable that the Venetians as early as this were engaged in transalpine trade, most of their goods must have been of Levantine origin. The merchants of Venice enjoyed unusual advantages under Charlemagne, Lothar, and Louis II as we have seen, and in the latter half of the ninth century the relations between Italy at large and Constantinople were exceptionally close. On account of the ravages of the Saracens in southern Italy both Pope John VIII and Emperor Louis II had made alliances with Emperor Basil I.

From the evidence which has been set forth it is manifest, not only that the Norse invasions were not so destructive of commerce as has been represented, but also that the volume and variety of the commerce of France in the ninth century was greater than has been thought. Although the trade relations between western Europe and the Levant had

declined with the decay of the Roman Empire, nevertheless Syrian merchants maintained their commercial traditions in Gaul much longer than has hitherto been supposed. Even in the hardest age, perhaps, of the Middle Ages, France did not utterly revert to a purely agricultural organization of society. The opinion of those economic historians who contend that the so-called "self-sufficiency" of the manorial régime is an illusion receives added weight even from the painfully meager sources of the ninth century.

A word may be said in conclusion as to travel in France in the ninth century. The condition of the roads undoubtedly deteriorated, and in addition to great inconvenience the prevalence of brigandage made travel less safe by land than by water, and for carrying freight water traffic was cheaper than land. Yet it is impossible to believe that the insecurity was as great as the chroniclers represent it to have been, although undoubtedly travel under guard was almost necessary if one were of high social degree or carrying valuable commodities. But then people of social eminence and rich merchants always so traveled, even when times were more peaceful. There is a quaint example of the danger of travel in the letters of Loup de Ferrières, which casts interesting light upon the life of the ninth century. He writes to his friend Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims:

I was afraid to send you Bede's *Commentary* because the book is so large that it cannot be hidden in one's cloak, nor comfortably carried in a hand-bag; and even if one or the other could be done, one would have to fear meeting some band of rascals whose cupidity would surely be kindled by the beauty of the manuscript and it would perhaps thus be lost to me and to you. Accordingly I can myself lend the volume to you most safely as soon as, if God will, we can come together in safety somewhere, and will do so.

CHAPTER X

THE EXPANSION AND COLONIZATION OF THE NORSE PEOPLES *

The expansion in the ninth century of the Norse peoples—the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians—is one of the most important subjects in medieval history. Properly interpreted it was a movement of emigration, conquest, and colonization in new lands, which had a later parallel in the expansion of European peoples beyond the sea in the sixteenth century. And like that movement, the Norse expansion found its sources and impulses in economic interest, in social condition, in the spirit of adventure and discovery.

In order to understand the reasons for the vast exodus of these hardy peoples in the ninth century it is necessary to know something of the nature of the countries in which they dwelt, and their primitive way of living. For their physical environment greatly influenced their migration.

The peninsula of Denmark, the home of the Danes, was little more than a sand-spit covered with moor and dense beech and oak forests. Only here and there, in glades, were there any cultivable tracts. The people dwelt along the coast, in villages on bays and coves of purple water which gave upon the sea, and sustained themselves chiefly by fishing and piracy. The Scandinavian peninsula was no less inhospitable to live in than Denmark. A glance at the map shows that the axis of it is a rugged mountain range, that the coasts are deeply indented with fjords and fringed by rocky islands, that Sweden is a land of a thousand lakes and that the habitable portion of both Norway and Sweden is a narrow seaboard. The thin and stony soil, the narrow zone of arable land even today is insufficient to support the population. How much more insufficient must it have been centuries ago for a people which emerged out of the Bronze age within historic times, which though possessed of remarkable craftsmanship in fashioning weapons and building boats, was yet from the point of view of material civilization still in a rudimentary state?

From remote times the Norse must all have been a seafaring people. From fishery and whaling they quite naturally, being a warlike people, took to piracy when occasion offered. At first they probably preyed upon

* MAP. There is no adequate map to illustrate this chapter, but see Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 45 and 58.

one another, but as they acquired familiarity with the sea they crept farther and farther down the coasts and at last ventured across the Baltic and the North Sea, and so discovered new lands. The settlement of the Low Saxons, the Jutes, the Angles in Britain in the fifth century anticipated what the Danes performed in the ninth century in both England and France.

War and piracy were vocations of the free Norsemen. They left to churls, as a saga records, the "breaking of oxen and making plows and timbering houses, smithing, building carts, and driving the plow." To do with ships, fishing, chasing the whale, trading, warfare, and piracy if need be, were the pursuits of freemen. But the Norseman did not always come as a wild sea-robber. Often he was a peaceful trader who resorted to war only under necessity. The merchant was not a pirate; he bought or bartered, but was always quite capable of defending his goods. A sharp line was not drawn between the warrior caste and the mercantile class. We find the chieftains themselves enjoying the profits of commerce and not ashamed of it.

The east and channel coast of England, and the channel coast of Frisia and of France, were the first objects of attack. It is worth observing that the physical topography both of eastern England and of northern and western France made them peculiarly vulnerable to these rovers, for in the former the estuaries of the Humber and the Thames and the great bay of the Wash, in the latter the mouths of the Scheldt, the Seine, the Loire, the estuary of the Gironde, opened the heart of the country to their forays. In France, where with the exception of the Garonne, the rivers radiate like spokes from a hub, and where in the centre the waters of the upper Seine, the upper Loire, the upper Meuse, and the upper Saône are not many leagues apart, the Norsemen moved almost at will, penetrating far up the rivers and even dragging their boats overland, coming up one stream and going down another.

The stages in the intensification of these raids can be clearly marked and are significant because they show a progressive change from mere foray to permanent settlement and ultimate colonization in large numbers. In England this change appears in 851 when the Danes first wintered in Thanet. The treaty of Wedmore in 879 which divided England in twain and ceded the whole eastern part of England from the estuary of the Thames to the Tees to the Danes for settlement marks the turning point between invasion and colonization.

When the Viking raids ceased to be the scourge of the English coast, there followed in the wake of the Viking dragon the ships of burden with peaceful traders on board laden with furs from Norway and fish from Iceland to be exchanged for England's wool, honey, malt, and wheat. Chester, Bristol, Yarmouth, London developed intercourse with Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. This intercourse must have been con-

siderable, as a law was passed in Iceland concerning the property of English traders who died there. The *Ere-Dwellers Saga* gives an account of a ship coming from Dublin to Snowfellness in Broadfirth, about 1000 A. D., whose folk were Erse, South-Islanders, and a few Northmen. Among these was one Thorbunna from the Hebrides who brought with her bedclothes "all excellently wrought"—English sheets, a silken quilt, bed curtains, and bed gear, the like of which had never been seen in Iceland.

The Danish colonists that came to England during the Danish ascendancy in England were influential in connecting England with the Scandinavian countries through trade. As the leading merchants they were also influential in establishing new towns at centres suitable for commerce. Canute the Great (1000–1035) made various important commercial treaties with different foreign nations. We find evidence of the influence of Scandinavian merchants in their numbers and importance in several English towns, especially London, where they had their own churches, markets, and courts of law. They also had great influence in York. The names of several of the streets of York end in "gate." Formerly there were in York at least a score of such streets and it is hardly possible that there were that many "gates." "It becomes a question therefore if gate was not derived from the old Scandinavian *gata* (street), particularly when it appears in compound names such as Petersgate (Petersgade), Marygate (Mariegade), Fishergate (Fiskergade), etc., which bear a striking resemblance to Scandinavian names of streets."

In the Frankish Empire the Danes first permanently established themselves in Friesland in 850. But already their ravages in Frankish Gaul had been serious, more serious than in England during the same time. In 835 Duurstede was burned. In 836 Antwerp—the earliest mention of it—was burned. In 845 Paris was plundered, and again in 857. Practically all the important towns along the coasts or great waterways of France were pillaged, some of them several times, by the Norsemen in the ninth century—Amiens, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Tours, Chartres, Blois, Bordeaux and even Narbonne, Marseilles, and Valence. For their ships rounded Spain and entered the Mediterranean. In 860 Pisa in Italy was attacked.

However, there was another side to the incursions of the Norsemen in France: strange as it may seem, trade was stimulated by them and new markets opened; France's commerce instead of being diminished perhaps was improved, and profound economic and social results flowed from the Norse invasions. The Danes were old trading acquaintances of the Frisians, trading furs and wax for German iron, Frisian cloth, and wine from the Rhinelands. The *Life* of Anskar, the first apostle of the north, to the Danes, is rich in this kind of information. "The north-

ern vikings were not only wild sea-rovers; they were also enterprising merchants who sought to get riches in every way. . . . Although the sources for the history of this time are very scant, we still see in them an intense commercial activity prevailed in the ninth century."

It remains to follow the clue to this important phase of Norse history, given long ago by Dudo, the first historian of Normandy, when he puts into the mouth of Rolf, first duke of Normandy, the significant words: *"Vendendi atque sequestram pacem petimus"* ("We seek trade and a peace which will profit us").

We have seen in the previous chapter that a greater amount of commerce than has usually been thought was carried on in France in the reign of Charles the Bald. In some places this trade actually seems to have been stimulated by the invasions. The capitularies of Charles frequently and vainly prohibited traffic with the Norsemen, especially sale of arms and horses. Their armies were dogged by adventurous peddlers and wandering merchants. We find the instance of a peddler who "traveled with a single ass from town to town with them, and whatever he bought in one place he sold at a higher price in another place."

Sometimes the commercial relations of the Norsemen savored of greater refinement than piracy and plundering. For example, in 873, when Ludwig the German was at Bürstadt near Worms, Siegfried, the Danish king and co-ruler with his brother Halfdan—they were sons of Horich II of Denmark—came thither *"pacis faciendæ gratia . . . et ut negotiatores utriusque regni . . . mercimonia . . . emerent et venderent pacifice."* [1] In the same year the Northmen of the Loire agreed to evacuate Nantes on a fixed day, and not to commit plunder or pillage, provided that in the meantime their market was unmolested. In 882, during the negotiations which followed Charles the Fat's siege of Elsloo, the gates of the Norse camp were thrown open and some of the Franks ventured in for purposes of trade.

The enormous amount of plunder secured by the invaders seems often to have made markets spring up, as it were, overnight. Article 19 of the capitulary of Pîtres in 864 shows this. In it Charles sought to ascertain what markets formerly existed; whether with or without royal sanction; and what new ones had been recently opened. There is a case of a soldier who seized the wine some villagers had stored in the church for safety, and started a tavern there—*"quasi tabernam constituens in eadem ecclesia, paribus suis illud vendere coepit."* Evidently commerce could not have suffered everywhere in France, and on the other hand in many places must have been stimulated. The Northmen undoubtedly disturbed things seriously, but often sold their booty in the land. New markets must have arisen through the decay of old ones or by the change of loca-

[1] ". . . in order to make peace and that the merchants of each kingdom might buy and sell peacefully."

tion in the case of established places too greatly exposed. We have a particular instance of this kind of thing in the grant made by Charles the Bald to Robert the Strong of a considerable number of possessions on the right bank of the Loire River near Tours, among them Briga, where later the fair of St. Bartholomew arose, and the church of St. Symphorien, with a harbor. The market there and the harbor duties were a profitable source of revenue. This was in 861.

Again: the immense sums of money which the Northmen extorted from the coffers of the Church and the nobles in the form of *danegeld* must sometimes have had a tonic effect upon trade. Since the decline of the Roman Empire, Gaul, in common with all the West, had experienced an enormous reduction in the amount of currency in circulation. Most of it had been drawn off to the East, or else hoarded. Now it was forcibly brought into the light of day. Clipped as much of the coin was, it yet seems to have stimulated trade. Free workmen still survived in France. The Edict of Pîtres (864) shows it, though they undoubtedly tended to diminish.

One may date Frankish appreciation of the seriousness of the Norse invasions from 862, the year in which Charles the Bald ordered the general erection of castles throughout his northern provinces. By that time the Norse were in *de facto* possession of the whole Channel coast, from which the Frank proprietary class must have been expelled, though much of the servile peasantry must have remained. "The left bank of the Seine was nearly abandoned by the inhabitants and consequently such of the invaders as chose to remain had ample room to colonize; neither does it appear that the people, especially the peasantry, were always averse to them. The Northmen plundered and ravaged, but there are always a great many who have nothing to lose by being plundered and ravaged." By 912 it was manifest to both government and Church that the day had come when the Norsemen could neither be fought off nor be bought off by payment of *danegeld*. They were fighting for land to live in and the right to trade where they willed. Charles the Simple in that year ceded to Rolf the whole Channel coast extending from the Somme to the edge of Brittany. The land was measured off with a rope after the Norse method of survey and divided among the settlers. The great fief of Normandy was created. The greatest Norse colony ever founded entered upon a history which was to carry Norman influence across Channel to England, south to create a Norman dynasty in southern Italy and Sicily; and Norman influence was to mark deeply the history of Spain and the Holy Land.

In ever widening circles the Norsemen expanded throughout the ninth century. Not only France and England, but Scotland, the Faroe, the Shetland, the Orkney islands, Ireland, and Iceland, felt the recoil of the battle of Hafrsfjord (872), where Harold Fairhair broke the power of

the rival jarls. "Scores of chieftains fled the country, taking with them wives, children, slaves, free-born, bonded followers, household goods, and gear, everything that could be put on board a ship." In Ireland they settled in Armagh as early as 830 and soon established a kingdom in Dublin which lasted until 1014. The Irish knew them as Ostmen. For two centuries the internecine strife of clan with clan in Ireland enabled the Norse to hold their own and to spread. They raided Munster till "there was not a harbor, nor a landing port, nor a dun, nor a fortress, nor a fastness in all Munster, without fleets of Denmarkers and pirates." However, despite their activity, they were never able to convert Ireland into a "Normandy."

The Norse were a great commercial factor in the life of Ireland. Unable to conquer the island, they naturally clung to the coasts, where trade could be developed. Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, if not of Norse foundation, owe their first importance to the Ostmen. From these towns trade was carried on, not only with towns near by, such as Bristol and Chester, but with far-away countries. They had very close connection with the southern wine districts of France. This wine trade was so important that by 900 there were laws in Munster regulating it. Many foreign merchants were to be found in Dublin. Norway and Iceland both had close communication with Ireland. An Icelander as early as the ninth century was called Rafn Limerick-fahrer because he traveled (*fahren*) between Iceland and Limerick. The sagas mention other Icelanders who sailed to Dublin as merchants. That Irish merchants visited Iceland is proved by the *Ere-dwellers Saga*: "The same summer that Christ's faith was made law in Iceland, a ship came from over the sea to Snowfellness, a keel of Dublin."

Iceland was practically unknown to the civilized world before 860, although Irish missionaries had been there before the Norse. In 870 Ingolf, a Norwegian, after staying in Iceland one winter, returned to Norway for his stock and possessions and in 874 settled in the place now called Reykjavik, the present capital of Iceland.

The new land speedily became a haven of the victims of Harold Fairhair's victory. But besides the discontented chieftains, who fared abroad and settled Iceland, the *Laxdaela Saga* tells us that some were attracted thither by the report that "there was a good choice of land there, and no need to buy cattle," and that "there was much whale-jetsam, and salmon fisheries and fishing-banks, good all the year round."

Not all of Iceland was settled by the people of Norway. A glance through the list of land settlements, given in the first volume of Vigfusson and Powell's *Origines Islandicæ*, will show from how many different countries the settlers came. Aside from Norway, perhaps the next largest number came from the British Isles, Scotland and Ireland furnishing the larger number of these. The Hebrides, Orkney, Shet-

land, and Faroe islands furnished their quota, as did also Flanders, Denmark, and Sweden. Not all of the settlers who went from these countries were native to the country from which they emigrated. Many were Norwegians who had come "west-oversea," had remained a little while in the Orkneys or Shetlands or Ireland, and had then gone on to Iceland. For example, Auth the Deep-Minded, daughter of Ketil Flatneb of Norway and wife of Olaf the White, king of Dublin, was in Caithness for some years, and finally "she had a merchant-ship built secretly in the wood, and when the ship was finished, she fitted out the ship, and took much riches in chattels with her," and went to Iceland about 892. Auth's brother, Bjorn the Easterner, came from Norway to the Hebrides, remained two winters, and in 886 fared on to Iceland. Those who came from these western islands settled chiefly in the west, the north, and the northwest of the island.

Once settlement was begun it went on rapidly, most of the habitable parts of the island being taken by 930. Even by 900 the better parts of the island were settled. "In those days [900] was all Broadfirth settled," as was also much of the rest.

In early times, when Iceland was to a great extent a "no man's land," choice of land was made by casting overboard the seat pillars. Wherever these drifted ashore, there the settlement was made. In later times this custom was changed and land was taken by some form of contract. Usually the lands were taken by chieftains, "according to dignity," though lots were sometimes cast. Possession was taken of the land by "hallowing the land to one's self" by fire, a custom which consisted in going round one's land with a burning brand in the hand. To prevent one individual from taking more than his share of land, King Harold soon made a ruling that no one should take more land to himself than he, with his crew, could carry fire across in a day. Obviously the lands taken by chieftains were extensive, covering in the case of very powerful chieftains, immense tracts of territory. These tracts the chieftains gave out as gifts to their kinsmen and friends, the chieftain and his descendants becoming hereditary chiefs over the land. The land being taken possession of, it followed that there should be built the house and temple, the necessary buildings of every chieftain.

When the houses were built, and even before, it was necessary that the settlers bestir themselves to prepare food for the long cold winters. This leads us to a discussion of the foodstuffs and products of the island. The staple articles of food were meat and dairy products. The meat spoken of was usually fish and flesh meat. The fish consisted of trout, stockfish, salmon, or whale flesh. Hogs did not thrive in Iceland, so the flesh meat was mutton, beef, or horsemeat. Of the dairy products, cheese curds and milk were the most common. The chief cereal food of the common folks was groats.

Fish was the most profitable of Icelandic products. Surrounded by water, the people were by nature a fishing folk, and the many bays and firths, especially in western Iceland, afforded ample opportunity for the pursuit of this industry, which was followed sometimes to the detriment of other pursuits, as, for example, when Floki in the second half of the ninth century sailing into Waters-firth found the firth so "full of fish" (fish, seals, and whales) that "for the sake of the fishing they took no heed to make hay and all their livestock died in the winter." Fishing was the business of the housewife for the support of her family; it was also a profitable industry at which many an Icelander became wealthy, as is shown by the success of Thorstein "Codbiter" in the first half of the tenth century. The *Ere-Dwellers Saga* tells us that he "became a man of the greatest largesse; he had ever with him sixty freedmen; he was a great gatherer of household stuff, and was ever going a-fishing." An even better example is Odd Ufeigson, who in the middle of the eleventh century, leaving home with only "a line, . . . a set of fishing gear, and twelve ells of wadmal," bought on credit of a company of fishermen in Waterness a fishing outfit and in three winters and three summers "had paid back all that he had borrowed and had gained for himself a good trading penny withal." Then he took to carrying goods, bought the use of a "keel," later owned the "keel," and grew rich by fishing and carrying goods between Midfirth and the Strands. Finally he was able to fare abroad, owning his own ships of burden, and was soon reputed the wealthiest man in Iceland.

Next to fishing, the most common industry seems to have been sheep-raising. Every great chieftain had some wethers which were turned out in summer to graze on the pastures of the mountain-sides and brought back in harvest-tide, by men whose business it was to go in search of them, to the lowland and valley pastures where they might be fed at stall through the cold months, or if the winter was too severe they might be driven south over the heath where the pastures were better, as were the sheep of the men of Bitter about 1000. However, those in charge of the sheep were not always able to return the whole fold. Often many were missing and many weary days would be spent in hunting them. Often, too, the missing sheep caused trouble between neighboring chieftains, one suspecting another of being responsible for their disappearance.

Cattle-raising must have been common though the Sagas mention it very seldom. Horses of all kinds abounded everywhere. Some were used for food, being slaughtered in harvest-tide; some were used for packing hay upon; some were called wood horses, those carrying driftwood much as the hay. There were no roads in early Iceland, but there were many bridle paths on which the horses formed practically the only means of traffic, all land journeys being made either on foot or on horseback.

The domestic animals, besides the sheep, horse, and cow, were chiefly fowl and falcon. Of the wild animals the reindeer and bear were perhaps more numerous.

Some grain was raised, but the chief product was hay. Hay was absolutely necessary for all the stock, especially during the winter, and as the summers were very short, much depended on the grass being harvested in time. Harvest-time came usually in the month of August. In case the hay crop failed, as it sometimes did in a wet season, starvation faced the livestock. In hard times those who had hay were usually forced to sell it; tenants were supposed to pay rent in hay; when the crop failed some of the livestock was killed.

We have already seen that Icelandic merchants visited England. In the second half of the twelfth century the Icelandic merchants erected a lighthouse at Sanda in the Hebrides. In the biography of an Icelandic bishop, we find mention of the Icelandic trade with Lynn and other ports in eastern England. In 1224 Icelandic ships were in the harbor of Yarmouth.

Norwegians were in the majority of the foreigners that traded with Iceland and controlled more and more the exports of Iceland; and this greater economic dependence of Iceland on Norway led to the political union of the two countries in 1262–64. Bergen then became the market of Icelandic products. The shortest route from Norway to Iceland was from Cape Stead to Horn on the east coast of Iceland, but the most commonly used route was one from Bergen north of the Shetland and Faroe islands, around the southwestern coast of Iceland, and into the firth on which is located the present capital.

The saga references to Norse connections with the various countries in which the Norse settled are not always exact in this early period. Many times mention is made only that "that summer a ship came out to Lavahavemouth and another to Daymealness," without mentioning whence it came or who sailed it. But while the saga references are not always exact they are sufficiently numerous to give an idea of the enormous radiation of Norse commerce. Markets seem to have been in every port of the Scandinavian world.

Commercial relations were established between the Swedes, whose port of Birka (now called Björkö) was eighteen miles west of Stockholm, and Haddeby in Schleswig and Duurstede in Frisia early in the ninth century. St. Anskar, the Apostle of the North, in the reign of Louis the Pious, traveled with some traders of Duurstede to Birka, which, we are told in the *Vita Anskari,* "contained many rich merchants and a large amount of goods and money." Hamburg and Haddeby traders frequently visited Birka.

The natural way of Swedish expansion was across the Baltic and not toward the west. The *Life* of Anskar again tells us that the Swedes

subdued five towns in the "kingdom of the Kori" (modern Kurland), of which Seleburg on the Duna and Pilten on the Windawa are mentioned. Here also were found "Christian merchants," probably Frankish, from Duurstede or Haddeby, seeking furs and amber.

The great gateway, however, into the vast and vague Land of the Slavs was through the Gulf of Finland, and before the middle of the ninth century the "Rūs" (a Finnish word meaning "rowers," applied by the Fins to the Swedes and borrowed by the Slavs) had established themselves at Holmgaard on Lake Ilmen, which later became known as Old or Great Novgorod.

Novgorod and Kiev on the lower Dnieper became Swedish military and trading colonies in Russia, like Dublin in Ireland and Rouen in France. They were colonies of military merchants imposed upon a Slavonic population. From Novgorod to the Black Sea a natural water route was open via the Volkhov and Dnieper rivers, which the Rūs soon discovered—the famous Varangian Route. Although the meaning of this word is equivalent to "Norse" or "Scandinavian" it came to have an economic significance. The Varangian Route became the great link between northern Europe and the Orient. Not only Byzantium but the Baghdad Khalifate was united with the Baltic lands. For the Volga carried these adventurous traders of Novgorod down to Itil (modern Astrakhan) at the head of the Caspian, where trade connection with Arab merchants from Baghdad was established. The Rūs soon found out the colonies of Byzantine merchants along the north coast of the Black Sea and mercilessly plundered them. They even endangered Constantinople in the summer of 865 while the emperor was engaged in fighting the Saracens. It was a result of this southward expansion that the necessity of a halfway station between Novgorod and the Euxine was perceived and solved by the Norse capture of Kiev in 852 (?), which then was tributary to the Khazars. This date is important as the initial date in the formation of Russia. For Russia was another "Normandy," established in the heart of the Slav world by Swedish conquerors.

It is hardly possible to overestimate the influence of the Norse upon medieval history. They lifted the whole north of Europe above the horizon of the unknown into the known. Their colonization of Russia, France, and England knitted north and south together and created a wider, greater Europe than before. In spite of the fact that these colonies were independent of one another and of the motherlands which gave them birth, nevertheless a close cultural unity prevailed over the whole north. Men could freely travel in this vast Norse empire from Greenland to the Caspian and the Black Sea, by fishing smack, trading brig, river barge of merchants or by horse. The speech of Dane, Norwegian, and Swede was so nearly identical that the Scandinavian tongue carried

a man where he willed. Merchants and soldiers of fortune traveled in companies, and their numbers and prowess were sufficient to ensure protection of life and property. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, England, northern France, the "kingdom" of Dublin, Iceland, the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Faroes, Kurland, Russia—even Greenland—were as provinces in one vague and vast Norse empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which had the intangible unity that Anglo-Saxondom has today.

The most concrete unity was probably that of commerce. No international exchange of wares comparable to it had been seen since the decline of the Roman Empire. Northern furs, whale and walrus ivory were sold in the Black Sea ports, Kiev, Novgorod, and Astrakhan for oriental silks, sugar, spices, jade, ointments, cosmetics, and the luxuries of the East. Fish from Iceland and whale oil from Greenland were sold in Biscayan and Spanish ports.

The closure of the western basin of the Mediterranean by Arabic seapower, as we have seen, had obstructed this Levantine trade in the south, so that grass grew in the streets of the port towns of the west coast of Italy and southern France, like Pisa, Genoa, and Marseilles, and their harbors were deserted. For many years Venice was the only western port. directly connected with the Levant. Accordingly a gigantic quantity of the oriental trade passed over the routes across the Caspian and Black seas and the Caspian Isthmus into Russia, whence it was distributed over the Baltic and northern lands. Until the end of the eleventh century, when the savage Kumans over-ran southern Russia and interrupted this trade, until the maritime cities of Italy cleared the Mediterranean of Mohammedan corsairs in this same century, until the Crusades after 1099 established an "open door" policy for the Latin and German West and opened the ports of Syria and Palestine to western merchants, this Russ-Norse commerce is the cardinal commercial fact of medieval history. In the eleventh century Kiev had eight markets and was the great middleman between the Baghdad Khalifate, Egypt, Syria, Byzantium, and central, northern, and western Europe. The Baltic and North seas became, as it were, the double basin of a northern Mediterranean, and London, Bremen, Bruges, Hamburg, Lübeck, Stettin, Wisby, Danzig, grew to be important places of commerce. The Varangian Route via the Dnieper, the Volkhov and Lake Ilmen rivaled the old Rhine and Rhone routes through the waist of Europe as a line of trade between north and south Europe. Novgorod was a Venice in the north. Literally thousands of Byzantine, Arabic, Egyptian, Cufic, and even Indian coins have been found on these roads along with Anglo-Danish, Norman, French, and German coins.

The skill and daring of the Norse peoples in this commercial enterprise as seamen and navigators must not be omitted. Their long ships were far different vessels from the Mediterranean galleys. They were

propelled by sails or oars according to circumstances, and the masters were far more weather-wise and water-wise than southern mariners. A Norseman could tell by the color of the water, the flow of the tide, even the slant of the wind, how far off and in what direction the coast might be. He would have scorned to creep timidly from headland to headland, island to island, lest he lose his directions, or to anchor at night as Mediterranean sailors did. Fog and reef bred caution, but they did not daunt him. His technique equaled his spirit. No southern sailor knew the art of tacking as the Norsemen did, although perhaps they had not discovered the trick so early as the ninth century. Sea power, sea law, the art of navigation as developed later in northern waters by the ships of England and of the Hanseatic League, all go back to Norse tradition. It was a goodly heritage.

CHAPTER XI

SAXON AND SALIAN GERMANY (919–1125)*

THE upward cycle of economic development in feudal Germany quite naturally is a curve, each sector of which roughly corresponds to the period of rule of each of the three imperial houses. The Saxon epoch (919–1024) was almost wholly agricultural and agrarian. There are many concrete evidences of the prosperity of Germany in the Saxon period. One of these is the increase of population, which, slow in the tenth century, became rapid in the eleventh. Another is the importance of the river traffic, especially on the Rhine. Echeloned along this stream from the Alps to the sea was a long series of ancient episcopal cities like Basel, Strassburg, whose bishop Erkembald in 965 formulated a remarkable code in which regulation of trade fills a large part, Worms, Speyer, Mainz, Cologne (*urbs nobilis et opulenta*), Utrecht. Comparable with the episcopal cities in economic importance were the royal *Pfalzen* like Coblenz, Bonn, Andernach, Wiesbaden. Along the Moselle on the west and the Neckar and Main on the east, other trade flowed into the Rhine stream from Treves, Frankfort, and Würzburg. Important articles of trade were hops, woodenware from Alsace, Frisian cloth from Friesland, the business in which was so important that there was a street named after the Frisians in Mainz. Cologne was famous as the centre of the iron trade, the metal being brought down in ingots from the mines in Thuringia.

Before turning to the general economic and social history of Germany at large in the Saxon period it is just that one first observes what Henry the Fowler did for Saxony itself. As Saxony was the last conquest of the Franks, it was the newest and the youngest duchy in the German kingdom. Barely more than a century had elapsed since the Saxons had abandoned the worship of Thor and Woden for the Christian religion. The Frankish government, while originally hard and severe, had nevertheless not obliterated ancient Saxon customs, institutions, traditions, nor had feudalism yet struck deep roots into Saxon soil. While prædial serfdom existed on the great manors of the Church and those of the highest nobles, often Frank or half-Frank in blood, nobility in Saxony was still, as of old, a social quality and did not imply or require patrimonial proprietorship. Many Saxon nobles lived like rough coun-

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 62–63.

EUROPE AND THE
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
ABOUT 1000
C. COUNTY: D. DUCHY: K. KINGDOM
M. MARCH: TH. THEME
ROUTE OF THE VARANGIANS
100 50 0 100 200 300
MILES
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
K. OF SCOTLAND
EDINBURGH
North Sea
IRELAND
K. OF DENMARK
WALES
ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOM
LONDON
English Channel
FRIESLAND
HAMBURG
SAXONY
LOWER LORRAINE
UPPER LORRAINE
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
PARIS
FRANCIA
ORLEANS
CHAMPAGNE
BURGUNDY
F. FRANCE
D. OF AQUITAINE
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
LOMBARDY
CARINTHIA
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY
KINGDOM OF LEON
K. OF CASTILE
K. OF NAVARRE
D. OF GASCONY
TOULOUSE
BARCELONA
SARACENIC POSSESSIONS
KHALIFATE OF CORDOVA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
DOMINION OF THE FATIMITES
Strait of Gibraltar
Tagus R.
Ebro R.
45
35
0
10 EAST

Bolgars
Route of the Varangians
Esthonians
NOVGOROD
Volga R.
Livonians
Lithuanians
Düna R.
SMOLENSK
RUSSIA
Mordvins
MINSK
Prussians
PINSK
Pripet R.
TCHERNIGOV
Vistula R.
POLAND
CRACOW
KIEV
Dnieper R.
Route of the Varangians
Don R.
Volga R.
Dniester R.
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
PRESBURG
Pruth R.
Petchenegs
TRANSYLVANIA
Caucasus Mts.
Black Sea
BELGRADE
Save R.
SERBIA
VIDIN
Danube R.
VARNA
TIRNOVA
BULGARIA
SOFIA
RAGUSA
STRYMON
ADRIANOPLE
MACEDONIA
THRACE
CONSTANTINOPLE
PAPHLAGONIA
ARMENIA
CHALDEA
BUCELLARIA
OPTIMATON
CHARSIANON
SEBASTEA
COLONEA
MESOPOTAMIA
NICAEA
DURAZZO
TH. OF DYRRHACHIUM
SALONICA
OPSICIAN THEME
LYCANDOS
CAPPADOCIA
EDESSA
DOMINION OF THE HAMDANIDS
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
ANATOLIA
THRACESIAN THEME
ICONIUM
SMYRNA
CILICIA
TARSUS
ALEPPO
ANTIOCH
EPHESUS
GREECE
ATHENS
ARGOS
PELOPONNESSUS
AEGEAN ISLANDS
TH. OF SAMOS
TH. OF THE CIBYRRHAEOTS
SELEUCIA
Rhodes
TH OF Cyprus
TH. OF Crete
DAMASCUS
JERUSALEM
SYRIA

try squires, farming their own acres—it was merit in Saxon eyes that Wala so did in the reign of Louis the Pious—respected and looked up to by their less rich neighbors, but not feared.

The body of the Saxon people was free, farming the fields either as freeholders or as tenants, and more interested in the weather than in war. There were few towns except Erfurt. Down to the time of Charlemagne history makes no explicit mention of any town in Saxony, though there is ground to think that Bardowick and Merseburg, possibly Paderborn, may so be regarded. Even the sites of the bishoprics and abbeys were hardly more than overgrown villages. Hamburg, Bardowick, Magdeburg, Halle, Erfurt, were frontier posts against the Wend. The free peasantry dwelt in rambling, open villages along the streams and in the open plains as their forefathers before them. They were a farming population, whose proudest production was horses, for which Saxony was famous. Charlemagne, as a precaution, had destroyed the few ancient Saxon strongholds (*firmitates*), like Hohensyburg, Stadtberge, and the Eresburg, the last fastness of Widukind, and nothing but the ruins of these structures remained.

By 896 the Magyars, kindred to the ancient Huns and the more recent Avars, had settled on both banks of the Theiss River, whence they spread over the great plain in the angle of the Danube. Henceforward for fifty years their depredations were a terror both for eastern Germany and for northern Italy. Their incursions in these countries had precisely the same effect that the Norse invasions had had upon France in the previous century, namely castle building and town walling. In 900 Ennsburg in Bavaria was built out of the stones of the old Roman walls of Castra Batava (Passau). During the last years of the German Carolingians the depredations of the Magyars had been confined to southern Germany, which they swept from the Inn to the Rhine, the valley of the Danube serving as a natural road of ingress. Germany resorted to fortification in order to protect itself. When these inroads began, the walls of the ancient Roman cities in the Rhine and Danube lands had long since fallen into decay, the cloisters were rambling agglomerations of buildings for various uses, the *Pfalzen* of king and nobles were exposed farms, the villages open hamlets.

In the sudden and universal distress the hastily repaired old Roman walls of Regensburg, Augsburg, Cambrai, and Metz afforded the first shelter. These measures, combined with the diminution of the amount of booty in the older provinces of Germany owing to repeated raids by the Magyars, gradually diverted them from the Rhine and Danube regions into Saxony. The open villages, the unwalled episcopal towns and monasteries, the former destruction of all the strongholds which the Saxons had once possessed, now exposed Saxony terribly to their attacks. Moreover, the Saxons, like the primitive Germans, still fought on

foot in serried ranks, and these invaders were mounted. Brave as the Saxons were, they had no chance against such a foe.

This Henry I clearly perceived and promptly acted upon. The problem was not unlike that of Gaul in the time of Charles Martel when he faced the Saracens, or that of Charles the Bald in the ninth century when the Norse ravaged France. But the result was different. In France the crown was so weak that it had to leave the erection of fortifications to private initiative, and the builders of them soon made themselves independent of the crown's authority. In Germany, on the other hand, Henry I was every inch a king. While his methods of rule, as was natural in a feudal age, were very feudal in form, his feudal government was strong. Henry I authorized and superintended the erection of these strongholds. To this end he purchased peace of the Magyar by tribute for nine years, and in the interval built those famous *Burgwärde* in Thuringia and Saxony which guarded the line of the Saale and the Werra and have made his name famous.

These *Burgwärde* were not like the French castles. They were not separate *châteaux* erected on the private lands of the nobles. They were not primarily a family fortification, as in France, but were designed to protect the community. This is manifested in the different terminology. In France we find the words *castellum* and *castrum,* more rarely *oppidum.* But in Germany the words are *urbs, civitas, municipium.* The social unit so fortified was a *Pfalz,* often a cloister, or a bishop's seat which had become the centre of a population round about it. This community function distinguishes these *Burgwärde* both from French castles and from blockhouses which were erected along the frontier. They were not like either; they were neither castles nor posts, but walled communities. Thus the monasteries of Quedlinburg, Memleben, Hersfeld, Corvey were fortified, and the episcopal cities, Merseburg, Minden, Halberstadt, Verden, Bremen, Paderborn, Hildesheim, Naumburg, Magdeburg, Worms, Cologne, Cambrai, Liège were surrounded with walls in Saxon times. Some of them, like Nordhausen, Poehlde, Duderstadt, Grona were walled localities on the ducal domain. These walls were not, as might be supposed, made of stone. The craft of stone-cutting and masonry was still too undeveloped in the tenth century in medieval Germany for the erection of stone structures. Even the churches were yet of wood. The walls were palisades made of tree trunks set upright in the ground, bound firmly together and braced by wooden towers at the angles. Sometimes there was a double palisade, and a larger tower or citadel within the enclosure.

Every ninth freeman of the population was required to do military service for a year, and was part of the garrison established in each *Burgward.* The bulk of the people remained as of old in the open country, but for greater security a third portion of the produce of each region

was stored within the *Burg;* in it also all *concilia, conventus,* and *convivia* were to be held. Henry I by concentrating trade and social activities within these protected places, if he did not found "towns," yet powerfully contributed to their later development. For naturally such places became preferable places to live in or near, and early developed a commercial importance. In consequence it was not long before the narrow compass of territory within the girdling walls soon became densely populated, so that we find an overflowed population dwelling just outside the town walls in faubourgs (*Pfahlburgen*). Meissen and Merseburg grew to such proportions as to have a *faubourg* in Otto I's time. Yet two generations before the first Saxon king, Hamburg had a faubourg population and Merseburg, to judge from its other name, Altenburg, must also have been an old town with a new town grown up beside it in Henry's time.

A shower of market,[1] toll, and mint rights in the reigns of Henry I, Otto I, and Henry II testifies to the growth of commerce and trade in the Saxon period. In one of Hrotswitha's poems we even find allusion to a country fair. Henry II (1002–24) seems to have bestowed market rights as compensation to the monasteries for his appropriation of their lands to the fisc. Six bishops also obtained authority to establish markets within their dioceses: Bremen, Osnabrück, Halberstadt in Saxony; Würzburg, Worms, Speyer in Franconia. Roads through forests and over mountains connected the places favorably situated for trade. This trade centred on the markets, the distinguishing characteristic of the towns. Many towns had an annual market and smaller frequently recurring markets for the sale of the daily necessities of life. In the weekly or daily markets the sale of meat and grain played an important part. The larger annual markets took care of the industrial products. Pack peddlers traversed the rural districts. In the large cities the Jews, whose life was wholly mercantile, had warehouses and magazines. Local trade was lively throughout the whole of Germany in Saxon times, but of much greater significance in the older West than in the newer East.

The distinctive characteristic of the wider trade was that it was conducted by a professional merchant class. Of varying social origin, its basis was undoubtedly the Jews. The settlement of these merchants was desired and favored everywhere. Their best protectors were the kings. The principal home commodities were grain, cattle, salt, wine, fish, cloth, saddles, weapons, hides of sheep and goats, shoes, cheese, copper, wax, cooking utensils, and bread. The most important commercial centres were Ulm, Regensburg, and Passau on the Danube, Mainz and Cologne on the Rhine, and Bremen, Bardowick, Madgeburg, Merseburg, and Halle in Saxony. Cologne, the great seaport of Germany, as early as the

[1] In medieval Latin, *mercatus* meant first "market right" and later a market *place,* but rarely abstract commerce.

eleventh century had six hundred merchants. Mainz, the *"aureum regni caput,"* had a large market where the products of every country of Europe were exchanged. Even before the First Crusade, it may be said that commercial life in certain localities already overshadowed agricultural life.

The collection of tolls upon the Rhine was a medieval practice without precedent in Roman administration. The Romans had collected taxes with a purely fiscal purpose, not an economic one. They did not impose river tolls and the Rhine was a free river. But all this organization disappeared. From the eighth century forward a principle of taxation prevailed according to which tolls were imposed for economic reasons; they were intended to defray the cost of improvement and security of navigation. The right to charter markets and to control commerce was an original imperial prerogative. The Saxon emperors established toll stations along the Rhine in virtue of this *Oberzollregel.* These bureaus were usually located at difficult passages in the stream where vessels naturally were compelled to go slowly or to stop. Like other offices they became fiefs. The tolls were generally paid in kind, i.e., some quota of the cargo. The commonest exaction was one *Fuder* of wine, as wine was the commonest sort of freight. The Saxon and Salian periods were favorable to the commerce of the Rhine because the revenues were expended for the maintenance of navigation; but during the long minority of Henry IV many of these toll stations were seized by bishops and other lords and their revenues privately appropriated. Henry IV's popularity with the Rhenish cities and his corresponding unpopularity with some of the Rhenish bishops (notably Anno of Cologne) and feudal barons living on the banks of the Rhine, was partly due to his revindication of these stations.

The foreign trade of Germany centred in the frontier cities: for Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland in Regensburg; for the Baltic region in Halle and Magdeburg; for the northern countries and England in Hamburg and Bremen. In the neighboring countries, Hungary, Poland, Russia, the merchants were all Germans. In South Germany the Danube was the natural artery of commerce, and here Augsburg and Regensburg were preëminent. The continuity of Regensburg's trade can be proved from Roman times. Its merchant colony seems never to have expired and in the tenth century this grew strong from the double territorial expansion of German power down the Danube, especially after the defeat of the Magyars in 955, and into Italy. Already, in the tenth century we find it described as "a city of merchants." When the duke of Bavaria rebelled in 954, Otto I used the barges of these merchants on the river for transport purposes. After the conversion of the Magyars to Christianity in the year 1000 the volume of traffic between Constantinople and Germany greatly increased. Regensburg, by its fortunate position,

became a distributing point between central Europe and Byzantium, and owed to this early traffic its early prosperity and the foundation of its wealth. At the end of the eleventh century Eberhard, archbishop of Salzburg, speaks of Regensburg as one of the most populous and flourishing cities of Germany, and the chronicler Bernold of Constance with exaggeration asserts that nine thousand persons died there of plague within twelve weeks in 1094. Augsburg was walled as early as the sixth century, and gilds of wall builders are the very earliest craft gilds. There was one in Worms in the ninth century.

There is less to be said of German industry in the tenth and eleventh centuries than of commerce, not perhaps because it was less important, but because it was less original and extensive. Industry was almost wholly confined to the industrial occupations of a people primarily engaged in agriculture. The women spun, wove, sewed, and stitched, even in the royal household. On the manors, lay and ecclesiastical, existed artisans of all kinds. There were blacksmiths, wheelwrights, saddlers, shoemakers, soap makers, beer brewers, wine makers, makers of nets and other implements, wood turners, carpenters, shield makers, tanners, wood carvers, sword cutlers, fullers, coopers, and others. In the storeroom of every manor were found bedsteads, mattresses, feather beds, covers, quilts, cushions, bronze, lead, iron and wooden receptables, chains, pot-hooks, planes, augers, axes, scrapers, hatchets, and other implements of home manufacture. On the large manors of the Church and some of those of the great landed proprietors "shops" were run for the making of articles by operatives who were industrial rather than agricultural serfs. The surplus of such articles was marketed. We are told of Bishop Gebhard of Constance, for instance, how one day (993) he called together his servants, chose the best from among them, and appointed them as cooks and bakers, shopkeepers and fullers, cobblers and gardeners, wheelwrights and masters in various trades. All salt works belonged originally to the king and he retained the greater of them. Noted salt works were at Halle, Salzburg, Reichenhall, Lüneburg, Toul, Fulda, and Gorze. Glass was used extensively in church architecture.

The branches of industry which required a factory-like management were mills, beer breweries, wine presses, and salt works. The laborers were dependents. The manager had a larger farm for his maintenance; the laborers had plots of ground and cottages. Gradually the title to the land passed from the original owner to the master or the dependent laborers. Industrial laborers were given the raw material and a definite amount of food and drink during the time when they worked. For the remaining period they supported their families on their farms (*Handwerkshufe*), which were smaller than the ordinary holding (*Bauernhof*).

Three classes of workmen, however, were of higher skill and certainly

free artisans. These were miners, metal workers, and stone cutters. The Romanesque cathedrals of Bamberg and Hildesheim and the early town walls of the eleventh century are examples of their craft. The most remarkable illustration of the transition of skilled craftsmanship into real art executed in Saxon times is found in the exquisite bronze doors of Hildesheim cathedral, which were executed for Bishop Bernward (died 995). The molders were Italian, not German; but the metals were mined and cast in Germany. The builder's art and the decorative arts connected with ecclesiastical architecture wonderfully progressed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is written of Bernward that *"exquisita ac lucida pictura tam parietes quam laquearia exornabat."* Henry II's cathedral at Bamberg is an historical monument in this respect. One catches a gleam of modernity in the recorded fact that the workmen on this edifice "struck" for higher wages, which again shows that such workmen must have been freemen.

A marked economic influence of increasing significance throughout these centuries is the commercial and monetary importance of Italy to Germany. The Alpine passes, hitherto chiefly of military and pilgrim interest, from the union of Germany and Italy in 962 to form the Roman Empire [2] of the German Nation, acquired a commercial importance in connection with the rise of the Lombard towns. Italy was a source of gold supply for Germany. Its increasing oriental trade projected a steady current of gold beyond the Alps. An Italian chronicler, Benedict of Soracte, writes bitterly of the Germans: "The Saxons carry away in their pockets all the gold and silver they can find in Italy." German control of the Alpine passes—the Great and Little St. Bernard, Splügen, Septimer, Brenner—all of which debouched into the Lombard plain, gave Germany an immense commercial and financial advantage in Europe.

Medieval Germany had four contacts with the Orient, via (1) Venice and other Italian cities, (2) through Constantinople, (3) through Russia, either by the Varangian Route or through Regensburg to Kiev, (4) with Mohammedan Spain. All ministered to German consumption of oriental products. Late in the ninth century the monk of St. Gall recorded that the nobles of Charlemagne's court were accustomed to buy costly Levantine clothes at Pavia from Venetian merchants. He was probably placing a custom of his own time back in the time of Charlemagne. In 908 Bishop Adalbert of Augsburg gave costly robes of Tyrian purple to the monks of St. Gall. Otto I sent a rich German merchant named Liutfrid to Constantinople, and a Byzantine embassy came to Quedlinburg in 973. A list of spices used is furnished by a market list of the monastery of Corvey, which probably dates from the tenth century. The figures give an idea of the demand for spices during the Middle Ages.

[2] Frederick I added the title "Holy."

The list records wax, 600 pounds; pepper and cummin seed, 120 pounds each; ginger, 70 pounds; cinnamon, 15 pounds; cloves, galangal, rhapontic, spikenard, sage, mastic, frankincense, myrrh, and thyme, 2 pounds. Ekkehard IV (died 1060?) records that the monastery of St. Gall purchased spices at Constance.

Over the Alpine passes flowed an increasing volume and variety of oriental goods and much gold. The monasteries and bishoprics in the Alpine lands were the special beneficiaries and custodians of this traffic. They collected tolls, maintained "stations" on the routes, provided transportation, and kept up roads and bridges, though there was much complaint both of extortion and of neglect. Charles the Fat gave the abbey of Massino in the rich wine and olive region of Lake Maggiore to the monastery of St. Gall. Reichenau, besides its possessions in the Como region, also had Lenz on the Julier-Septimer route and owned Tamins and Trins on the Luxmanier route. Dissentis also had lands in the Lake Maggiore region. These donations go back to the time of Pepin, although records are lacking before the twelfth century. Pfävers had lands in the vicinity of Chiavenna, and as early as 998 it was reported to be in possession of *"ecclesiam sancti Gaudentii ad pedem Septimi montis."* Otto I granted St. Gall right of market at Rohrschach on Lake Constance. There is a tariff list of about 960 for Aosta.

But Germany also profited commercially by the newly opened lower Danube route which had been closed for centuries by successive barbarian invasions, Goths, Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Magyars. In the year 1000 Stephen, king of Hungary, professed Latin Christianity and for the first time in five hundred years the Danube route was opened into the Balkan peninsula. Almost immediately swarms of merchants and pilgrims began to pour down it as the shortest road to Constantinople and the Holy Land. "Bezants"—i.e., Byzantine gold pieces—are occasionally mentioned by chroniclers and poets (*Ruodlieb*) and some have been discovered in buried hoards.

But not all Greek and oriental coins came by the Danube. For we have seen that the Varangian trade route also brought Germany, via the Baltic, into communication with the East. A Mohammedan traveler, Tartûsi, who visited Germany in 973, was astonished to find silk, spices, and other eastern wares for sale in Mainz, and to see some coins from Samarkand. Mieszko of Poland sent Otto III a camel from the market in Kiev.

German-Spanish traffic was mostly slave trade. We have already seen that as far back as the ninth century a slave traffic existed between Germany and Mohammedan Spain, and that Verdun was the base of the Jewish slave traders. Wendish slaves were far the most important object of this traffic, but African ivory, birds of bright plumage, leopard and lion skins, live monkeys, were other articles. The route from Spain

DIJON
BESANCON
DOLE
ZURICH
LUCERNE
SALIN
NEUCHATEL
BERN
PONTARLIER
CHUR
CHALON
FREIBOURG
St Gothard Pass
LAUSANNE
Septimer Pass
MACON
Lake Leman
SIMPLON PASS
Tonale Pass
GENEVA
Dent du Midi
Matterhorn
Monte Rosa
Lake Maggiore
Lake Como
COMO
Lake Garda
To Brenner Pass
LYON
Rhone R.
Saone River
Great St. Bernard
AOSTA
Little St. Bernard
CHAMBERY
BRESCIA
VERONA
MILAN
NOVARA
Mt Cenis Pass
VERCELLI
MANTUA
CREMONA
TURIN
PIACENZA
ALESSANDRIA
VOGHERA
PINEROLO
TO GENOA
ALPINE PASSES
AND
THEIR APPROACHES
PASSES
ROADS

was by sea to the mouth of the Rhone and thence northward. Otto I was anxious to stop the depredations of Mohammedan corsairs on the Italian coast, and to that end sent John, abbot of Gorze in Lorraine, on a mission to Cordova. We do not know what the effect of this mission was. But probably the expulsion from Provence of the Saracens, into whose hands the Jewish merchant played, reduced the slave traffic before the year 1000. Another extension of German foreign trade in the Saxon epoch was from Cologne across the North Sea to England. These merchants dealt in German iron and copper, and in oriental wares. King Ethelred (978–1016) gave them special trade privileges in London.

In metals—silver, iron, copper—and salt, medieval Germany was the most favored nation in Europe. Whereas the Mediterranean peoples had laboriously to manufacture salt by evaporation in salt pans along the coast, and other northern nations were compelled to import it from the south, Germany abounded with natural salt springs. The name Salzsburg tells its own story. The syllable *hall,* used as prefix or suffix, is a place-term indicative of local salt deposits. Examples are Halle, Hallstadt, Reichenhall. Lorraine produced iron and salt; Thuringia, iron, silver, copper, and lead; Noricum in upper Swabia. iron; Salzburg, copper as well as salt. Mines in Styria, Tyrol, and Salzburg had been worked before the tenth century. But the Harz was the richest metal-producing country in Europe before the late twelfth century, when the mines of Bohemia, especially those in the Erzgebirge, began to be worked. It is impossible to establish any connection between Roman and German mining, and the data available under the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties are so scanty that little can be predicated from them.

The history of medieval mining really may be said to begin with the exploitation of the Harz. For about 960, when the great silver deposits of the Rammelsberg near Goslar were discovered, something like a revolution in mining took place. Germany at once leaped to the forefront of western nations, and added to that economic preëminence she already enjoyed through iron, copper, and lead production. A marked increase in the use of money is observable in the last half of the tenth century which had little other source than these mines. To this production of precious metals must also be added the tributes of Poles and Bohemians, which were payable in metal and not in wares, as was the case with the Slavs of the Elbe.

Yet, in spite of her commerce and industry it must ever be remembered that feudal Germany was preëminently, as was all Europe at that time, an agricultural country. Farming, vineyarding, gardening, orcharding, were the prevailing occupations. Orchards, vineyards, and gardens were delights to the medieval German. The poet Walafrid Strabo enumerates almost the same vegetables and flowers in the abbey garden at Reich-

enau that are enumerated in the *capitulare de villis*. Farming was chiefly done on the three-field system, but this more intelligent and productive practice had not wholly supplanted the older two-field system of alternating crop and fallow. The testimony of the chroniclers, who often carefully narrate weather conditions, like hard winters, dry summers, wet springs, the evidence from monastery manorial records, the criminal legislation of the Saxon period, all testify to the fact that Saxon Germany was most largely agricultural in its economic activity. Even Regensburg, whose situation and Roman tradition were commercial, in the time of Otto I was chiefly important as a cattle market for all the surrounding regions.

The vineyards of the Rhine now began to play an important part. Formerly the Moselle valley had been much more important. In the sixth century Venantius Fortunatus contrasts the rougher Rhine land with the more cultivated Moselle land, so rich in luscious grapes. At this time Andernach had the only important vineyards along the Rhine, whose grape culture began in the ninth century.

Wine-growing along the Moselle was derived from antiquity, wine-growing along the Rhine was a medieval expansion. With its many windings, its sunny slopes, its fertile soil, the Moselle had every natural advantage to make it the earliest home of German wine. From Treves to Coblenz it was a series of vineyards. The archbishop of Treves owned a famous vineyard on Mount Mediolanus. Curiously, the sites whence the famous vintages of today come were uncultivated in the ninth century. Hochheimer, Zeltinger, Johannesberger were unkown names then. The locations then chosen were natural slopes. The great vineyards of today are cultivated terraces on steep clay cliffs too inaccessible or too inconvenient earlier. Their occupation did not come until the eleventh century, with increase of population in Salian times, and they did not become of great importance until the fourteenth century. Men were driven in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to turn even the clay cliffs to agricultural use, and it is quite possible that their especial suitability for grapes was thus simply hit upon, rather than foreseen. From the eleventh century on we have more and more evidence of their use for vineyards, which led gradually to the more scientific *Terrassenbau*. The most intensively cultivated region was the Ahr valley, whose river rises in the Eifel and flows fifty-five miles down into the Rhine at Sinzig. On the Rhine the first vineyards were usually on the sites of old Roman castles or around and even within the towns. As late as the twelfth century there were vineyards and arable lands inside the walls of Mainz.

Owing to physical topography the vineyard holdings of the proprietors were not single, unbroken tracts of extensive area, but many scattered *curtes*, whose management as a single economic unit, as in the ordinary farms under the manorial régime, was difficult. Moreover,

vine-dressing was almost a fine art in agriculture. Such workers were a sort of aristocracy among laborers. Hence it came about that serfdom was not so prevalent in the wine lands of the Moselle and the Rhine as elsewhere in Germany, and the plots were worked by a rent-paying, not a servile tenantry (*Hintersassen*). Sometimes the vineyard was leased to a group of vineyarders, sometimes to an individual, a fixed proportion of the product going to the lord as rent, but it was always stipulated that this amount was not exaction, but rent.

Beyond the zone of the Rhine and Danube trough, however, less advanced economic conditions prevailed. These two regions, it must be remembered, had the benefit of Roman civilization; neither the moral nor the material tradition of which had wholly perished there. But beyond Würzburg up the Main, in the valley of the Fulda where the Bonifacian monasteries of Fulda and Hersfeld were situated, in the Nordgau above the highest point of the Danube, in the valley of the Nab River, in Hesse and Thuringia, frontier and agrarian conditions were to be found. Fulda and Hersfeld were associations of monks engaged in ranching. The very names of the crossings of the upper Main, Ochsenfurt and Schweinfurt, show that cattle and hog raising there was an important activity. In the Thüringer Wald the peasantry tended thousands of swine which fed on mast and beech nuts. Here sprang up a new frontier market town, Naumburg, where the Wend traded wares with the German peddler, a new link in the chain of frontier posts which Charlemagne had erected.

The fact that most of Ottonian legislation is against agrarian crime like cattle-lifting and trespass shows that Germany was predominantly an agricultural country. Commerce was chiefly confined to the two great rivers and their affluents. Industry was almost wholly servile, performed by craftsmen on manor and in abbey. While in the west and south a money economy must have been common, as the mints and grants of right of coinage indicate, in the more backward regions payment in kind and barter must have been frequent.

The forests of Saxon Germany were so vast that enclosure and private ownership of them seemed impossible. In summer and autumn the cattle and hogs ran almost at will there, the former feeding upon boughs of trees like deer, the latter fattening upon the beech nuts and acorns or mast spread upon the ground. The forests also supplied the poor man's fresh meat (for cattle were too valuable to be butchered except under necessity), its lakes and brooks furnished him fish. Firewood, timber came from it for the mere labor of getting it. But though it really was a blessing, the forest was more often regarded as a nuisance. It harbored wolves, it occupied ground which might otherwise be used for farming, it separated village from village, and it was hard to blaze even a trail through it and broader roads were almost

impossible. In short the forest disguised its blessing by the hardships it imposed. Hence everywhere the forest was ruthlessly leveled as an enemy. In 1147, when Conrad III confirmed a gift of forest tract to the monastery of Ruemlingen, he threw in as a gift an immense tract of crown forest with the injunction that "the monks of the said house of God, with the aid of their serfs, shall root it out, hew it down, subject it to cultivation, and introduce settlers there until it shall be utterly hewn down and rooted up." The rapid denudation of the forests in Germany is a sad and striking fact. In the eleventh century St. Trudo had thirteen; in the twelfth all were gone. And even where the forest was still suffered to remain, it, like the common lands, was finally enclosed by the great nobles, who established their seigniorial hunting rights in them, sold the timber, and rented rights of pasturage.

Outside of the Rhine and Moselle territory most of Germany was a land of vast forests and broad swamps and marshes, with a thin and widely scattered population. For three hundred years generations of toiling peasants labored to fell the first and to drain the second, and not until the thirteenth century did Saxony and the middle Danube lands triumph over wilderness conditions. Even then huge tracts of forest survived, of which the Black Forest and the Odenwald are the shrunken survivals. It requires a certain effort of the imagination to visualize the rough physical aspect of Germany in the depth of the feudal age. Deer, elk, wild boar, bears frequented the thick beech and oak woods, and packs of wolves as many as three hundred strong terrorized the hamlets in a hard winter like that of 845–46. With the forests we find fishing mentioned. It is interesting to know that on the Rhine and the Moselle there existed an artificial fish-culture which had its origin in the time of the Romans. Ponds, rivers, lakes were everywhere made use of, and ponds were sometimes especially built for the purpose of fish-culture. Nets, bow-nets, and weirs were used in fishing.

To sum up: The historical evidence of the material prosperity of Germany during the Saxon epoch is widespread and unanimous. Long before the Norman kings had set England's house in order, long before the monarchy of the Capetians in France had begun to rise above the welter around them, the Saxon kings of Germany not only had established an ordered government in central Europe, but had also extended a firm and masterful hand over northern and central Italy, giving that rich but bleeding land the first taste of substantial peace and prosperity it had enjoyed since the vanishment of the Ostrogothic kingdom in the sixth century. Germany had no need for the intervention of the police power of the Church in the form of the Peace of God. For the crown in Germany made law and order prevail. The robber baronage and feudal anarchy which devastated France astonished Ger-

man clergy traveling in France, and was a perpetual source of trouble along the Franco-German border of Lorraine.

Germany for one hundred and twenty years—from the defeat of the Magyars in 955 to the outbreak of the War of Investiture in 1075—was uninvaded from without, and within enjoyed a degree of peace and prosperity unexampled in the depth of the feudal age.

In the Salian period (1024–1125) we find two indisputable evidences of the continuing prosperity of Germany: the marked increase of population and the first vigorous manifestation of burgher life. Absolute statistics are, of course, not to be thought of, but modern scholars have made some relative determinations. In the time of the Carolingians, especially favorable regions like the valley of the Moselle seem to have been densely populated. The population of Germany in the ninth century is estimated to have been between two and a half and three millions. It certainly increased under the Saxon rule to three or even three and a half millions. In the century of Salian rule, in spite of the long civil war which was waged from 1075 to 1093, the population nevertheless continued to increase greatly and may have been as high as five millions by the beginning of the twelfth century. At the accession of the Saxon kings (919) there were not more than thirty places in Germany which might be designated as towns (this was before the free towns). Two hundred years later (1125) there were one hundred and fifty towns, some of them free or partially free. Other evidences of this increase of population are the continuous penetration of the people into new localities;[3] the decline of the office of rural dean as the population tended to drift away from the country into the new towns; in the towns themselves, the growth of faubourgs and the organization of new parishes to meet the needs of an expanding area of urban occupation. Many of these new towns arose on the crown lands, which were often favorably situated for trade, as Frankfort, Aachen, Colmar, Goslar, for there the king's protection was firmer than elsewhere. Others were episcopal seats where the population either by slow process of emancipation secured burgher liberties, or else rebelled and so got them. Examples are Mainz, Cologne, Worms, Strassburg, Magdeburg.

The increasingly intimate commercial relations between Germany and Italy, the growing importance of the towns as seats of trade, and the rise of a burgher class are undoubtedly the most important economic-social facts in the history of Germany in the Salian epoch. Naturally the Rhine cities led. Cologne, owing to its proximity to Flanders, surpassed Mainz as the foremost city; its wealth for the time must have

[3] The Chronicle of Zwifalten speaks of the pastures which the inhabitants call *"Alb,"* meaning the high pastures on the hillsides or mountain slopes. To this day in South Germany one hears the expression *auf die Alb gehen,* "to go on the upland pasture."

been great. We are assured that it had 600 merchants in 1074. It was strong enough to rebel against the archbishop twice in fifty years, in 1074 and again in 1125. Twice within two centuries it was compelled to enlarge its borders, incorporating new outlying villages, and to build new walls. Mainz, situated at the confluence of the Main and the Rhine in the heart of Franconia, was little less prosperous. A toll schedule of Coblenz for 1104, which is arranged according to the cities from which the merchants came, mentions Constance, Basel, and Zürich, while a schedule five years later extends its contact as far as Rome and makes special rates for Romans. Aachen and Cambrai grew rapidly. Bremen, under the rule of the brilliant archbishop Adalbert, became the emporium of the whole north of Europe, where German, Russian, Danish, Icelandic, English, Flemish traders changed wares. Freiburg in Baden, founded in 1118 by the house of Zähringen, became the commercial centre of the Schwarzwald and a division point between Basel and Würzburg, between Colmar and Strassburg and Augsburg and Nuremberg. The growth of Goslar was phenomenal. Its situation near the mines of the Harz, combined with the topographical advantage of its site, elevated it to a point of such importance that Henry IV, if it had not been for the great rebellion of Saxony in 1075 and the War of Investiture, probably would have fixed his permanent capital there. Both for east-west and for north-south transit Goslar was fortunate in its location. Through it ran the old Carolingian road from Duisburg at the mouth of the Lippe, through Paderborn and across the Weser through Halberstadt to Magdeburg, while the extension of it carried into Brandenburg. Easily accessible to this great road on one side or the other lay Dortmund, Werle, Soest, Detmold, Hildesheim, Minden, Brunswick, Quedlinburg. Again, it was a division point on the great vertical road through central Germany, running north from Augsburg through Nuremberg, Bamberg, Erfurt, Goslar, Brunswick, Lüneburg, Bardowick, to Hamburg or Bremen. In the Danube valley Regensburg outstripped Augsburg in importance. A colony of Lombard merchants resident there is first mentioned in 1038; Donauwörth appears in 1030, and most important of all, Nuremberg, on a crownland, in 1050 rose to the status of a city, though unchartered before 1163, and waxed so strong that it was able to withstand two sieges by the Hohenstaufen in 1105 and 1127. Its trade surpassed that of Bamberg.

The protection of merchants and the promotion of trade were primary objects of the Salian kings, especially of Henry IV. The *Landfrieden* of Henry III and Henry IV, the Bavarian Peace of 1093, assured special protection to merchants. The War of Investiture and the rebellion of Saxony (1075–93) nearly ruined the country, but when peace was again established, prosperity rapidly followed. "And now," the king's biographer assures us, "the boatman on the river glided in

safety by the dungeons of the robber barons who had hitherto fattened upon his spoils; the roads were no longer infested by marauding bands; the forests gave no shelter to lurking brigands; the highways were open to the trader and the wayfarer to pass on their way in peace; and the professional depredators were themselves reduced to that beggary and penury they had so long inflicted upon others. The peasant, the artisan, the merchant blessed the name of the king to whose generous efforts they owed this precious immunity; for now the tiller of the soil, the industrious craftsman, the thrifty burgher might look forward with some certainty to the enjoyment of the fruit of his toil." Ekkehard of Urach, writing in 1104, records: "Everywhere quiet prevails. Peace and prosperity are together." (*Undique terra satis quievit, pace simul et fertilitate*).

Henry IV well deserved the military support which the burghers gave him. *"Maxima pars ejus exercitus ex mercatoribus erat,"* says a chronicle. During the strife between Henry IV and Gregory VII the weight of the burgher and industrial classes in Germany was sufficient to make them objects of special propaganda on the part of both papal and imperial partisans. Trade interest influenced the bishops in the way they sided in this struggle. A case in point is the bishop of Basel.

When we read that the bishop Burchard of Hasenburg obtained possession of Buchogan in 1080, a glance at the map shows us that thereby he secured control of the two passes of Havenstein and of the Aar into Olten, giving him access to the great Swiss road which afforded Basel means of communication with the Alps. The long struggle which the bishop sustained for possession of the cloister of Pfäfer appears in an entirely new light when we reflect that this cloister gave the prelate an opportunity to make use of the Septimer Pass. The bishop also obtained the passes of the Jura from the king as a *point d'appui* to the Septimer Pass. This shows that all his efforts were directed toward making his commerce profitable. The importance of these gifts reveals to us the price of the bishop's imperial policy. His desire to get control of the Alpine passes, so essential to his commercial success, made Burchard one of the most faithful supporters of the emperor Henry IV. It was his commercial spirit again that caused him to take part in the deposition of Gregory VII, that made him range himself with those who were chosen to carry the decree to the Lombard bishops, and forced him to accompany Henry IV to Canossa and oppose the emperor's rival. The greater the economic significance of these gifts granted to the prelate by the emperor, so much the more does the bishop's imperial policy assume the character of a link in the chain of his commercial projects.[4]

The loyalty of the lower classes, small nobles chafing under the

[4] Geering, *Handel und Industrie der Stadt Basel* (1886).

feudal weight of their overlords, burghers, and even the peasantry (outside of Saxony where the conditions were wholly special) [5] to Henry IV is a striking fact, and indicative of the profound changes in social texture and economic condition which Germany experienced in the eleventh century.

Ability for fiscal administration was a possession of the Salian house. Conrad II, its founder, excelled in it. His grandson Henry IV showed real genius in it. Nowhere is this capacity better exemplified than in his management of the crown lands. He created a group of trained officials for their administration, the *ministeriales,* required detailed inventories of revenue, attempted to supplant the old-fashioned method of payments in kind by a money economy, reformed the taxation, improved waste lands, recovered—or to use the technical legal word, "revindicated"—huge portions of the fisc which had been illicitly seized during his minority by rapacious bishops and nobles. But his passion for efficiency went further. The great forests and wide heaths were crown lands, which, however, the crown had never utilized heretofore. Henry IV endeavored to assimilate these tracts with the fisc, to develop their resources, to make them a source of government revenue by enclosing them, by stopping wasteful and indiscriminate lumbering and charcoal burning in them, by forbidding hunting and fishing in them without license, by renting milling sites, etc. The outcry which these measures created was very great, for the practice was counter to all tradition. For centuries past the forest had been the poor man's home. And yet it

[5] The root of Saxon opposition to Henry IV was in the Saxons' opposition to the attempt to extend the feudal institutions of the rest of Germany to Saxony. For in Saxony feudalism was of a very elementary nature. There was hardly any *ordo militaris* there, and few *ministeriales.* Suzerainty and vassalage was a less formal relation in Saxony than in Bavaria or Swabia, and the services less exacting. While there were many nobles, there was also a large body of free peasants. Moreover, not many of these nobles were great land-owners; they had few vassals and relatively few manors. Their distinction was a social one rather than one of political superiority. The Saxon noble was more a rich proprietor farming his ancestral acres with the labor of a peasant tenantry than a great baron. His life was rustic and his activities rural. He was proud of his class, but wore no escutcheon. The Saxon nobles resented Henry IV's determination to introduce newfangled feudal laws and feudal methods, like rigid definition of the relations of overlord and underlord, reliefs—*i.e.,* inheritance taxes for succession to a fief—new judicial processes, new kinds of taxes, and the extension of the king's ban over the forests. They were stanch conservatives, and in this sentiment the peasantry shared. They were proud of the *"crudelissima lex Saxonum,"* resented effort to stamp out the good old blood feud (*faida*), opposed the *treuga,* or peace of God, were sticklers for the old legal idea of personality of law, and their own ancient customs, clung to the ancient caste differentiations of Saxon society, yet withal were democratic within the classes, detested foreigners (*advenæ*) of any kind—Swabians, Bavarians, Flemings, etc.—and hated Henry IV's *ministeriales* both as men of servile origin and as outsiders. The resentment of the free peasantry was chiefly owing to Henry IV's enclosure of the great heaths.

was not the free peasantry who were so much injured by the new regulations as the feudality and the monks—the bishops less so—who had engrossed the public domain. The protest was much more from these "vested interests" than from the people. There is a certain savor of modernity in this course. Henry IV's policy at least remotely reminds one of Roosevelt's efforts to stop the exploitation of our government's western lands by mining and oil companies, by cattle and sheep ranchers. Our modern "barons" are commercial and industrial persons; in feudal Germany they were nobles, bishops, and abbots who were also great landed proprietors and ambitious to extend their possessions. "Intertwined with the grievances of the Saxon peasantry and the assertive spirit of independence of the Saxon race, we find the grievances of the nobility."

It was men of this rich, influential, and avaricious class, who had profited during Henry IV's long minority to enrich themselves, whose support Gregory VII astutely endeavored to secure in his conflict with Henry IV. The pope viewed with some apprehension the popularity of the king with the burghers and commonalty, while the great abbots and great nobles resented his whole programme of honest and efficient administration. He had succeeded in checking the extortions of the officers of the crown; he had brought his dukes, counts, military governors (margraves and burgraves), and the ravenous advocates or patrons of the ecclesiastical foundations to book; he had reformed justice, reorganized the system of taxation, and restrained or suppressed some of the worst practices of feudalism. All these reforms, revindications, forced restitutions, made the culprits furious, and to this influential and ambitious class the pope appealed for support.

The geographical sectionalism, the social cleavages and antagonisms engendered by the War of Investiture made an indelible mark upon Germany and profoundly altered both the morale of the nation and its material condition. All the ingredients of German life were melted in the heat of the struggle as in a tumultuous laboratory, and fused in new proportions and into new compositions. The government was altered, the texture of society changed, unwonted social and economic conditions introduced. Materially Germany was reduced nearly to a state of ruination. All parties swept the land bare. The manors of the crown, the lands of the Church and the nobles, the farms of the peasants, were devastated time and again. Robbery became endemic. As early as 1078 Saxony was more like a wilderness than an abode of men. Bishop Rupert of Bamberg, between 1093 and 1095, declared that there were large tracts of Saxony without inhabitants. Both parties and all factions bought partisans by seizing and giving away crown lands, church lands, noble lands. The tentacles of sectional feeling and class interest clutched the country. Castles began to bristle on all the hilltops. The

Wartburg is first mentioned in 1080. Castle Böckelheim appears in 1105. A writer of the twelfth century says that castles multiplied as fast as churches had done in the eleventh century. Many of these strongholds were dens of robbers.

It is true that the Salian monarchy came out of this struggle against papacy and rebellious feudality triumphant, and restored peace and order to Germany once more. But it was a changed Germany over which the Hohenstaufen were called to rule in the middle of the twelfth century. The eleventh century witnessed the transition of Saxon Germany from cattle-raising and barter to a more settled agricultural régime and an awakening trade. The war of pope and emperor, which fell so heavily on Saxony, changed its pioneer simplicity and plain social texture. Saxony was feudalized after the manner of Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria. The result was that the hardier spirits "trekked" eastward to new lands, leaving the great manors of Church and noble, which had supplanted the Saxon free-farmer, to be farmed more intensively by Flemish and Dutch colonists used to deep plowings in the heavy soils of the Low Countries, who were imported by Henry the Lion and Adolph of Holstein.

CHAPTER XII

FRANCE BEFORE THE CRUSADES (877–1095) *

On the ruins of the Carolingian Empire in France, the debris of whose administrative, social, and economic institutions was everywhere visible, a violent and powerful proprietary nobility by force, usurpation, and fraud slowly built up a new form of government, a new condition of society, a new economic régime, wholly feudal in its genius and natural in the circumstances.

At the beginning of the tenth century the condition of France verged upon chaos. No country within the Empire of Charlemagne so nearly approached dissolution as France. The last Carolingians were lean and solemn phantoms striving to live and vainly to reign in the midst of a strong and rude baronage which had established dynastic local power everywhere. After one hundred and ten years of empty rule (from the death of Charles the Bald in 877 to that of Louis V in 987) they were supplanted by the house of Hugh Capet because in a country where feudalism tolerated only great proprietary lords, they had no lands either to govern or to give away.

The history of feudal France must be looked for in the history of its great provinces, and even in that of smaller seigniories. The political geography of France had not the symmetry of a honeycomb, but the structure was not unlike a honeycomb, for every province, every county largely lived its own life separate and apart from its neighbors. The whole political, economic, and social life of the people functioned in and through these feudal cells. Everywhere the dual régime of feudal and manorial government prevailed. The feudal state was divided and subdivided into a medley of compartments in which men dwelt either as rulers or as ruled.

Under these untoward conditions the cultural state of France in the tenth century lapsed to the lowest degree of degradation. The condidition of Brittany and of Gascony bordered upon savagery. The age was gross and hard and warlike. The province of Berry is said to have derived its name from the old word for desert, *beria* (Du Cange). In addition to these evils of isolation and chronic, petty warfare of the baronage, were the badness of the roads—for the ancient Roman roads had gone to pieces and few repairs and fewer new roads were con-

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 69.

structed—local suspicion and even hostility toward strangers, and finally the great variety of languages and dialects which prevailed. Even in the twelfth century St. Bernard complained of the inconvenience of the last.

The variety of racial ingredients greatly accentuated this condition of provincial particularism. Brittany was almost purely Celtic; the Channel coast was occupied by the Norsemen, who, however, exhibited a remarkable capacity to assimilate the native stock and native institutions and fast became French; in Flanders there were two local stocks, the Flemings of German blood and the Walloons, whose speech was Romance although their blood differed little from that of the Flemings; Gascony was prevailingly Basque; the Midi and the valley of the Rhone were fundamentally and vigorously Roman in stock, with an admixture of German blood, Burgundian and Frank; in Septimania the local population was Goth with relatively slight outside blood commingled with it. The most homogeneous population of France in the tenth century was found in the basin of the Seine—the duchy of France or the Ile-de-France. This territory, whose centre was Paris, whose vertical axis was measured by a line drawn from Orleans to Beauvais, whose horizontal axis extended from Rheims to Chartres, was the heart of the realm. Everything in natural topography and cultural and historical conditions conspired to make the Ile-de-France the kernel of feudal France and the seat of a great national monarchy.

But broader and deeper than these various provincial differences was the sharp cultural dualism which distinguished the whole north from the whole south. The Loire formed a line of division between north and south which was not entirely obliterated even when in the thirteenth century the conquests of the French kings ruined the culture and destroyed the political independence of the southern provinces and the broken fragments of the Midi were thus made assimilable by the northern government.

In the tenth century this isolation of the Ile-de-France from the rest of the country was given a new focal intensity through the energy of two new forces. One of these was the rise of the Capetian dynasty at Paris, the other the ecclesiastical and cultural ascendancy of Rheims. From the religious point of view Gerbert with reason described Rheims as *caput regni Francorum*. The bishoprics in the valleys of the Seine and the Marne, Paris, Rouen, Chartres, Sens, Beauvais, Laon, Châlons, Autun, Auxerre and even Lyons and Bourges had remained closely attached to Rheims through all the anarchy, clinging like bees to her as the mother and head of the French Church. Thus it was that the duchy of France and the royal dynasty which emerged from it enjoyed a double substantiality. Politically, ecclesiastically, culturally the Ile-de-France was the soundest and most vigorous region of that broken, divided,

sprawling agglomeration of provinces whose vague relation together connoted the "realm" of France in the tenth century.

This isolation was intensified by the physical condition around this area. The anarchy of feudal strife and the inroads of the Norsemen had practically surrounded the duchy with a zone of deserts on the north and west. Ponthieu, Anjou, Lower Brittany, La Marche were desolate and almost without inhabitants. Wild shrubs sprang from the crannies of crumbling walls of abandoned abbeys and castles. The villages had disappeared. The frightened and ruined population had fled to the centre for safety, into the basin of the Seine where still some security was to be found and some law and order, rude though it may have been, was made to prevail by duke or abbot or bishop—the *militia* of the archbishop of Rheims is frequently mentioned in the *Annals* of Flodoard. Thus it came to pass that the Ile-de-France profited by the adversity of its neighbor provinces, and was able to manifest a strong and vigorous material and moral life. Within the orbit of the Ile-de-France, Champagne, and Burgundy one finds evidences of material prosperity even so early as the tenth century. Paris, still confined to the island, was neither richer nor more populous than Laon and Compiègne, yet we find it described as *caput et introitus regnorum Neustriæ et Burgundiæ;* the lineaments of the future great Champagne Fairs may be discerned at Châlons; Melun, above Paris in a loop of the Seine, was a river-port commanding the crossing of the Seine on the traverse between Champagne-Brie and the Loire; the barges of Fleury and Ferrières and doubtless many another monastery plied upon the rivers; the former abbey even had a flock of sheep, a rare possession in an age when forests were dense and wolves many; wine-growing was practised almost everywhere; around the peaceful monasteries clustered villages of farm laborers, and in some of these the industrial arts like weaving, tanning, wood-working, and soap-making were on so large a scale, notably at St. Riquier, that the artisans were grouped in *vici,* or quarters, around the abbey.

In an age of universal agriculture the duchy of the Ile-de-France, Champagne, and Burgundy enjoyed relative prosperity, when contrasted with the rest of the kingdom, Normandy alone excepted. The valleys of the Seine and the Marne then, as now, were one of the richest wheat belts in Europe; the region around Étampes was a perfect granary; Burgundy and Champagne abounded with vineyards and cattle. Except for salt and iron, which were imported from Lorraine, these three contiguous provinces were almost self-sufficient. The few Levantine commodities needed by the Church and craved by the rich were brought over the Alpine passes, chiefly through Geneva or Lyons. One little port, that of Montreuil-sur-Mer, wedged in between Normandy and Flanders, gave exit to the Channel and was the sole Capetian sea-

port. Since the Norse destruction of Duurstede on the Crooked Rhine near Utrecht, and before the recovery of Rouen, Montreuil in the tenth century was the most important commercial point upon the northern coast. Its commerce was considerable, especially with England, and its port tolls lucrative (*eo quod ex navium advectationibus inde plures questus proveniant*).

In the territory extending from the Meuse to the Loire and watered by the Seine and the Marne, in a word the Ile-de-France, Burgundy, and Champagne, it must be said that life in the tenth century was more tolerable than elsewhere in France. Baronial strife and family feuds, it is true, were frequent, but their effects were more local than we think. In 991 Richer made the long journey from Rheims to Chartres accompanied only by a boy, and met with nothing worse than bad roads, broken bridges, and bad inns.

The dukes of Normandy early established strong and efficient government in their dominion. The invaders with amazing speed had accepted Christianity and adopted the material and moral culture of feudal France. Within two generations the Norsemen became Norman-French. Rolf threw open the doors of his duchy to outside settlers in order to rehabilitate the depopulated country, and the crowd of broken freemen, refugees whom the storm of the ninth and the early tenth century had torn from their home acres, runaway or abandoned serfs who flocked into the duchy along the Channel, testifies to the efficiency of the Norman peace. In Normandy the law was the duke's law, sub-vassalage did not prevail, and private war was vigorously suppressed.

Feudal France before the Crusades was cut off from Mediterranean commerce and her connection with Germany and Italy was slight. But one contact was made with the outside world destined to be of great economic importance, although few historians have noticed any but the political significance of the event. That event was the Norman Conquest of England, by which England was "drawn out of her isolation into closer connection with continental lands." A century before that event, Ethelred II in 978 had granted trading rights to a colony of German merchants from Cologne and to another from Rouen, and Edward the Confessor had amplified the privileges of the latter by granting the Rouennese merchants a special place of deposit at Dunegate in London.

A crowd of merchants, chiefly Flemish and Norman, followed the victorious army of William across sea and settled in the English Channel ports and in London. A modern writer has described William the Conqueror as "the managing director of a great joint-stock company for the conquest of England." "Some came for land, some for pence," says a chronicle. "Then might be seen in the town and country fairs of England French traders with their wares." William possessed that keen

sense of the value of trade that had distinguished his Norse ancestors and had made the vikings at once pirates and merchants. In all Normandy, indeed in all the Channel provinces, the conquest of England stimulated commerce. The bourgeois of Rouen became a power. The evidences of a money economy and active exchange are manifold. The building and equipment of the fleet, already before the Channel was crossed, had brought craftsmen by the hundreds into Normandy, many of whom must have been free artisans; and the swarm of adventurers and soldiers of fortune who fought not in requirement of feudal service but for hire, made a large amount of ready money necessary. The wealth of Normandy soon made it an object of envy by the neighboring provinces of Anjou, Ile-de-France, Picardy, Flanders. The vast increase of cross-Channel commerce swelled the revenues of the Anglo-Norman rulers on both sides of the water. Through Rouen flowed trade from Paris, Picardy, Orléanais, Chartrain, Poitou (though much Poitevin trade found exit through La Rochelle). But Rouen could not handle all this new traffic, so that one sees the interesting phenomenon of the rise of new Channel towns on the Norman coast from mere fishing villages. The most notable of these was Dieppe, where William landed in 1067 on his return to the Continent, which owed its foundation to intercourse with England. Other examples are Pont-Audemer, Étaples and St. Valery-sur-Somme. Even river ports like Caudebec, the ancient port of the abbey of St. Wandrille, partook of the new and flourishing life. The same development is found along the south coast of England. The Cinque Ports, Winchelsea, and Southampton became busy ports. The wine trade was settled early in Southampton and Rouen.

With the acquisition of the French provinces through the marriage of Henry II (1152) with Eleanor of Aquitaine a larger chapter in this history of Anglo-French commerce began. For the mouths of the Thames, the Humber, and the Severn were then in the hands of the same prince who controlled the mouths of the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Adour. The large number of trade regulations indicates that Southampton was a centre of some consequence even in the eleventh century, and that French wine occupied the most prominent place in its lists of imports. Plymouth, hitherto known as "a mene thing, as an inhabitation of Fischars," in the twelfth century was the most important harbor town in southwestern England. We are assured that there was so much commerce in both directions at Rouen "that no page of the merchants' books but was full, and the merchants were as powerful as the lords of Normandy." This was in the reign of Henry II. The chief French exports were wine and chert millstones; the main imports hides, lead, iron, tin, and wool. One curious reminiscence of old viking days is found in the intimate commercial relations between Rouen and Dublin. Practically all of Ireland's export trade, marten

skins, basket wares, the famous Irish mastiff dogs, salted salmon, passed through Rouen. Caen in western Normandy enjoyed a singularly lucrative trade in the quarrying and exporting of building stone. These quarries were famous and gave employment to many free workmen who were skilled craftsmen. All the stone for Battle Abbey, which William the Conqueror built on the site of the battle of 1066, was freighted down the Orne, across Channel to Hastings, and thence hauled inland. Much Caen stone also was exported to other provinces of France, for it was mightily in demand when that wave of religious enthusiasm swept across Europe in the eleventh century, on whose crest arose first the Romanesque and then the exquisite Gothic churches, so many of which still adorn northern France and southern England.

A staple article of commerce in every port along both sides of the Channel was fish, dried, smoked, salted. In Dieppe there was a "breeding ground for fish" owned (and the fact itself is significant) by an abbot, and in the same city herring was salted. There were salteries, also, in near-by cities; Dieppe, Pont-Audemer, and Fécamp were renowned for their herring salteries. The fish exported from Rouen in the last half of the twelfth century were porpoise, sturgeon, conger, mackerel, mullet, plaice, and above all, herring. These latter fish were the chief element of Normandy's industry as well as commerce, both in the Channel and elsewhere. Fishing and the salting of fish was the most important local industry of Rouen, and of many other towns both on the Channel and near it. Rouen was also famous for its tanneries. A great number of Norman monasteries were located in the region of the Channel ports, and the monks must have had a very lively interest in both the catching and the curing of fish. A study of the location of the monasteries reveals the fact that they were more numerous near the coast than inland. There were as many as seventeen within less than fifty miles of the mouth of the Seine, and along the Channel coast, between the westernmost point of Brittany and Ostend, more than fifty monasteries were located.

The importance of salt in curing the fish had a proportionate interest for the monasteries. Part of their incomes were paid in salt and fish. Henry II accepted herring, mackerel, and other fish in payment of taxes, and as revenue. Most of the salt of northern France came from pits at Dieppe, Harfleur, Honfleur, Leure, Caudecote, Touques, Oudalle, Orcher, and Varaville. All these places were connected with trade routes of greater or less importance which focused at Rouen. The Norman lords were in the habit of looking to these pits for an important part of their revenue and the merchants of Rouen used the salt for the payment of tolls on the Seine.

The landed possession of Norman barons on both sides of the Chan-

nel, the number of French monasteries established in England (the so-called alien priories), the back-and-forth movement of nobles and prelates, the cross-currents of bands of pilgrims, the English bound for Rome or Compostella, the French and Flemings for Glastonbury Abbey, the most venerated shrine in England before the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket supplanted it in popularity, contributed their part to trade and made money flow freely on both sides of the Channel. Two incidents illustrate: In 1114 certain canons of the cathedral of Laon, wishing to raise funds for the repair of their church, journeyed across sea "because England was opulent and flourishing." They took ship at Wissant and on board found several Flemish merchants going abroad to buy English wool. In the reign of John a Norman named William of Briouze "controlled a great establishment whose parts were scattered over England, Ireland, and Normandy. . . . His boats came down the Loire from the lands of France, his ships sailed between English and Norman ports."

Flemings were almost as common in England as Normans. Many of them were in the wake of William's army in 1066. Perhaps the fact that his queen was Matilda of Flanders partially accounts for their numbers, but the stronger influence was trade. Shortly after the conquest an inundation on the Flemish coast drove out numbers who sought refuge in England. The ancient Frisian woolen trade seems to have been nearly destroyed during the Norse invasions of the ninth century and Flanders now supplanted Frisia in cloth-making. Originally these refugees were settled in Lincolnshire, but popular prejudice against them was so great that Henry I moved the colony down to Pembrokeshire along the Welsh border. This economic connection between England and Flanders, however, was permanent.

Early in the twelfth century the French Cistercians made their appearance in England. At this time the richest farming lands of England had long been engrossed by the two older monastic orders, the Benedictines and Cluniacs. The only land available for them was the vast tracts of waste lands in Northumberland, the rack and wreck of the Conqueror's notorious "harrying." Hither went the Cistercians, the less loath because their rule enjoined them to seek places of settlement far from the haunts of men. Having adopted sheep-raising instead of agriculture, the monks of Cîteaux soon discovered that adversity was like the jewel concealed in the toad's head. The country soon was white with sheep and what cattle and grain and wine were to the older monasteries, that fleeces became to the Cistercians. But only the raw wool was produced in England. For its manufacture into cloth the bales had to be shipped across Channel to Ghent, Ypres, Cambrai and other Flemish towns, which by the end of the twelfth century were famous in Europe

for their textiles. We get a gleam of the importance of this Anglo-Flemish woolen trade early. For during the long civil war which rent England after 1135, when Stephen of Blois and Henry Plantagenet were rivals for the throne, Stephen's possession of the eastern shires gave him control of this transmarine wool trade and kept him supplied with funds. This also partly explains his employment of Flemish mercenaries in England.

All the provinces of western France from Brittany to Gascony were in desperate condition in the tenth century owing to feudal anarchy. In Brittany the earliest sign of revived economic life is found in the time of Alain Barbe-Torte (938–52). The *Chronicle of Nantes* shows that in the middle of the tenth century Nantes still had its old trade connections with Ireland and Spain. This coast trade was supplemented by the traffic brought by pilgrims bound for Compostella who took ship at Nantes. Between the mouth of the Loire and the estuary of the Gironde the whole seaboard was a land of marsh and fen, unredeemed until the twelfth century. In Guienne and Gascony, between the Norse invasions, the wars of the feudality, and the violent secularization of the lands of the monasteries, a state verging upon barbarism existed until the eleventh century. It is not an accident that the Truce of God first appeared in the Limousin. When Abbon of Fleury visited Casseuil, the birthplace of Louis the Pious, near La Réole, in 1004, he found it in ruins.

As a whole, the south of France from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean was a full century behind the north in institutional development and in culture. The Mediterranean provinces of France suffered, along with the whole west coast of Italy, from Saracenic piracy and actual occupation as deeply as the north of Europe suffered from the Norse, and central Europe from the Magyars. The fact that the Mohammedan invader was ultimately expelled while the Norsemen and the Magyars became Christian and entered into the polity of German-Latin Europe has made us forget the formidable nature of their invasions in the ninth and tenth centuries. In 810 the Saracens established themselves in Corsica and Sardinia. In 820 the Riviera from Nice to Toulon was ravaged by them. By 842 they had penetrated up the Bouches-du-Rhone and sacked Arles. A Mohammedan camp for some years was in the Ile-de-Camargue, in the lower Rhone, whence Arles, Orange, Avignon, Nimes were threatened. Fortunately these towns were once favored Roman municipia and abounded with Roman remains, walls, aqueducts, arches, from whose ruins stone was easily procurable. Hence they were enabled soon to protect themselves with walls as the cities of the north had done against the Norse. But Marseilles does not seem to have been able so to do in time. Although perhaps not permanently occupied by the Saracens as were Vintimiglia, Nice, Hyères, Fréjus,

Toulon, nevertheless Marseilles was so ruined and cut off from sea and land that she did not emerge from obscurity until the Crusades, to become a great Mediterranean port.

In the latter half of the ninth century the darkness of Provençal history is partly relieved by the half historical, half legendary achievements of Gérard of Rouissillon and archbishop Rolland of Arles, one of whom gained a victory over the Saracens at Montmajor near Arles, the other of whom cleared the Camargue and erected a fort there to guard the lower Rhone. The formidable nature of the Mohammedan raids in Provence may have been a factor in the formation of Boso's "kingdom" of Burgundy in 879, and if history had been as generous toward him as legend has been toward Gérard of Rouissillon, we might know more and better of him than we do. It is not without significance that Boso's death in 888 coincides with the most formidable extension by the Mohammedans of their invasion in Provence. Their capture of Fraxinet in that year marks the beginning of an Islamic domination in Provence which endured until 972, during which their raids were extended as far north as Grenoble and were stemmed only by the heroic resistance of the bishops of Grenoble and Sisteron, aided by Count William of Provence, his brother Ratbold, Count Boniface of Castellane, and Count Gibalin of Grimaldi, whose family still survives on the Riviera. Amazing as it seems, the Saracens for many years were in possession of every Alpine pass from the sea to Lake Geneva. They even crossed the Alps and sacked the towns of Piedmont Italy. The valley of Susasa was reduced to a desert. The interruption of commercial and pilgrim traffic from northern Europe over the Alps to Italy was so great that all travel had to be thrown to the German passes. The terror of the Saracens may be appreciated from the legend of Ogier the Dane, how he became a monk at Meaux and gave up his charger as a draught-horse to the stone masons of the abbey; how the Saracens besieged Meaux, how he offered to lead the attack against them; how every horse he mounted broke down under his great weight until his old charger was brought him, and how he dispersed the Saracens.

At last in 972 the great Saracen stronghold at Fraxinet was carried and the Riviera was free from Mohammedan occupation, though the sea was still possessed by them. Then ensued throughout all Provence one of the most interesting movements in the history of medieval colonization. While the remnants of the native population crept down into the valleys again from the clefts of the hills whither they had fled, and began the painful rehabilitation of agriculture amid the waste, where the very names of the mountains and streams had been forgotten, the local nobles, as the price of their prowess, carved out for themselves immense domains, often with no regard to former possessors, and invited set-

tlers from abroad to come in. In this wise was the feudal régime, hitherto almost unknown to Lower Provence, established. The proprietary nobles and the proprietary clergy, bishops and abbots, spread their net over a country where hitherto freehold petty proprietorship had prevailed and where the roots of manorialism had not yet sunk deep into the soil. To this day the peasantry of Provence not infrequently turn up with plow or pick tiles and brick of Saracenic workmanship, and the traces of Saracenic occupation are visible in the countenances of the people, in house architecture, in local festivals, even those of the Church.

Thus the economic picture of France in the tenth and eleventh centuries is like a patchwork quilt, wherein each province is a separate piece. The conditions varied from province to province.

The material progress of France in the two hundred years between the vanishment of the Frankish monarchy in the ninth century and the end of the eleventh, when a new day dawned upon Europe with the inception of the Crusades, was not inconsiderable. In material condition and in the formulation of customary social and economic practice into forms of law which, however crude and brutal they may seem to us, yet must be regarded as an advance upon the anarchy which had prevailed in the ninth and early tenth centuries, the evidences of improvement are many and various. There is one index of agricultural prosperity broader than any other. The spread of grape-growing and wine-making over very much of France during the feudal age is perhaps the most obvious evidence of economic development. The grape like the olive, requiring years of time in which to develop, careful, intelligent husbandry, and protection from the devastation of war, is an index of civilization of no mean importance. Wine was both beverage and food to the medieval man of all classes, even the lowliest. The Norse and the Magyar rapidly learned to love wine and to grow vineyards. In 885 Duke Godefrid, the Norse conqueror of Friesland, demanded that Charles the Fat deliver up to him Coblenz, Andernach, Sinzig, and other manors of the fisc in the lower Rhine lands "because of the abundance of the wine there, since the country of Frisia would not grow grapes to make wine withal." It may be objected that wine is hardly a fair gauge of progress, because of its dependence on certain kinds of climate and soil. This objection is true only to a very limited extent, for in the Middle Ages people did not know what made the quality of wine, and with lack of prejudice planted vineyards everywhere. Moreover, in the isolation of the high feudal age it was necessary to grow what one needed oneself, and since every one wanted wine, and the Church had to have it, vineyards were to be found in many more parts of France and Germany in the tenth century than today. St. Benedict in the sixth century might advise those monks who could

get no wine because of the nature of the locality, to "bless God and murmur not," but the monks soon ceased to let the nature of the locality interfere with them.

In France, just as in Germany, the spread of vineyards to all sorts of unnatural places had taken place as a result of the infrequency of commerce and the general isolation. In the uncertainties of the later ninth and especially the tenth century, nobles were far from willing to let any wine leave their domains and took strong measures against it. Consequently vineyards appeared in as unlikely spots as Normandy, Brittany, and Picardy. There was some wine grown around Paris, for part of the *redevance* paid to the abbey of St. Germain des Prés (between 800 and 826) was in wine, but vineyards were the exception on the abbey's lands.

However, by the middle of the eleventh century this isolation was in large measure broken down, merchants could go safely from province to province, and the nobles, ceasing to hoard their wine, began to make profits on the trade. Most of these northern vineyards were neglected as soon as good wine was once more in circulation. But many vineyards on more favorable locations also sprang into existence in this period, and these continued and flourished. The territory north of Bordeaux, now called the Médoc, began its famous history of wine production in the tenth century. In 900 Guillaume le Bon, count of Bordeaux, gave the abbey of St. Croix de Bordeaux the lands and wines of the church of St. Hilaire near Blanquefort. There are other donations on record in the early eleventh century, and documentary evidence of the existence of vineyards in any number of monasteries in that region during the whole period of English domination. The *Coutumes* of St. Réole, of 977, gives many details of wine-growing and instructions concerning it, and concerning the *redevances* in kind due to the abbot. There was a market for wine at Bazas in 980, and at La Réole in 982.

Wine became in France, as in Germany, a staple article of consumption and was the habitual drink even among the lower classes. Shipmasters were obliged to provide wine for their sailors. Field laborers often received a certain amount of wine as part of their payment. The frequent allusions to vineyards and wine in the chronicles of Champagne, Burgundy, and the Moselle and Rhine lands in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries show the importance attached to grape culture. *"Ipso anno* [976] *septem denariis emebatur vini modius. . . . Ipso anno* [977] *magna fuit copia vini in tantum ut non amplius pro uno vini modio venditores nisi aut quinque aut quatuor seu tres denarios ab emptoribus accipiebant,"* writes Flodoard of Rheims. No bumper crop was so joyously hailed as the grape crop. Its failure or even shrinkage was a calamity. The product was pleasant to make and always com-

manded a market either at home or abroad. Moreover, thanks to the network of rivers and the barges plying on every navigable stream, wine was easy to transport.

In the eleventh century, after the Norman conquest of Apulia and Sicily (1016–90), wines from Sicily and Italy were imported into France. Gallic wines were sent into the Orient. The Genoese brought Greek and Spanish wines to Flanders as a centre of distribution, and were among the many agents who carried the wines of southern France there. Bordeaux merchants carried their wine by sea to Flanders and Germany. In fact wine was the principal commodity exported from France into Flanders. The brothers Arnoul and Rodolphus, in the château of Bapaume, are said to have grown rich by holding up the wine merchants going to Arras.

The most important exportation of wine from France, however, was to England. Indeed, a great deal of that sent to Flanders was on its way to England, both Flemings and Frisians being great middlemen in the trade. Rouen, too, had regular commercial relations with London, exchanging Burgundian and French wines for English goods. A great deal of wine was shipped directly to England from her provinces in southwestern France after 1152, out of Bordeaux. The English kings gave special privileges to French merchants; it was not until Henry II that German merchants were granted the great privileges of trading on the same terms as the French.

Another market for French wines was found in the Scandinavian countries. In the ninth century this exportation cannot be referred to, strictly speaking, as trade—it took the form rather of loot and war indemnity, of which wine was always a principal article. But after this era there was a certain amount of exchange of northern furs for French wines, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it became a flourishing trade.

A complicated system of taxes, tolls, and dues grew up round the wine business. In the productions of wines the exactions were as follows: A certain *redevance,* or tax in kind, was due to the seignior: this was called *vinage* or *complant.* The *corvée* was a certain number of days' labour in the lord's land (in this case vineyard) each year, due from his serfs. The *banalités* made the use of the lord's wine-press and measures obligatory on all dwellers in his lands, and this was paid for in kind. The *forage,* or *afforage,* of wine was a tax due to the seignior from all tavern-keepers, or other wine-sellers, on his lands. The seigniors held the privilege of the "ban"; when their wine was ready they could forbid the sale of any other on their land for a month. The advantage of price gained by this monopoly, however, was limited to two pence a jar higher than other wine. The seignior had an intendant to look after all these rights and taxes for him, who received no salary,

but shared in the profits. This probably led to considerable abuse and oppression.

The lords especially encouraged markets on their lands by which they profited largely. They could tax merchants coming to and from them, and collect a *tonlieu* (about six pence a barrel) on the wine sold. A large number of taxes were imposed on wine in transport. The early right of *prise,* held by kings, was the foundation of harbor, fair, and market tolls. It persisted in the form of prisage of wine, which was gradually commuted to specified amounts, or money payments. There were *péages* on roads and bridges. The *rouage* was a tax on wine of two pence per cartload, entering or leaving Paris. In Paris also, a *taille* of bread and wine was levied every three years—one penny on every hogshead sold, at wholesale or retail. The *liage* on the Seine and Marne was a tax of four livres on each boatload of wine. The kings of France had the right to sixty sous on each boatload of wine at the time of the harvests, until the reign of Louis VI, who gave it as a permanent privilege to the *gilda mercatorum* of Paris in 1121.

A quaint custom in Paris (perhaps not regarded in that light by the tavern-keepers of that day) was that of having criers of wine. These formed a gild and each tavern-keeper was required to employ at least one of them to cry his wares. They went about with drums, offering samples of wine to passers-by and proclaiming its price.

CHAPTER XIII

ITALY BEFORE THE CRUSADES * (887-1095)

ITALY, in common with France and Germany, was reduced to a geographical expression during the ninth century. The peninsula was rent into a number of feudal principalities in constant warfare.

The crown presented the spectacle of the most disastrous prodigality. Not only lands and offices were enfiefed, but almost everything which today we designate as public domain—streets, bridges, piazzas, public buildings, walls, gates, towers, ports, etc.—was alienated by the rival kings who in this way sought to purchase supporters or to acquire funds. In 891 Berenger so disposed of the old Roman amphitheatre in Verona.

The healthiest political life was in the towns, and by this term is meant not merely the great cities, but the little hill towns of Tuscany and greater villages in the plains of Lombardy. Neither feudalism nor manorialism, except in certain parts, ever had the sway in Italy which it attained elsewhere in Europe. All told, we may view Italy even as far back as the ninth century as less feudalized than any other country of western Europe. But there was much local variation. When the Italian feudal system was at its height Lombardy was covered with a network of great estates, broken here and there only by agricultural communities. "Every estate appears as a self-sufficing whole, being at the same time a combination of smaller economic units, of holdings which are possessed by slaves, half free, or free persons. The arable strips of a holding form here also no isolated whole, but are for the most part distributed among the fields. In Tuscany, however, the great estates with their toll of services and payments, were comparatively rare, for the feudal system was overborne by the vitality of the civic movement in the towns. Near Siena there were great manors, but round Florence the ownership of the land was vested in the town and the servile tenantry was transformed into one of free contract or lease."

The town spirit was older and more vigorous than elsewhere in Europe. There were more freemen in proportion to the servile population than north of the Alps. To the persistence of this communal phenomenon three influences contributed: the economic effect of common land (*allmende*), the vigorousness of the Lombard stock, whose *ari-*

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 54.

manni were the ancestors of the Italian freeholder class, and the institutional inheritance from the later Roman Empire. The survival of common land of the community in Italy—which, it must be borne in mind, included not only village "greens" but much woodland, pasture, and waste—and the management of this communal property by the villagers gave rise to self-administering rural communes in North Italy long before the town movement was first manifested elsewhere in Europe. The landlord class, lay and clerical, unwittingly contributed to the formation of this spirit by granting terms of freehold possession to peasant pioneers who would clear waste land. Usually half the land or half the produce was allowed to the reclaimer. Hence North Italy had a more vigorous, independent, freer peasantry than France or Germany or England. This spirit of self-reliance was intensified by the sense of security afforded by town walls.

The wars of the barons and the ravages of the Magyars had compelled the towns to repair their old Roman walls or to build new ones. Such were Modena, Bergamo, Cremona, Pavia, and above all, Milan, which Lambert of Spoleto unsuccessfully besieged for eight months (June, 896–January, 897). Pavia, burned by the Magyars in 924, could withstand a siege by them in the next year. From her new, high walls Modena in the same year defied the Magyars who wasted the countryside around. By the middle of the tenth century an Italian chronicler says that most of the towns of North Italy were walled (*oppida vero cum nonnulla cum munitissima*). Even refugees from Bavaria and Swabia found asylum in these Italian towns. These obscure burghers proved the spirit that was in them as early as the tenth century, when they demanded freedom of trade upon the Po and its tributaries where the feudalized bishops had put up weirs and chains and toll gates. They found supporters among the smaller vassals (*vavassores*) who suffered much from the tyranny of the great feudatories and the free-holding class. In 1036 these groups together staged a rising against the great nobles sufficiently strong to attract the intervention of the emperor Conrad II in their behalf.

As Italy did not reach the depth of feudalism which the countries across the Alps reached, so also its commerce and industry were more vigorous. Rome, it is true, was dead to commerce and industry for centuries. But Venetia, Lombardy, Liguria, the southern provinces, and Sicily were zones of lively commerce. The reasons for this commercial superiority were: first, the possession of an active merchant marine and naval power, especially in the case of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi; secondly, the possession of a considerable amount of capital arising from the fact that Italian trade had never become wholly stagnated; thirdly, the intimate and lucrative connection of Italy with Byzantium and the ports of Egypt and Syria, whence came the rich importations out of

the Orient; and fourthly, in industry, the inheritance and tradition of an industrial technique derived from Roman imperial times.

Italy is the key to the Mediterranean and since Greek days this Midst-of-the-Earth Sea had been the great distributor of commercial wares. Egypt, Phœnicia, Greece, Carthage, Rome had waxed rich upon her shores. The Saracens for many years controlled the western basin of the Mediterranean, but the Adriatic and the Ionian seas were never blocked by them. Hence Venice, Ravenna, Taranto, Bari, Brindisi, and, through the Po, the Lombard cities had always been able to maintain contacts with the East. It was different with the cities of the west coast. Here Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi were arrested in their commercial development until the Norman conquest of Sicily from the Arabs in the time of Roger II (died 1090). This greater capitalistic condition of Italy is shown in the fact that she was the first country in Europe to evince economic hostility toward the Jews, and did so long before such enmity appeared in Germany and France. As early as 855 the emperor Lothar I exiled the Jews from Italy; many of them removed to Frankish Gaul, where the favor shown them at the court of Louis the Pious, as we have seen, gave them great opportunity.

In this regional survey of Italian economic history one must begin with Venice. The origins of Venice are to be found in that colony of refugees from Aquileia and Padua who fled to the lagoons and islands of the Adriatic from the barbarian invasions of the fifth century. Living at first upon fishing and salt-making, before 600 the Venetians had become a seafaring and trading people, first in the Adriatic, then in the Ionian Sea, and soon ventured to the ports of the Byzantine Empire and to Alexandria. The natural canal of the Adriatic deeply indenting the south of Europe midway between east and west, and opening into the Mediterranean, is the greatest single factor that conditioned Venetian history. The great current from the outer deep which flows up between the shore and the long row of islands bordering the Dalmatian coast, and then turns southward again, running down the Italian coast and so to the sea once more, lent assistance to both outward and inward bound galleys.

A capital point in the history of the commerce and navigation of the Venetians is their connection and their traffic with Constantinople. From the very beginning they perceived the advantages to be drawn from this relation. They risked daring enterprises which were of profit, and events aided them. Cassiodorus in the time of Theodoric mentions the long trips by sea which the Venetian vessels made. It is almost impossible, owing to the lack of historical documents, to decide with certainty when and how Venice's commercial tie with Byzantium was first established. The rise of Venice as an importer of Levantine goods can be noted as early as 715 in a trade treaty which Liutprand made with

Venice and Comacchio. This treaty was the basis of the treaties made by Charlemagne and his successors. Venice, by these treaties, was given freedom to trade in the cities of the Empire subject only to the authorized tolls. Through her protected position on the islands and her intimate relations to Byzantium, Venice was able to overshadow her rival, Comacchio, whose decline and fall came in the ninth century. It is beyond doubt that Venice's Oriental trade is older than the oldest known record, since the latter, which is of the end of the tenth century (992), speaks of it as of a thing long established. An annalist contemporary with Charlemagne says that while the emperor was in Friuli, persons of his suite who came from Pavia where the Venetians had recently brought from beyond sea treasures of the Orient, appeared in sumptuous garments of silk of all colors and with all sorts of strange furs. This statement proves the traffic of the Venetians with Constantinople, for Constantinople was then the exclusive dépôt of the silk trade. Moreover, political relations, the reciprocal necessity of the two states, contributed not a little to cement the ties between Venice and Constantinople. To escape from the domination of western conquerors like Charlemagne, or to be able to resist the Saracen corsairs, the Venetians sought the aid of the eastern emperors; and the latter in their turn did not disdain the alliance of the Venetians which was so useful to them against the Arabs, since the power of Venice reposed upon her fleet. The emperor Michael the Stammerer, in the beginning of the ninth century, asked aid of them against the common enemy.

Charlemagne's futile effort to conquer the nascent island state and to annex it to his Lombard kingdom, because Venice was a seat of Lombard refugees and Byzantine intrigue against the Frank Empire, and in order to suppress the slave traffic between Venice and Egypt, consolidated the republic. Much of the booty and half the captives made during the unceasing warfare along the German-Slavonic border gravitated down to Venice. "Venetian dealers seem to have excelled all competitors in supplying the harems and slave markets of the Mussulman world. Pola in Istria is mentioned as the principal seat of their trade; and we know that in the tenth century the khalif of Cordova had a bodyguard of Hungarian slaves."

Although Venice was not formally separated from the Eastern Empire we may consider her as forming an independent state. Connected by her commerce with Constantinople and the Mohammedan lands, forming by her position an intermediate *locus* between the Empire of the East and western Europe, the fortune and the independence of Venice increased enormously, especially after the Frankish Empire was broken asunder in the ninth century. While the rest of the West was too much involved in strife and invasion to dream of much trade, the whole endeavor of Venice tended to this end. The successive invasions

of Huns, Avars, Slavs, Bulgars, and finally Magyars into either the middle Danube lands or the hinterland of the Balkan peninsula, by blocking the lower Danube route, helped to throw all Levantine trade into Venice's hands. When, after the conversion of Hungary (1000) and Basil II's subjugation of the Bulgarians (1018), the lower Danube and Save route was again opened, Venice was too well established along the sea lanes to the Orient to feel the new competition. These barbarian invasions in the middle Danube had the effect of a commercial revolution upon northern Italy. Venice never endeavored to develop a land-borne commerce.

Liutprand of Cremona, whom Otto I sent to Constantinople in 968, saw Venetian ships in the Golden Horn. The privilege of 992 granted by Basil II and confirming an earlier charter now lost, gave Venice almost complete monopoly of the carrying trade westward from Constantinople and the ports of Asia Minor—a trade which was exceedingly lucrative since for the most part it consisted of oriental luxuries like silks, rich woods, dyes, spices, perfumes, unguents, precious stones, and jewelry. Moreover, in return for a promise to furnish transports for soldiery sent to the provinces of southern Italy which still remained under Byzantine sway, Venetian vessels were given lower harbor and wharfage rates than other shipping. The Venetian quarter in Constantinople, the oldest of all her *fondachi* (merchant colonies with warehouse privileges in foreign land), was in Stamboul. At the head of the colony was a chief appointed by the doge; Venice had later at least four churches in the city and a bishop. As the result of this treaty Venetian ships frequented practically all the good harbors in Greece, Asia Minor, and the Black Sea.

Molmenti says that export dues at Constantinople received from the Venetians, and from Lombards traveling upon Venetian vessels, were eight times as great as the income from the import dues for the same length of time. He thinks the Venetian merchants may have received goods upon credit and sold them in Venice, Lombardy, and other European countries. When the exports of Constantinople were so great the importance of the "back haul" from Constantinople in oriental products is evident. In the eleventh century so "great was the majestic flow of Venetian commerce," that William of Apulia, the Norman poet, sang of it in stately measures. Genoa and Pisa had as yet no footing in the Byzantine Empire.

Venice also early formed a profitable commercial alliance with Fatimite Egypt. We find Venetian galleys in 828 at Alexandria, whence the bones of St. Mark were brought. This traffic was principally in slaves and arms, and although both the eastern emperor and the pope protested against it as supplying the enemy of Christendom, it went on almost without interruption. It was too lucrative to be abandoned. The

profits were immense, for in addition to slaves and arms, Venice exported iron from Dalmatia and Styria, and timber from the slopes of the mountains to metalless and timberless Egypt, bringing back silks, spices, and oriental luxuries out of the "gorgeous East" which commanded very high prices and took up little room. It is estimated that a round trip of a galley sometimes paid as much as 1200 per cent. Thus Venice at Constantinople and at Alexandria touched hands with the East through the two richest capitals of the medieval world.

Until the Crusades the good relation between Venice and Byzantium persisted to the advantage of each. The Venetian fleet not infrequently supplemented the deficiency of the imperial navy, notably in 1082 when Venice came to the relief of the emperor Alexius in the harbor of Durazzo and destroyed the fleet of Robert Guiscard, the Norman ruler of Lower Italy, who had conceived the grandiose project of conquering the Byzantine Empire. For this achievement Venice was rewarded with the right to buy and sell free of either export or import duties, taxes on sales, harbor or dockage charges all over the Empire.

Venice was content to be the emporium of Levantine goods in the West, and for the transmission of these wares inland she relied upon others, at first chiefly Jews, who were middlemen between Venice and Germany, her most natural market. In the cold winter of 860 when the Adriatic froze over, we find these traders crossing to Venice on the ice. In 1017, when four galleys laden with spices arrived at Venice, Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg noted the news in his *Chronicon*. In the trade with the Arabs of Africa, however, Venice had been preceded by Palermo, Naples, Amalfi. According to Muratori, some Venetian merchants opened a market at Rome in the middle of the eighth century, where they purchased large numbers of slaves, with the object of exporting them to the Saracens.

From Venice we pass to Ravenna. As the last capital of the Roman Empire in the West, early the seat of a bishopric and the capital of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, the history of Ravenna exhibits a greater and less broken historical continuity than any other Italian city except Rome. Until Venice eclipsed it, Ravenna was the chief emporium of North Italy. Nowhere else in western Europe are industrial gilds to be found so early as the ninth and tenth centuries, and nowhere else, when found, do they manifest such unmistakable connection with the gilds of the Byzantine and the later Roman empires. The argument from silence which has so long denied the existence of any gilds in western Europe before the eleventh century seems dangerous to employ in the light of Ravenna's industrial history.

The great monastery of Bobbio, the richest in North Italy, endowed lavishly by both the Lombard and the Carolingian kings in the eighth and ninth century, casts interesting light on industry, and at the same

time shows that these associations were not necessarily of a single origin. The register of Wala, abbot of Bobbio (834–36), gives us in detail instructions for the supervision and employment of many servile craftsmen attached to the abbey, tailors, shoemakers, wood-workers, leather-workers, carders, weavers, etc., all of whom were differentiated by the technique of their craft and dwelt in "quarters" around the monastery walls.

These great monasteries in North Italy supply us with interesting economic information. The agrarian system points to the partial persistence of Roman surveying practices, the unit being derived from the Roman *centuria*. For example, in Bobbio, the monastery situated in the centre of the lands and surrounded by its agricultural and industrial servile dependencies, corresponded quite clearly to the ancient Roman villa. The rest of the domain was divided into parcels of land occupied by free rent-paying tenants, subject to manorial prestations, but contractual in their nature, and renewable. The wide prevalence of this class of free cultivators, superior of course to mere serfs, points to the fact that either the Lombard conquest in the sixth century had not had the depressing effect usually attributed to it, or North Italy had made great economic and social recovery since that time.

Both towns and abbeys in North Italy, at least until the middle of the tenth century, seem to have been largely of an agrarian economy and nearly self-sufficient, raising enough grain, cattle, wool, leather, etc., for their needs. The Po and its affluents, supplemented by many canalized streams in the flat plain, provided easy communication and means of transportation. Few towns or abbeys were situated out of reach of these water arteries, which were more important than the roads. Hence the fierce competition for possession, the right to impose riverine taxes like tolls, wharf dues, etc. In late Carolingian days the monasteries had been the chief beneficiaries of these grants, including the right of market. But when, with the Magyar invasions, the towns became walled and the nobles erected castles for their protection, then they too began to establish markets and to impose duties on commerce. The most lucrative imposition was upon salt, which was made by evaporation in the marshes in the delta of the Po, especially around Comacchio. These dealers in salt were a privileged class and had been so since the time of the Lombard kings, the élite among traders, for they are denominated *milites* in the documents, as if they were almost of knightly rank.

The admirable system of waterways in Lombardy, the proximity of the Alpine passes and the dense population (probably in the ninth and tenth centuries in excess of any other region in western Europe) created unusual commercial competition. Inland traders competed with those from the Adriatic littoral; the monasteries, whose barges plied on every stream, bishops, and nobles, were rivals of these secular mer-

chants. Even so early as the tenth century, as has been said, there are evidences of urban revolt against the onerous exactions imposed upon commerce by the feudality, lay and clerical, harbingers of the town revolution in Lombardy in the eleventh century.

The rise of the Lombard cities, it has been finely said, is "the biography of a people." The germs of this popular movement are not to be found, as once was thought, in any survival of former Roman municipal institutions, for such did not survive, nor in any associative organism of German origin, nor yet in merchant or industrial gilds. The last were formed after the emergence of the towns. The true source of the Lombard towns, as of so many others elsewhere in Europe, was the rural or urban parish. The parish in the Middle Ages was much more than an ecclesiastical unit. It was an organic group of neighbors of a common social level, of a common economic life, who took an active interest in the local and lowly, but nevertheless not unimportant affairs of the parish, such as determining boundary disputes between disputing neighbors, repairing roads, suppressing petty larceny.[1]

Quite naturally the industrial and mercantile element in these urban communities in course of time came to dominate these groups, and a more than inchoate form of urban government ensued.

The cluster of such cities crowded on the rich Lombard plain profited immensely from the union of Germany and Italy made by Otto I in 962. From the first the Saxon and Salian monarchs perceived the value of the friendship of the towns as a check to the enmity of the feudality, and although few imperial charters to them antedate the eleventh century, there is no doubt of the imperial attitude, for all of them refer to and confirm preceding custom.

The German domination had a twofold effect. In the first place it established an intimate connection between Italy and Germany, giving the Italian cities which commanded the Alpine passes a new military and commercial importance, for they became—especially Milan—the important intermediaries between the eastern trade and Germany. In the second place, the German rule put an end to the feudal anarchy of more than a century in Lombardy, Tuscany, and the Romagna, by establishing firm government there. In the protection assured the Lombard cities and the exemption accorded them by the Saxon and Salian rulers is

[1] "The small group of neighbors associated in a parish came to look upon themselves as forming a practical social unit. The simple country folk who loved their parish church . . . would discuss their common interests as defined by paths, roads, pasture, cattle, and streams. In the case of a town the neighbors of street and parish would find themselves no less absorbed by questions touching cisterns, fountains, public hygiene, and the maintenance and repair of the church. Trusty men, elected from the parish associates, looked into the various neighborhood issues submitted to them and presently might even be called upon to act as judges and settle a quarrel between fellow-parishioners involved in a dispute. Everywhere,

found an important factor in the later municipal institutions which the Lombard cities developed. Pavia, Parma, Acqui, Lodi, Novara, Cremona, Reggio, Bologna, Padua, Como, Bergamo, and Florence owed to Otto I either exemptions from the jurisdiction of the counts, or the confirmation of privileges they already possessed; Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, Pistoia owed theirs to Otto III. The Ottos systematically followed the execution of a plan of intelligent opportunism destined to have tremendous results in the future. All upper Italy was transformed by the change, for even if the evidence is lost in the case of many towns, the issue proves the truth of the facts.[2]

Lombard commerce was essentially one of middlemen. The Lombard cities were clearing houses for Levantine goods imported from the Orient and transhipped and distributed by the merchants of Milan, Pavia, and other towns to the countries of the north.

It is impossible to study the economic history of Lombardy without attention to its location and topography. There is no more striking instance of the influence of geography on history than the rise of the Lombard cities. Lombardy is a rich alluvial plain spread between the Alps and the Apennines, or, roughly, the great plain of the Po River and its affluents. No region of Europe in the Middle Ages was so thickly studded with towns and villages as Lombardy. The reasons for this are not far to seek. They are found in the fertility of the great plain, which fed the cities, the network of rivers and streams which facilitated movement of traffic, the exit of the Po valley into the Adriatic, the fact that the river route was a natural road of travel between eastern and western Europe on the south side of the Alps, and finally, and not the least important condition, Lombardy's command of almost every pass over the Alps into France or Germany. The Mont Cenis and the Little St. Bernard connected Lombardy with Dauphiny and the Rhone valley; the Great St. Bernard, the only pass lying in a north-westerly direction, connected Lombardy with Geneva, Lyons, the Champagne Fairs, and

in hundreds and thousands of small centres, in town and country alike, this modest, almost invisible self-activity sprang into being; accelerated by the decay of the central power, and because it was sound at heart and provided for the most immediate and primal needs of the society, it was destined not only to survive, but to grow and crowd . . . feudalism from its seat. . . . By the eleventh century we find elected representatives called *boni homines* [good men] signing contracts with feudal land-owners, sitting in judgment over their fellows much like a regular court and meeting with other *boni homines* to discuss the common business of contiguous parishes and even of large geographical districts. In the cities, where men lived more closely together, and were pressingly dependent on each other's coöperation, the need for common action was even more urgent than in the country." Abridged from Schevill, *Siena*, 48-50. Cf. F. Schneider, *Burg und Landgemeinde in Italien*.

[2] Verona was attached to Germany as a march appended to Bavaria.

Basel; or else from St. Maurice an alternative road might be taken around the east end of Lake Geneva by following the uppermost course of the Rhone; the Italian lakes afforded other ways. Lake Maggiore led to the Simplon, Lake Lugano to the St. Gotthard (which, however, was not opened until the thirteenth century); Lake Como to the Splügen. Eastern Lombardy, with Verona and Mantua as most important cities, chiefly used the Brenner Pass, the lowest of all. But while every Lombard town profited by the Alpine passes, Milan was the converging point of them all except the Brenner, and the natural focus of all trade going over the Alps. Like the fingers of the hand the Alpine passes stretched out from Milan's palm. She held the commercial key to all northern Europe. In spite of the fact that the Brenner was the least central of all the Alpine passes it was much the most popular, for it was the lowest of all and moreover was the only pass wide enough for wagons, until the Septimer Pass was broadened in 1387. Over all the other passes pack mules or horses had to be used. Between 950 and 1250 the Brenner was crossed 43 times by German armies. Of the 144 crossings of the Alps made by the German kings, 66 were by way of the Brenner.

Burgher liberty and freedom of trade were joined in Lombardy in a struggle with aristocratic, feudal, and rural authority, a struggle in which the towns cleverly played off against one another the rivalry of bishop and baron, and profited by the feud between them. A new political society was in process of formation, a hitherto submerged population coming upward, determined to wrest political and social recognition from the feudal ruling class. This long drawn out struggle was also a duel between the older form of wealth resting on land and the newer form of wealth arising from industry and commerce. It was a conflict between real and personal property. The wealth of the towns was pitted against the wealth of the feudal châteaux, and in the struggle feudalism lost. The burgher won over the noble, the town over the country, movable property over real property, industry and commerce over agriculture. As early as 1106 Florence invited all the peasantry of the surrounding villages to desert their seigniorial lords and enter within her gates. Some cities held out the inducement of burgher liberty within a term of years varying from one to ten; others promised exemption from taxes for a certain period of time. This drift of the rural peasantry of Italy into the towns, especially after the Crusades began to shake all European society, is a most remarkable phenomenon. The efforts of the feudality to restrain the emigration of their peasants were in vain, and after the lord was deserted by his serfs, having no one to work his lands, he himself had no recourse but to move into town, too, or live a lean and hard existence on his barren acres. Not until the rise of the modern "industrial revolution" and the flow of population from the

fields into the great commercial and manufacturing centres was Europe again to witness a similar movement. So great was this emigration from country into town by the thirteenth century that many of the towns were overcrowded. Bologna by law in 1247 forbade new settlers within the city.

Of the economic history of Tuscany and the Tuscan cities of Florence, Siena, Reggio, Ferrara, Modena, Parma, we know little until the time of the Great Countess Matilda (1046–1115). The fact seems remarkable considering the later enormous economic importance of Florence and Siena. Yet it is easily explicable. The ancient Romans destroyed the Etruscan civilization once there and failed to build up a Roman civilization in its room. Under the Roman Empire, Tuscany was one of the most backward and undeveloped provinces of Italy. . . . "The population had always been sparse because of the uneconomic landlord system." The mountainous nature of the country had much to do with this backwardness. Feudalism was long in striking root in Tuscany, for feudalism was eminently an agricultural régime inclined to greatest power in broad plains or fertile valleys like the basin of the Seine and the valleys of the Moselle and the Rhine. The wealth of early medieval Tuscany was in its many monasteries, largely given to sheep-raising and wine-growing. And these institutions being self-sufficient, Tuscany had little economic contact with the outside world until the economic revolution wrought in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when an intra- and extra-European commerce and industry of wide dimension developed. Until that time the Tuscan towns were merely large villages. Even the history of Florence is obscure before the eleventh century. The Great Countess seems to have been the first ruler of the territory to endeavor to shake Tuscany out of its economic lethargy and isolation. But even her enterprises were limited apparently to improving communications by building roads and bridges and diking the Arno at Florence in order to confine its spring floods. The economic backwardness of Tuscany in the eleventh century, when the rest of Italy was awakening to newness of life, is strikingly evidenced by the fact that not a single coin of the Countess Matilda is known.

The maritime cities on the Ligurian gulf, Genoa, Pisa, Lucca, are hardly heard of in medieval history before the tenth century and had little economic importance until the opening of the Crusades. Pisa was plundered by the Norsemen scouring the Mediterranean in 860; Genoa and the whole seaboard was terribly ravaged by the African Mohammedan pirates in 931 and 935. Even after the Saracens were expelled from Provence in 972 the coast cities continued to suffer. For Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands were in Mohammedan hands. Pisa was twice again raided, in 1004 and 1011. Then quite suddenly Genoa and Pisa emerge out of darkness into the light of history in 1016 when

the combined fleets of the two cities attacked Sardinia. Pisa was the bolder in this initiative. It is significant that the oldest chronicle of Pisa begins in this year of victory: *"Fecerunt Pisani et Januenses bellum cum Mugieto* [Mogehid ibn Abdallah el Amiri, Mohammedan ruler of Majorca] *in Sardiniam et gratia Dei vicerunt illum."* A naval engagement in the harbor of Cagliari in 1050 culminated in the evacuation of the island by the Mohammedans. The conquest of Corsica and Sardinia followed.[3] The two cities now became bitter rivals for the trade of the western Mediterranean, their ships and merchants thronging the ports of Provence, Spain, and the opposite African coast.

A medieval poet writing in 1063 described Pisa as "a rich city whose vessels voyage to the ports of Sicily and of Africa and in whose streets one might see merchants of many nations, Christian and Infidel." But until the Crusades opened neither Genoa nor Pisa seems to have ventured into the richer lands of the East. It is an important historical fact for the student to observe that in the eleventh century the growing sea-power of Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi in the western Mediterranean began to overthrow the ascendancy which Islam had possessed there for two hundred and fifty years. Europe's awakening out of manorial conditions and an almost wholly agricultural life coincides with the opening of trade routes again to the East and its recovery of sea-power in the Mediterranean. The Pisans and Genoese were above all else traders and the reasons of all their wars and all their voyages were at bottom economic reasons.

The history of Rome from the end of the ninth century until the revival of the papacy in the eleventh century is without either political or economic importance.[4]

After the pillage and burning of Rome in 1084 by the Normans, "the forum and its surroundings disappeared altogether from the sight and almost from the memory of the living." What population was left was

[3] "Sardinia was rich in flocks and herds and grain and slaves; its marshes afforded practically inexhaustible supplies of salt; its mountains were seamed with precious metals and its coasts abounded in sponges and coral. Both Pisa and Genoa desired to exploit it commercially; neither could brook the presence of a rival and no sooner were the Saracens defeated than the victors turned their arms against one another." Heywood, *Pisa,* 23.

[4] "The social and economic conditions" [says Bryce] "were such that it was only out of the ecclesiastical system that new institutions could arise. . . . The citizens were divided into three orders: the military class, including what was left of the ancient aristocracy; the clergy, a host of priests, monks, and nuns attached to the countless churches and convents; and the people or *plebs,* as they are called, a poverty-stricken rabble without trade, without industry. . . . After the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire Rome relapsed into a state of profligacy and barbarism to which, even in that age, Europe supplied no parallel, a barbarism which had inherited the vices of civilization without its virtues."

huddled within the walls of the Leonine City. Historically Rome has ever been a consumer, not a producer. It is curious to observe that while in the northern cities of Italy we find merchant and industrial gilds, in Rome these associations are merely of gardeners, cattle-raisers, olive growers. We find no mention of artisans until the twelfth century, and even then they are only sandal-makers and cordwainers.

And yet through Peter's pence and gifts of pilgrims the popes found the means to indulge in Levantine luxuries like silks, spices, jewels. Amalfitan and Neapolitan merchants were the chief intermediaries in this trade. Owing to the destruction of Ostia and the ruin of the harbor works at the mouth of the Tiber most of these importations had to come into Rome through the port of Gaeta, nominally a tiny seashore republic like Amalfi and Naples, but practically under the domination of the counts of Tusculum, the ancient enemies of the popes, who made Rome pay dearly. Not until 1153 were the popes relieved of the burden of Tusculum when divisions of property, debts, and family feuds reduced this powerful family to poverty. When they mortgaged their lands, Eugene III cleverly bought the mortgage.

But in one form of economic activity papal Rome in the twelfth century rose to power—finance and banking. The Hildebrandine reforms and the increased pontifical power resulting from them, from the twelfth century onward poured a flood of gold into the coffers of St. Peter. The legatine system of papal government too often enriched the Holy See or the legates themselves by methods of extortion. Their visits not infrequently resembled the visits of a Roman proconsul. "The churches concealed their wealth, buried their treasures or purchased exemption from inquiry by bribes." A letter of St. Bernard complaining of the extortions of the cardinal-legate Jordanes dei Ursini throws vivid light upon papal fiscality, not that the pope was necessarily responsible, except indirectly, for these abuses. The excessive fiscality of the medieval Church is of twelfth century origin. In fiscal matters and money-changing Rome rivaled Venice or Genoa. The richest Roman banking house was a Jewish family named Pierleone. The founder of this remarkable family, Peter, had been a sort of papal court banker to Leo IX (1049), who persuaded him to become Christian. His son added the name Leonis in compliment to the pope and was an ardent supporter of the papacy during the investiture strife. The grandson, Peter Leonis or Pierleone was the Crassus of medieval Rome, married into the Roman nobility, and was the owner of the ancient Theatre of Marcellus, which he converted into a fortress. He died in 1128. The epitaph upon his tomb, which is preserved, extols him as "a man without an equal, immeasurably rich in money and children"—truly Jewish virtues. Urban II died in the palace of this creditor and friend of the medieval popes. One of Pierleone's sons became pope, another patrician

of the Romans, and a daughter is said to have married Roger II of Sicily.

Southern Italy has been aptly said to be "a land destined to receive from the south its civilization, from the north its masters." In civilization it was a palimpsest. The ancient Greeks, the Romans, the Goths, the Lombards, the Byzantines, the Arabs and finally the Normans have over-run it and left their impress upon it. Less the German influence, the history of Sicily is much the same. During nearly three centuries —the ninth, tenth, and eleventh—Lower Italy was peopled by four races, was governed by four legal systems, and had two forms of Christianity, besides the religion of Islam, within its borders. Greeks, Latins, Lombards, and Arabs divided religion and rule. Politically speaking, ever since the sixth century its provinces, Apulia and Calabria being the most important, pertained to the Byzantine Empire.

Through Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily the Byzantine Empire was in direct contact with western Europe, and a not inconsiderable material and intellectual culture found its way through Italy into Germany and France, and even England from this source. What little Hellenism tinctures the literary and artistic life of the West during the feudal age came largely from Byzantine Italy.

Saracen pirates from the emirate of Kairwan (modern Tunis) began to infest the Tyrrhene Sea and endanger Italy early in the ninth century. Leo III, the pope who crowned Charlemagne, was compelled to establish watch towers along the Roman coast. In 813 Civita Vecchia was attacked. Between 827 and 895 all Sicily was overrun by Arabs, Berbers, and fugitive Spanish Mohammedans. In 846 Rome was attacked, and St. Peter's was soon afterwards surrounded by a wall by Leo IV to protect it. The peril was so great that the southern seaports, Amalfi, Gaeta, and Naples, all of which flourished upon commercial intercourse with Constantinople, formed a league which won a naval battle off Ostia in 849. The Saracen prisoners were used in the erection of the Vatican city. In 876 the Campagna was frightfully devastated. Meantime, though temporarily checked on the sea by the heroic pope John VIII, the Saracens had crossed over from Sicily to the Italian mainland; like the Norsemen in France, the Saracens soon discovered that the monasteries were the chief repositories of wealth and sacked them unmercifully, both Greek and Latin. To make matters worse, the intriguing policy of the popes who coveted the southern provinces and plotted to annex them to the papal patrimony, united with the latent hostility of the Lombard population in them toward Byzantium, whose government, centred at Bari, was both economically burdensome and administratively corrupt, facilitated the spread of Islam. There was constant strife between the Greeks, the Lombards, and the seaports.

Nevertheless, in spite of these adverse conditions, the fertility of the

soil of Calabria, and more of Apulia (both today half ruined by malaria), the broad pastures, the thick chestnut forests, the vine and the olive, the Calabrian mines, since exhausted, the industry of a population perhaps denser than in the same provinces now, the number of the ports and the enterprise of their hardy seafaring inhabitants, were tenacious economic and social factors in the life of southern Italy which enabled the population to surmount every disadvantage and even to prosper. Before the eleventh century no cities of western Europe except Venice vied with Bari, Amalfi, Naples, Salerno, Taranto, in the variety or splendor of eastern importations which they made. For the commercial population in these cities was too thrifty to permit religious prejudice to interfere with commerce. Leo Marsicanus, the chronicler of Monte Cassino, inveighs against the Amalfitans and Salernitans in the ninth century for putting business above religion and trading with Mohammedan Africa.

Of all these maritime and commercial cities of southern Italy Amalfi was the most enterprising, rivaling Venice and anticipating Genoa and Pisa. She was the chief intermediary of the trade between Africa and Mohammedan Spain. As early as the tenth century colonies of Amalfitan merchants were established in Alexandria and Cairo, in Syria, in Constantinople. When Basil II broke the Bulgar power, Amalfitan and Venetian merchants opened competing trading quarters at Durazzo. It is curious to observe how Amalfi's prosperity was conditioned by that of the Byzantine Empire and reflects the alternations of Byzantine land and sea power. The preponderance of Byzantine gold money as a medium of exchange in the Mediterranean lands is again a striking economic fact. In the tenth and eleventh centuries there is no local Lombard coinage save copper pennies. Only Amalfi and Salerno had their own coinage, and it is significant that these coins bear Arabic or Cufic inscriptions upon them, and were obviously coined for the facilitation of trade in Egypt and the Mohammedan countries in North Africa. While western Europe, including all save Venice and southern Italy, was still shifting with silver currency, Islamic Spain and Africa, Sicily, southern Italy, the Byzantine Empire, Syria, and Egypt were doing business on a gold basis. The fact is eloquent evidence of the economic backwardness of the West when contrasted with the eastern lands.

The long economic backwardness of western Europe was very largely owing to the ascendancy of Mohammedanism in the Mediterranean. The rise of Genoa and Pisa, of Amalfi and Salerno, partially redressed this adverse balance. Yet so long as the Saracens were in possession of Sicily, thus controlling the "narrows" of the Mediterranean, navigation and commerce of Christian Europe was continually at the mercy of Islam. Western Europe's economic liberation depended upon overcom-

ing Islam's sea power and Christian recovery of Sicily, the key of the Mediterranean.

Amalfi and Salerno had established a *modus vivendi* with the Saracens of Sicily and Tunis by which both sides mutually profited, so that Sicily in Mohammedan possession made no difference to them. Indeed, they even profited by it. But Pisa, more progressive than Genoa, late in the tenth century endeavored to penetrate into the richer lands of the eastern Mediterranean in search of trade, an enterprise favored by Byzantium, and even Venice, because of the constant Arabic menace of the Greek provinces in southern Italy. In 975 a united Byzantine and Pisan fleet assailed Messina. In 1006 a great naval battle was fought off Reggio between the Byzantine and the Arabic fleets in which Pisan aid helped to win a victory for the former. Pisa's reward was liberty to trade in the ports of the Eastern Empire, a grant which stirred up the bitter hostility of Amalfi and Salerno, which resented rival competition. The last Arab attack on Italy was made in 1011, when Pisa was plundered in retaliation for assisting Byzantium in 1006.

This tangle of rivalries, political, religious, commercial in southern Italy and Sicily, was destined to be simplified in the eleventh century by the Norman conquest of Apulia and Sicily. The sword of the Normans cut the Gordian knot and established the strong preponderance of a single political power in the mid-Mediterranean. The Norman conquest of southern Italy and Sicily, begun as an adventure, was transformed into a movement of conquest and colonization similar to that later in 1066, and culminated in the creation of a state of original and brilliant civilization, which endured for two hundred years.

These Norman "chevaliers" did not represent rich nobles surrounded by retainers. The first arrivals in 1016 had left their native Normandy because they were needy knights—because they found in Normandy, as the chronicler Geoffrey Malaterra says, that the law of equal inheritance of the sons gave them too small portions of lands. Moreover, among them were to be found many barons exiled because of violating the ducal law against private war. In fact these soldiers of fortune were nothing but adventurers and brigands. Any means were justifiable in order to win; ravage of the plain by knights pouring down from castles on the hills; towns betrayed by treason; adversaries drawn into ambuscade—such are the current episodes of the history of the first Norman chiefs of Italy, the sons of Tancred de Hauteville and their companions. When the first Norman bands arrived in Italy they were given castles, and new bands kept arriving in order to get a share of the spoil.

The fortunes made by these adventurers in the rich and populous provinces of Lower Italy were prodigious. "Why live like a rat in a hole when you might rule these fertile plains?" harangued one of them

to his followers. The word went home to Normandy of this goodly land, and for the next fifty years a stream of Norman knights and nobles flowed southward, and in the end the greatest conquering and colonizing race of the Middle Ages created another Normandy in a Mediterranean land. By 1053 an Italian Normandy was founded by the boldest of these adventurers, the redoubtable Robert Guiscard (the Wily). In 1063 a single battle gave the Normans posssession of all Sicily except Palermo, which was taken in 1072. By 1090 the Norman subjugation of the island was made complete by Roger I (the youngest brother of Guiscard).

This Norman conquest of southern Italy and Sicily wrought an economic revolution in the Mediterranean. Mohammedan commercial domination was displaced by a Christian domination at the axial point where the great sea routes crossed. The Norman conquest of Sicily opened the Straits of Messina to Christian commerce. Christian sea-power supplanted Mohammedan. An intelligent and energetic government supervised and directed the activities of a population distinguished for hundreds of years—Greek, Jew, Italian, Arab—along lines of trade and commerce. All the former rival and competing ports, Amalfi, Salerno, Bari, Taranto, Palermo were united under a single rule. The last was the centre of a commercial radiation whose lines extended as far west as Cadiz and eastward to Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople.

But having triumphed over Islam the victors soon became bitter commercial rivals. To the Byzantine Empire, to Venice, to Pisa and Genoa the changed condition of things in the Mediterranean was as great a menace as the former sea-power and commercial enterprise of the Arabs had been. For the masterful Norman kings were as ambitious commercially as they were territorially and politically. Merchants of Kairwan were given the "most favored nation" privilege. In command of the straits between Italy and Africa, the Norman kings planned to make Pisa and Genoa, later Marseilles and Barcelona, pay toll on all shipping and goods of theirs going in either direction. To reduce Venice to commercial vassalage Robert Guiscard in 1081 attempted to possess himself of Durazzo and thus control the bridge-heads, Otranto and Durazzo, across the narrow strait, barely fifty miles wide, to the Adriatic. The destruction of the Norman fleet by that of Venice foiled this vast design. The Norman menace to their joint commerce threw Venice and the Byzantine Empire into a close alliance. Robert Guiscard and his redoubtable sons Bohemond and Roger were compared by the Greeks to the caterpillar and the locust: what one did not devour, the other consumed. Undismayed by his earlier failure, in 1084 Guiscard actually made preparations for the conquest of Constantinople itself. One's imagination is staggered by the daring of the design. If it had succeeded, the whole commerce of southern Europe and the Mediterranean

would have been under his control. Three naval battles, storm, and pestilence frustrated the great project, and in the issue Venice derived all the profit which arose from the event. For "Alexius, apprehensive of a second attack, . . . obtained from the republic of Venice an important succor of 36 transports, 14 galleys, and 9 galleons or ships of extraordinary strength and magnitude. Their services were liberally paid by the license or monopoly of trade, a profitable gift of many shops and houses in the port of Constantinople, and a tribute to St. Mark, the more acceptable as it was the produce of a tax on their rivals of Amalfi."

These military and naval expeditions, these Italian, Greek, and Mohammedan buccaneering enterprises, these intense commercial rivalries, were one and all preparatory symptoms of the Crusades, and each contributed its influence to that great movement. The Mediterranean ports of Europe, especially those of Italy, at the end of the eleventh century were crowded with adventurers of every guise drawn from every element of a warlike and turbulent society—cadets of feudal houses deprived of any portion of the ancestral lands by the law of primogeniture, soldiers of fortune, merchants, traders, smugglers, lustful for gain, vagrom monks, runaway serfs, fugitives from the law, wharf rats, Jewish usurers and "fences" for stolen goods. To all, the rich Mohammedan lands in the Levant seemed an El Dorado. The Crusades were to be a motley of peoples, a mélange of motives.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE CRUSADES (802–1096) *

THE history of the Eastern Roman Empire from 802, when the rule of the great reforming dynasty of the Isaurians came to an end, to 1096, when the Crusades fatally involved the Empire in ruin, is a history of fluctuating fortune verging from catastrophic defeat to stunning victories, and punctuated time and again by palace revolutions. In this period we see the rise and fall of the first Bulgarian Empire, the menace of Russia, the continuation of the struggle with the Saracens, the loss of Armenia and all Asia Minor to the newly risen and formidable Seljuk Turks after the battle of Manzikert (1071). And yet always and ever the routine life of the Empire pursued its way, modified far more by silent and slow organic change within than by external events.

The reign of Nicephorus I (802–11), who overthrew the empress Irene, was distinguished by vigorous fiscal and taxing measures. The new emperor had not been an official of the treasury for nothing. The land survey was carefully revised so as to include the great holdings. To keep the land from lying sterile the big landlords were made responsible for the cultivation of near-by waste tracts. Irene had exempted monasteries and church property from payment of the hearth tax which had replaced the capitation; the Church had grown fat under this lenient treatment. Nicephorus enforced the hearth tax on the Church and used vigorous measures in the collection of arrears. The death tax of five per cent. (like the modern inheritance tax) was revived. A tax which would have delighted a modern single-tax enthusiast was laid on unearned increment.

As to measures affecting commerce: The revision of the tax on receipts increased by one-twelfth the former duties; a new tax was imposed on domestic slaves passing through the Hellespont. The inhabitants of Asia Minor engaged in commerce were forced to buy landed property. The most galling of all the laws—and an exceedingly strange one it was, too—was that against the charging of interest. Trade of course suffered. To relieve the situation Nicephorus lent from the public treasury gold in 12 pound lots at an interest rate of from 16⅔ to 20 per cent.

Taxation under Nicephorus was heavy; that he was an unpopular man is evidenced by the frequency of attempts to assassinate him. More-

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 59 and 67.

NOTE:–The five great duchies of the Kingdom of Germany shown, had by this time (1200 A.D.) practically ceased to exist as political entities. They were almost entirely broken up into small feudal divisions.

30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
60°
50°
40°
30°
E N
RUSSIA
TERRITORY OF NOVGOROD
VIATKA
KAMA BULGARIA
BASHKIRS
MORDVINS
POLOTSK
Ladoga
To Denmark
Novgorod
Yaroslav
Pskov
Polotsk
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Polovzian
or
Cumans
CASPIAN SEA
ABASGIA
BLACK SEA
Danube R.
Nissa
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Sinope
Trebizond
EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND
K. OF THESSALONICA
EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
DAVID COMNENUS
Constantinople
Nicæa
EMPIRE OF NICÆA
Larissa
LESBOS
EUBOEA
CHIOS
Athens
NAXIA
SULTANATE OF RUM
Iconium
KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
Seleucia
PR. OF ANTIOCH
Antioch
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
K. OF CYPRUS
CY. OF TRIPOLIS
CRETE
K. OF JERUSALEM
Jerusalem
SEA
from Greenwich
G.S.HAMMOND & CO. N.Y.

over, the historians of the day did their best to portray him to posterity as a rapacious, cruel rascal because his measures hit the monasteries which Irene had exempted from the hearth tax and the great landed and commercial interests which were growing rich and were able to bear taxation. The Church, as we might expect, was especially bitter. Yet except for the unfortunate law against interest, Nicephorus' measures were well planned. Money was needed and needed badly, and he did his best to lay the taxes on those best able to bear them. The greatest of modern Byzantine scholars has written: "Nicephorus was an intelligent prince, an able financier, desirous of repairing the impoverishment of the treasury, even if he were, to that end, compelled to seize church property."

As a whole the ninth and tenth centuries were an epoch of invasion and disaster for the Eastern Roman Empire until Basil II (976–1025) restored the balance. Asia Minor suffered perpetual insecurity from Arab raids in addition to occasional ineffectual risings of the peasantry against the oppression of the great landholders—as in 821–24—which caused the disappearance of the small proprietors in Asia. The Balkans were invaded by the Bulgarians, who created in the hinterland of the peninsula a formidable Bulgarian Empire which was not destroyed until 1018. The Normans conquered southern Italy. The Saracens over-ran Sicily. The Russians conquered the Black Sea colonies and several times threatened Constantinople.

Yet in spite of these external adversities the period was one of great commercial prosperity. Never before or since has the commerce of so much of the world been so centred in one city as it was in Constantinople in the ninth century. The wealth of the Empire was recognized as consisting in its trade. Duties were moderate, privilege was condemned. One emperor even went so far as to forbid his courtiers to engage in trade lest they enjoy a ruinous advantage. Byzantine coinage had a reputation for stability which made it standard all over Europe. We see Byzantine commerce in the ninth century reaching far overland into the East; a thriving trade with the Arabs; a growing trade with the Russian north; and in the West, Byzantine commercial prosperity, a prosperity which allowed its rulers to pile up great hoards. The lavish Theophilus (829–42), and his economical wife Theodora, during her regency for their son, though aided by the discovery of some new mines, saved over and above expenses the sum of $25,000,000. Compare this to the revenues of the English crown in 1431 after the conquests of Henry V in France, a miserable $250,000 a year. The Byzantine navy and merchant marine were the greatest in the world. Merchants were given carefully worded permits to trade in specified regions. The policy of the emperors was to keep the lines of trade as they existed. Theophilus forbade officials of his court to engage in

shipping lest they divert the traffic from its customary lines. Thus the profit in the regions where trade was carried on was so great as to give the effect of a monopoly, even where none was in existence. We have records of Greek merchants who visited Bulgaria and the Danube region, Kherson, and the Volga and Caspian lands. Constantine Porphyrogenitus made a map showing the shipping of the lower Dniester River and marked the place where the Russians portaged their boats around the rapids.

When we examine the industrial system of Constantinople we find a careful supervision of all commodities, either manufactured or imported. The system of *collegia,* so carefully supervised by the Roman government during the fourth century, was maintained in Constantinople. There were numerous gilds like the silk merchants, the purple dyers, the spice handlers, which had control of the vast raw materials and worked them under government supervision. Careful laws concerning the buying and selling of all articles were devised by the emperors, and a large share of the revenue for the government treasury was derived from taxes imposed upon the collegia. *The Book of the Prefect,* written by the emperor Leo the Wise (886–912), is a revelation of the meticulous organization of Byzantine industry.[1]

[1] The labor organizations of Constantinople had as their grand master the prefect of the city. The election of new members, the choice of officers, the relations between the different bodies of tradesmen, their whole organic life, in fact, rested in him and depended upon him. He stood between them and the government, and in most cases also between them and the foreign population. He it was who adjudicated and punished all infractions of the rules. . . . The Constantinople revealed in *The Book of the Prefect* was the paradise of monopoly, of privilege, and of paternalism. Not only were the gateways of communication between the different trades hermetically sealed by the law, but the exercise of any one of them was subjected to a thousand restrictive conditions. The State meddled with everything; it controlled everything; it entered wherever it pleased, the shops and the warehouses, and inspected the books of accounts. It fixed the wages of the workmen and the day, the place, and the price for the sale of every product. The manufacturer could not buy his raw material directly, nor even choose it. He had not a word to say as to the quality nor even as to the quantity of his stock. It was the business of the organization to which he belonged to buy all the material for the trade that came into the city. All that he could do was to pay his proportion of the total cost and receive what the society allotted to him. Additions to the membership of the trade and mercantile organizations were subject to the severest restrictions, and employers had no control over the contracts which they made with workmen, nor even over the number of apprentices that they might deem necessary. The meddling of the State did not end here. In order to preserve to the city the exclusive possession of certain industrial processes, strangers were treated as suspects, and the time of their sojourn was strictly limited. They were confined to inns watched by the police, and were subject to heavy penalties if they imported merchandise to a value above a fixed maximum. Men in one business could not usually engage at the same time in any other. They could not carry on their trade except in places assigned to them. An employer usually could not engage a workman more than a month in advance, nor could he pay beforehand

This organization may seem the extreme of burdensome, even meddlesome regulation. But it is to be observed that in two respects it was an advance upon preceding industrial conditions. No *munera* were imposed upon the corporations and membership in the gilds was not compulsorily hereditary, as in the Roman Empire.

Syrians, Arabs, Italians, Russians, Hungarians, Bulgarians enjoyed trading rights in Constantinople, but careful watch was kept upon their movements and transactions. A foreign merchant could not remain in the city longer than three months. After import duties were paid he was free to trade as he liked, with no further taxes during this term. But his wares were inspected when sold to the buyers for the *collegia*. The price which he received might not correspond to the natural market price, for the imperial officers had a method of keeping prices of staple commodities stable. Whether a small or large amount of grain were brought in made no difference in the price. The amount to be marketed was reduced or increased according to the supply on hand, and prices fixed.

Religious antipathy between Arab and Greek had soon disappeared. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land continued under Arab domination. It is hard to imagine two such trading peoples as the Arabs and Greeks living so close together and not trading. Leo V (813–20), on account of a profanation of the Holy Places forbade Greek ships to go to Syria or Egypt. But the court needed Egyptian fabrics, and during the ninth century the palaces were full of articles of Arab manufacture. We are not wrong in placing a thriving Greek-Arab commerce in the ninth century. The quantity of silk manufactured by the imperial workshops was not sufficient to meet the demands of the court, and other fine fabrics were needed from the East. The desire for these rich textiles and for

wages for more than thirty days. Whoever advanced wages for a longer period was liable to lose the excess. Thus the system worked well for individual artisans; but the number of these was necessarily limited, and it was impossible to retain trade when it was attracted by the growing cities of the western Mediterranean. The minute espionage provided for in this edict required as its instruments an army of functionaries under the orders of the prefect. His substitute, his officers, his inspectors, his subaltern agents devoted themselves to incessant vigilance, which the chiefs of the various organizations were required to second with all their power. The prefect counted on a numerous body of auxiliaries, including all the working people and the merchants of Constantinople, and this, too, by means very simple and very cheap—mutual denunciation. The law, in fact, made this obligatory on every member of every trade society in the city. The number and severity of the penalties attached to the various provisions were in direct ratio to the extreme requirements of the law. Enormous fines, confiscation, banishment, flagellation, shaving of the head—these were the ordinary methods employed by the prefect to recall those whose affairs he administered to a sense of their own weakness and to his power. The last two punishments, whipping and the tonsure, especially, recur at every turn.

spices, pepper, medicines, and aromatics led the Christian Greeks to break all political and religious barriers and trade directly with the Mohammedans. Heyd observes that the first distinct knowledge of the revival of this trade is found at the beginning of the ninth century; and that in the tenth century the commerce between the Greeks and Arabs had taken an enormous development.

But Arabic control of the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and transcontinental Asian routes was so complete and the policy of the Mohammedan khalifs of Baghdad and Egypt so inclined to burden this lucrative trade with all that the traffic would bear and thus make high prices for the western consumers, that the Byzantine Empire made strenuous efforts to keep open a northern route through central Asia beyond Arabic control. This route led from Trebizond across the Caspian isthmus, around the southern shore of the Caspian and thence through the Tartar khanates of Merv, Samarkand, Bokhara, etc., to Tashkent, and beyond to India or China.

History again repeated itself. For it was the identical recourse of the Roman Empire in the time of the Sassanids, and of Justinian in the reign of Chosroes the Great. Thus the eastern ports of the Black Sea rose to renewed commercial importance in the ninth and tenth centuries. Next to Constantinople, Trebizond was the greatest commercial city of the Byzantine Empire. Armenian, Mohammedan, and Greek merchants found in this frontier city a rendezvous for exchanging their merchandises. The Arab geographer, Istradi, writing in the tenth century, observed: "Trebizond is the frontier city of the Greeks, our merchants all go there; all the fine cloth of Greek manufacture, all the brocades which are imported in the Mussulman territory, pass by Trebizond."

There were, however, serious disadvantages in the Trebizond-Transisthmian Route. Armenia was a buffer province ever in dispute between Byzantium and Baghdad, as it had formerly been in dispute between Rome and Persia; the Armenians themselves had strong inclinations to independence and often played the rival empires against one another; finally the wild tribes of the Caucasus and Elburz mountains, like the Kurds, were prone to pillage the caravans. Accordingly in time we discover a second northern route—farther north than the former—gradually coming into use. This route, coming out of India and China, followed down the Oxus River to the Sea of Aral, passed over the head of the Caspian through Saracanco at the mouth of the Ural River, to Itil or Astrakhan at the embouchure of the Volga, thence up Sarai and across and down the Don to Rostov on the Sea of Azof. Here, where the steppe descends steeply, were the *kremnoi* or Crags, the name which Herodotus gave to the emporium of Greek traders who centuries before had also resorted thither to trade with the Scythians.

Besides protection from Mohammedan control and escape from the violence of wild mountaineer peoples, this route had the advantage of being an almost all-water route.

The breaking of this new route brought into commercial prominence a curious people called Khazars, originally from the Caspian steppe above Derbend and usually considered as related to the Turks. As far back as the eighth century Constantine V had married a Khazar princess, no less a person than the famous empress Irene. The Khazars had abandoned nomadic ways and become a settled people plying a considerable traffic in fish, furs, slaves, wool, honey, wax, tallow. Their capital was Itil (Astrakhan), but "their realm extended from the Caucasus northward to the Volga and far up the lower reaches of that river; it included the basin of the Don, it reached westward to the banks of the Dnieper and extended into the Tauric Chersonese."

Stranger than this rapid adoption of civilization by a Tartar tribe is the unique fact that the Khazars had embraced Judaism for their religion. It was an adroit measure. For situated as Khazaria was, between the Islamic khalifate of Baghdad and the Christian Byzantine Empire, it was subjected to enormous interested pressure from each, which it evaded by this compromise, which had the added advantage of attracting Jewish merchants to the mart of Astrakhan and singularly promoting Khazar commerce. The Arabic historian Ibn Khurdadabah in the ninth century tells us that even Jewish merchants of Spain regularly journeyed to Astrakhan, who must, of course, have stopped en route at Salonika and Constantinople. But the commerce between Byzantium and Spain was not all one way. The *Chronicle of Ahimaaz* informs us that Constantine Porphyrogenitus sent an embassy to Abd-er-Rahman III of Cordova in the tenth century to promote trade relations between Mohammedan Spain and the Eastern Empire. "For when Alexandria was no longer open to the commerce of the western caliphate its subjects were amply indemnified by the hospitable reception which they habitually received from Constantinople."

The merchants in the ancient Greek colonies in Cherson, which was the great centre for the commerce of the north and the Crimean settlements, now engage attention. These historic places, Cherson, Theodosia, Eupatoria, Phanagoria, Tanais, Soldaia, whose history goes back to the legend of the Argonauts, had suffered severely in the storms of the fourth and fifth centuries, partially recovered in the time of Justinian, had again been desolated by the second great wave of barbaric peoples out of Asia, the Avars and Magyars, and in the ninth century for the third time were beginning to prosper once more, when the arrival of the Swedes in Russia jeopardized them.

It now becomes necessary to trace in some detail the history of the relations of the Rūs with the Byzantine Empire. The Dnieper was the

main economic artery and the most important commercial route of the country now known as Russia. The sources of the Dnieper were near the two most important water routes to the Baltic Sea, namely, the western Dvina and the whole basin of the Ilmen Lake, while the river Volkhov connected central Russia with the Ladoga Lake.

The mass of the Slavonic settlements occupied the basin of the middle Dnieper, especially the wooded parts of the plain. This afforded them commodities for trade, for their hunting furnished them peltry, and their bee-culture procured them honey; the clearings produced grain and hemp, for this region is the famous granary of Russia to this day. Thus from early times peltry, honey, and wax were the staple articles of Russian export; and from those times began that intensive exploitation of the wealth of the forest which lasted many centuries, and which made such deep impression on the national character of the Russian nation.

Money did not exist among these ancient Slavs, but its place was taken by skins of animals, especially those of the marten and the squirrel. Thus the ancient Russian money received its name *kuni* from the name for a marten (*kunitza*). Small money consisted of the snouts of animals or of little pieces of their skin. A certain amount of the skins was considered equivalent to one *grivna,* but this amount fluctuated in accordance with the conditions of the market.

The Slavs dwelt in isolated house-yards, or *goroditsche,* dug them about, set hives and traps in the forests, and cleared small areas of field ground. The *goroditsche* were scattered in the Dnieper region and its tributaries and only at a later period the settlers began to occupy the upper Volga region. They usually surrounded their house-yards by a low wall in order to defend themselves and to protect the cattle from wild animals. Out of these *goroditsche* grew the cities or *gorods,* of which the earliest known was Kiev.

The earliest type of Russian economic life was the hunter, bee-keeper, and trader and so, as trade was very profitable, the Slavs did not develop agriculture till the end of the tenth century. Their inroads upon the surrounding tribes resulted in a great accumulation of slaves which they exported in enormous quantities to the Eastern Empire because for the lack of agriculture they had no use for their labor.

This trade was helped very largely by the outside conditions of the time. About the same period as the Slavonic settlement on the Dnieper the Khazars, settled between the Black and the Caspian seas, became important traders between the Baltic and western Asia and served as a great aid for the development of the Arabic-Russian trade. A great number of Arabian *dirhems* have been dug up in the Dnieper basin, which indicates the extent of this trade between the seventh and tenth centuries.

The prosperity of the Slavonic traders upon the Dnieper-Volkhov route transformed the fortified house-yards into trading posts and a great many cities were built along the Dnieper and its tributaries. There is no reliable record of the origin of Kiev, Pereyaslavl, Smolensk, Novgorod and many other cities. To these places the trappers and beekeepers came from time to time in order to exchange their furs, honey, and wax. Some of these points or village markets became distributors for other industrial districts.

The establishment of the Swedes in Kiev in 852 (?) is usually taken as the date of the particular beginning of Russian history. But there is evidence that the restless Rūs—for such the invaders called themselves —had actually penetrated into central Russia as far back as the eighth century. There is obscure evidence of an effort of the Russians of Novgorod about 787 to seize the Crimea, an earlier attempt than any heretofore known of the Russians to acquire possession of the Black Sea territory. An interesting incident, perhaps throwing some light on this subject, has been preserved for us in the *Annals of St. Bertin* in Frankish Gaul, where the entry for the year 839 speaks of some envoys of the nation of the Rūs who came to Constantinople for the purpose of renewing a trade treaty. But they refused to return the way they came for fear of the Pechenegs, who had meanwhile conquered the friendly Khazars. The emperor sent them with a message to Louis the Pious, and by him it was discovered that they were Scandinavians, *i.e.*, Varangians.

It would be interesting to speculate who these Rūs envoys were. Did they represent the Slavs of the Dnieper towns, who had a trade treaty, possibly of long standing, with the Byzantine Empire? Or were they representatives of their own nation? Probably the former; in that case the reason why they were chosen as envoys of the Slavs may have been the consideration of the superior experience and the knowledge of the water routes which the Varangians possessed.

As already mentioned, the invasion of the Pechenegs greatly hampered the protection the Khazars exercised over the Slavonic Dnieper trade, and cut Kiev off from trade with the commercial centres of the Black and the Caspian seas. Since the Khazars were no longer able to protect the traders, the more important commercial towns of the Dnieper basin found it necessary to provide themselves for the protection of their trade routes. Thus from these times on they began to fortify their towns, and to send armed convoys of hired soldiers with their boats. In such manner a change from centres of trade and dépôts of raw products into fortified towns was accomplished. Moreover, the mercenary soldier came into a greater demand, and the Varangians, whose excellent military qualities fitted them admirably for the task, were hired in large numbers by the tribal chieftains to serve as convoys of the trading boats. Besides, a great many of the Rūs settled in the towns as traders, so that

the Varangian population often changed the character of these towns from Slavic to their own. Thus, according to an ancient chronicle, Novgorod was at first Slavic, but became Varangian later because of the influx of a great number of the Rūs, especially under Rurik in 842. There were so many of the Scandinavians who settled in Kiev prior to the coming of Askold and Dir that, when these two leaders came, they found it possible to recruit from among them a force sufficient to wrest the city from the Khazars. Later, they dared to attack Constantinople itself with that army.

Thus it is evident that the first Varangians came into the country either as armed merchants on their way to the rich Byzantine markets, or established themselves as merchants in the Dnieper cities, or hired themselves out as mercenary soldiers. How generally the Varangians were known as merchants is witnessed by the fact that even to this day the word *varyag* means a peddler, or a petty itinerant merchant. But this rôle of the Varangians as fellow traders with the native Slavs, or as armed convoys of the Slav boats, was soon exchanged by them for that of rulers. In such manner there appeared during the second half of the ninth century the domains of Rurik in Novgorod, of Sineus in Byelo Ozero (White Lake), of Truvor in Izborsk, and of Askold and Dir in Kiev.

The preëminence, however, among the different principalities of the Rūs fell not to Novgorod, but to "the mother of the Russian cities," Kiev. This was due mainly to the commercial advantages which that city possessed in a measure superior to all other cities. For Kiev was the focal point of Russian commerce; thither came boats from the Volkhov River, from the Dvina, from the lower Dnieper and its tributaries. Thus the Russian cities were economically dependent on Kiev for their trade with the south, which, after all, comprised the bulk of the total commerce of the country. He who ruled Kiev had the preponderating control of the Russian commerce. This explains the struggles which the Russian princes waged for possession of that most important centre. In this connection it may also be noted in passing that when Oleg undertook to wrest Kiev from the hands of Askold and Dir, he assumed the character of a Varangian merchant, evidently because that was the commonest occupation of the Rūs, and therefore was calculated to arouse least suspicion.

While Askold and Dir were still in possession of Kiev, they undertook, in 865, the first attack upon Constantinople. We are informed by Nestor and the patriarch Photius, who was an eyewitness of the attack, that the Rūs, in the absence of Emperor Michael III, actually penetrated into the Bosphorus, and laid siege to Constantinople. Although the details of the attack are of no interest to us, we should, however,

take note of the fact that, according to Photius, this expedition was undertaken for the purpose of revenging an insult done to some Rūs merchants. This insult probably consisted of nonpayment of some debt due to them. This attack is the first one in the series of struggles by which the Rūs tried to compel the Greeks to renew commercial relations with themselves, which evidently had been disrupted from time to time, presumably by the Greeks. Thus this first attack upon Constantinople forms the earliest historical evidence of the fact that there existed, even before the year 866, commercial relations between the two countries concerned, which relations were established and protected by a diplomatic treaty, and that Kiev was one of the principals in the case.

When Oleg displaced Askold and Dir on the throne of Kiev, he preserved the policy of his predecessors in the matter of trade with the Byzantine Empire. We learn that after strengthening the defenses of Kiev, he undertook another expedition against Constantinople, which culminated in another commercial treaty. Evidently, the relations established by the previous attack had been again disregarded by the Greeks. It is interesting to note that the participants in the attacks, under both Askold and Oleg, were representatives of all the greater commercial cities along the Dnieper, i.e., people who were intimately and personally interested in the trade with the Eastern Empire. Thus, for instance, Oleg's army, with which he attacked Constantinople in 906, was composed of men of Novgorod and Kiev, the Finns of the Byelo Ozero, men of Rostov, the tribes of the Krivichi, the Syeveryane, the Polyane, the Radimichi, the Dulyeby, the Khorvaty, and the Tivertzy, with of course a contingent of the Varangians. He had 2000 light boats, each manned by 40 soldiers, besides a body of cavalry. With this formidable army Oleg gained a signal victory, so that the imperial government found it necessary to come to terms with the victors. As a result, a treaty was made between the two powers. Nestor, however, gives us two treaties, one concluded in 907, when Oleg's army still stood under the walls of Constantinople, and the other, bearing the date 912, concluded by a special delegation sent by Oleg. The relation of these two treaties is obscure. The treaty of 907 is essentially and wholly commercial in character, and comprises the following points:

I. An indemnity to be paid to each individual soldier of the victorious army, besides payments to be made to all the cities ruled by Oleg.

II. The Greek Emperor is bound to furnish each Rūs guest or merchant coming to Constantinople with bread, wine, meat, fish, and fruits for the space of six months; they also are to have free access to the public baths, and are to receive for their return journey stores of provisions, shipping tackle, anchors, coils of rope, sails, and all other necessaries.

The Greeks on their part, although the vanquished party, were still in a position to demand certain modifications, which were incorporated into the treaty. Their demands were as follows:

I. The Rūs staying in Constantinople for other purposes than those of trade have no right to receive the monthly allowance.

II. The [Russian] duke will forbid his men to do harm to the inhabitants of the regions and the towns of Greece.

III. The Rūs shall be allowed to settle only at St. Mamas, between the Walls and the Bosphorus, and shall be required to announce their arrival to the municipal government, which will enter their names on a register, and issue them the monthly allowance in this order: Kiev, Chernigov, Pereyaslavl, and the others. They were further required to enter only through one gate of the city, by the imperial harbor, unarmed, and in groups of no more than fifty men at once; then they could freely trade in Constantinople without paying any dues.

The treaty of 912 concerns itself with the relations between the two powers, but has no special bearing upon trade relations, with the exception of the provisions VII and X, which read as follows:

VII. If among the slaves bought in Greece there be found any Rūs, or in Russia any Greeks, such slaves shall be redeemed for the amount which the traders have originally paid for them; prisoners of war shall be returned to their fatherland for the ransom of 20 solidi (*zolotniki*). Such Rūs, however, as enter the service of the Emperor of their own free will, shall be allowed to stay in Greece as long as they wish. . . .

X. If among the traders or other Rūs people in Greece there should be found a transgressor who is demanded at home for punishment, the Christian Emperor shall be bound to send such transgressor back to his fatherland even against his opposition. The same procedure shall be carried out with reference to the Greeks in Russia.

Thus we find the beginnings of an international law in these early commercial treaties of Russia with the Eastern Empire.

Oleg not only carried through a favorable foreign trade policy, but his success had a very important influence upon the internal affairs of Russia. We have already noted that the commercial cities of the Dnieper basin aided him in the attack upon Constantinople, for their own trade interests were distinctly bound up with the success of Oleg's undertaking. Now Oleg's eminent success in the war brought all these cities under the leadership of the ruler of Kiev. This was not a forcible subjugation, but a voluntary submission, and led to the elevation of Kiev into the first all-Russian political power. Therefore it is not correct to consider Rurik's short-lived principality of Novgorod as the be-

ginning of the Russian state, for it was from Kiev and not from Novgorod that the political unity of Russian Slavdom radiated, and this result was brought about by the natural and peaceful means of consolidation of common commercial interests.

Another factor which facilitated this consolidation of the various Slavic tribes under the sovereignty of Kiev was the need of protection against the incursions of the Pechenegs. The trade routes leading to the Black and the Caspian seas were infested with these plunderers, and a strong central power on the part of the Russians was needed in order to keep them in check. This rôle was assumed by Kiev so energetically that the other commercial cities found it to their advantage to place themselves under the control of that principality.

The trade which was now established on a firm basis by the treaty of Oleg, was exploited not only by the professional traders and merchants, but above all by the duke himself. For the Rūs, who always were half merchants and half soldiers, did not renounce their mercantile character upon seizing the reins of government, but for a long time continued to engage in trade. In fact, they were forced into it almost by necessity, for the tribute exacted by the duke from his subjects was paid in produce. The duke, who in company with his boyars spent the winter in collecting this tribute from province to province, spent the summer in trading with the collected products. The boyars, who received as their pay a part of the tribute, were thereby also drawn into commerce.

The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905–959) has described the annual journey of the Rūs boats to Greece as follows:

They come to Constantinople from Novgorod, Smolensk, Liubech, Chernigov, and Vyshegorod. The Slavs, who are ruled over by the Rūs,—for instance the Krivichi, Luchane, and the other tribes,—fell trees on their hills during the winter and build boats which we call *monozulo*; for they are made out of a single tree trunk. When the Dnieper is ice-free, the Slavs come to Kiev and sell these boats to the Rūs, who furnish them with rowlocks and oars taken from their old boats. In the month of April the whole Rūs fleet assembles at Vitichev, from which point it proceeds to the rapids. When they reach the fourth cataract, called Neyasytya, which is the most dangerous, the merchants land all their wares and lead all their slaves, securely fettered, upon the shore, and walk along the river for about 6000 steps. The Pechenegs, according to their custom, lie in wait beyond the rapids, near one called Krariisky ferry (at which place the Chersonese Greeks, returning from Russia, cross the Dnieper). After repulsing the plunderers, they proceed to the island of St. Gregory, where they offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to their gods; from thence they are out of danger until they reach the river Salina, which is an arm of the Danube. There, if perchance they are driven by wind upon the shore, they again must fight

with the Pechenegs. Then finally they pass Kanop, Constantza, and after passing the mouths of the Bulgarian rivers Varna and Ditzina, they reach Mesembria, the first Greek city. Their trade must evidently be a great source of wealth to the Russians, since they brave so many dangers and so much labor for it, and since it was the object of all their treaties of peace made with the Empire.

These daring merchant adventurers did not rest satisfied with their trade with Bulgaria, Greece, and the land of the Khazars; but, if we are to believe Constantine, they ventured as far as Syria, and some points on the Mediterranean Sea, and even to Spain. The Black Sea was so constantly full of their boats that it received the name of the Russian Sea. As for the Greek merchants, they hardly ever passed above the rapids of the Dnieper. It seems probable that only the Chersonese Greeks traded in Kiev, above which no Greek merchant seems to have penetrated.

The trade in Constantinople was not so much a cash sale as a barter of goods. The Russian peltry, honey, wax, and slaves were exchanged for silk and purple stuffs, richly ornamented wearing apparel (which, however, since the time of Igor's treaty, was restricted to such as did not exceed 50 gold solidi in purchasing price), linen, leather, gold jewelry, wine, spices, and fruits.

Igor, who followed Oleg on the throne of Kiev, again undertook an expedition against the Empire (in 935). Although his forces were considerable, he was badly defeated, especially by means of the "Greek fire." In order to avenge himself, the fierce Igor collected another force and undertook another expedition in 944. This expedition was so far successful that Igor could establish another trade treaty, that of the year 945, which further defined and strengthened the commercial relations between the two countries. Provisions which bear more definitely on that subject are these:

II. The grand duke of the Rūs and his boyars may freely send their vessels, with envoys and guests, into Greece. The guests, as was formerly appointed, were to carry silver seals, and the envoys gold ones; but from now on they must come with a letter from the duke, in which their peaceful intentions shall be certified, as well as the number of the people and of the vessels composing the expedition. Should they come without this letter, they shall be detained in custody until we inform the Russian duke about them. If they should oppose us in this and consequently lose their life, their death will not be chargeable against us by the Russian duke. Should they escape into Russia, then we, the Greeks will notify the duke of their flight, and he may do as he sees fit regarding them.

The stipulations as to where the Rūs should live when they arrived at

Constantinople, and regarding their monthly allowance, were the same as those contained in Oleg's treaty. There were, however, some additions to the requirements, which are as follows:

The Russian guests will be protected by an imperial official, who will also settle all their quarrels with the Greeks. All silk purchased by the Russians for an amount exceeding 50 solidi, must be shown to this official, that he may put his seal on it.[2] When they leave Constantinople, they shall be furnished with stores of provisions, and all things necessary for their vessels, as provided in the treaty. But they shall not have the right to winter at St. Mamas, but must return home under protection. . . .

V. Should a Rūs steal something from a Greek, or a Greek from a Rūs such transgressor shall be severely punished according to the law of his nation; and he shall return the stolen article, and shall pay the double of its value.

VI. Should the Rūs bring to Constantinople Greek prisoners of war, they shall receive for each 10 solidi, in case of a good young male or female; for a 40-year-old, 8 solidi, and for an old man or a youth, 5 solidi. Should the Rūs be bought as slaves by the Greeks, then for prisoners of war they shall receive 10 solidi, but for a bought slave the owner shall receive such a price as he declares, under oath, that he had paid for him. . . .

The Rūs shall not harm the Chersonese [Greeks] when the latter fish in the mouth of the Dnieper. Furthermore, the Rūs have no right to winter at the mouth of the Dnieper, nor Byelobereg [the White Coast], nor at St. Etherius [now Berezan, at the mouth of the Dnieper], but at the approach of autumn shall return to their own country of Russia.

It is interesting to notice that this treaty makes mention of some former arrangements ("as formerly appointed"), by which the guests were to legitimize themselves by presenting a silver, the envoys a gold, seal. No treaty preserved to us mentions any such arrangement. Were there more treaties than those recorded by the *Chronicles*? The reference seems to indicate that there was at least one such, and that the terms of that treaty were so definitely known that a mere allusion to it was considered sufficient. Thus we are led to the conclusion that the commercial relations between Russia and the Eastern Empire were more highly developed and defined more definitely by treaties than we can ever hope to trace from the records that have survived.

After the time of Igor, there was another expedition against the Empire undertaken by the warlike Svyatoslav (972). But he was defeated

[2] This seemingly strange requirement is corroborated by other testimony; thus, for instance, Liutprand himself had to submit his baggage to examination before he was allowed to depart from Constantinople, and an imperial official refused to allow him to retain some especially costly silk materials, and refunded to him their purchase price. As a reason it was stated that since "the Greeks exceed other nations in wealth and wisdom, they should also exceed them in beauty of apparel." (*Legatio Liutprandi.*)

by the able emperor John Tzimiskes, and was compelled to sign a treaty, which from our point of view contains nothing of importance. In 1043 Yaroslav sent his son with a fleet against the Greeks, because some Rūs traders in Constantinople were abused and beaten, and one of them even was killed. There were no more treaties negotiated between the two powers, however; or at least no records of any have survived. But the age of Yaroslav the Lawgiver (1016–54), in spite of the military expedition mentioned above, was marked by a considerable increase of commercial intercourse with the Greeks.

Later on, there are again a few notices as to the state of commerce, and these bear testimony to its activity. Every year there came to Kiev merchant fleets from Constantinople, which were so rich and important to the welfare of the whole state as well as to the duke's private resources, that he was in the habit of sending his soldiers as far as Kanev, in order to protect the precious freight of these boats from the depredations of such marauding tribes as the Polovtzy. The Dnieper, from Kiev to the Black Sea, came to be popularly known as the "Greek Route." Besides the articles of commerce mentioned already, the Russians extended their commercial operations by buying salt in Tauris, transporting it to Sudak (Soldaia in the Crimea), and exchanging it—along with their ancient staples—for silk stuffs and the eastern spices. Thus foreign trade brought the people of Kiev into contact with foreign civilization, and raised their own to a considerable degree. Money circulated in abundance. Toward the end of the eleventh century it is recorded that one of the lesser nobles received from his province of Smolensk sums fully equal to 150,000 rubles today. Kiev assumed a cosmopolitan character, for Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Germans, Moravians, and Venetians lived there side by side. These foreign merchants were drawn there by the excellent trading conditions offered by the city, and by the hospitality of the Russians. Thietmar of Merseburg in 1018 credits Kiev with 400 churches and 8 markets.

From the death of Yaroslav to the fall of Kiev (in 1169) ensued a period of disorder, of civil strife, and of gradual decay. There are no documents to give as a specific reference to the course of commerce, but it is safe to assume that trade flourished in spite of the disorders of the times.

This consideration of Russian history has carried the narrative beyond the point where we left Byzantine history.

From 962 to 968 the emperors Romanus II and Nicephorus II Phocas carried on an almost ceaseless warfare with the Saracens of Cilicia and northern Syria. The war was purely one of aggression. In the breaking up of the great eastern khalifate into a number of weak emirates the emperors saw an opportunity to regain long-lost territory, especially in the direction of Syria. Tradition and sentiment blinded them to the fact

that in crossing the Taurus Range they were going beyond an excellent military frontier to acquire territory which would never be easy to defend. The country was full of well fortified cities, so operations were long; and since it was so far from the base of supplies, unusually expensive. The results were a deal of glory, the possession of Antioch, a share of whose commerce the Greeks already enjoyed, and an amount of expense which must have been terrific.

The Syrian War was an unnecessary undertaking; the Russian War and the putting down of the Bulgar peril were necessary for the security of the Empire. They all cost. In the first of them the taxes had to be raised to meet the army budget, and a bad famine (927–32) complicated matters. Finally even the disgraceful measure of debasing the excellent Byzantine coinage was restored to. The wars which followed (except Basil's Armenian venture) were more necessary, but could not have been less expensive than the first. They all had to be paid for.

Moreover, just at this time the long process of the accumulation of land in the hands of a few great landholders (*dunatoi*) was growing rapidly, especially in Asia Minor, where the small freeholder fell to a condition of tenantry, and even to serfdom, and agriculture declined. Professor Bury, in an illuminating appendix to his edition of Gibbon, explains and describes this process:

> The decline of the class of small farmers was due to two causes: the influence of the ascetic ideal and the defective economical conditions of the time. The attraction of monastic life induced many proprietors to enter cloisters, and bestow their property on the communities which admitted them, or, if they were rich enough, to found new monastical or ecclesiastical institutions. The cultivation of the lands which thus passed to the Church was thereby transferred from peasant proprietors to tenants. The want of a sound credit system, due to the ignorance of political economy, and the consequent depression of trade, rendered land the only safe investment for capital; and the consequence of this was that land-owners who possessed capital were always seeking to get more land into their hands. Hence they took every occasion to induce their poor neighbors who lived from hand to mouth and had no savings, to pledge or sell their land in a moment of need. The farmer who thus sold out would often become the tenant of the holding which had been his own property. The increase of large estates was regarded by the government with suspicion and disapprobation. The campaign against the great landlords was begun by Romanus I in 922 when, in the law which fixed the order of preëmption, he forbade the magnates (*dunatoi*) to buy or receive any land from smaller folk except in the case of relationship. It was also enacted that only after a possession of ten years could a property acquired in this way become permanently the property of the magnate. But a few years later the magnates had an unusually favorable opportunity and could not resist the temptation of using it. There was a long succession of bad harvests and cold winters (927–32), which

produced great distress throughout the country. The small farmers, brought to penury, standing on the brink of starvation, had no recourse but to purchase bread for themselves and their families by making over their little farms to rich neighbors. For this was the only condition on which the magnates would give them credit. The distress of these years in the reign of Romanus formed an epoch in the history of peasant proprietorship. It was clear that the farmers who had pledged their land would have no chance of recovering themselves before the ten years, after which their land would be irreclaimable, had expired. The prospect was that the small farmer would wholly disappear, and Romanus attempted to forestall the catastrophe by direct legislation. His Novel of 934 ordained that the unfair dealings with the peasants in the past years should be righted, and that for the future no such dealings should take place. The succeeding emperors followed up the policy of Romanus. They endeavored to prevent the extinction of small farmers by prohibiting the rich from acquiring villages and farms from the poor, and even by prohibiting ecclesiastical institutions from receiving gifts of landed property. A series of laws (947, 959–63, 964, 967, 988, 996) on this subject shows what stubborn resistance was offered to the imperial policy by the rich landlords whose interests were endangered. Though this legislation was never repealed, except so far as the Church was interested (by Basil II), and though it continued to be the law of the Empire that the rich landlords should not acquire the lands of the peasants, there is little doubt that the law was evaded, and that in the last ages of the Empire peasant farms were rare indeed. In the eleventh century Asia Minor consisted chiefly of large domains.

The inevitable result of this process was in time a state consisting of great landed estates cultivated by serfs, population in the towns rapidly dwindling, industry and manufacturing dead, economic stagnation. Such an extreme condition was of course the development of the future. This development, however, cannot but have been hastened by the expenditures and taxation of the period of conquest.

What success Basil II had in his struggle against the tendency of the times was merely temporary. That a man of exceptional character and economic insight was needed to bring the Empire back to a healthy condition is proof enough that the prosperity of the state was already well on the decline. And the man who came to the purple was the incompetent, dissolute Constantine VIII, who delivered the provinces over to his rapacious favorites and graspingly collected the arrears of taxes which Basil had remitted.

But with all the damage it had received the Byzantine economic mill (especially, of course, as concerned the capital, which suffered less than the provinces) still ground on so well that during the twenty-nine years in which the rulers owed their thrones to marriage connections with the daughters of Constantine, society was able to "slumber in prosperity." It was the slumber, though, of pernicious anemia.

That ignorance of political economy of which mention has been made, almost passes belief when one examines the economic policy of the Eastern Roman Empire. The legislation was almost wholly based on fiscal considerations and the immediate demands of the treasury and was devoid of any constructive character. Then again, the defects of the credit-system of the Empire whose pernicious influence enhanced the power of the magnates, as we have seen, could not fail to react unfavorably on commerce.

The blindness of the imperial government in contenting itself with a "passive" commerce and permitting the maritime cities of Italy, Venice, Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, to monopolize the carrying trade to the West not only deprived the subjects of the Empire of profits which they themselves might have made, but excited the cupidity of the Westerners to a dangerous degree, a cupidity increased by the Crusades and destined to sate its appetite in the destruction of the Empire in 1204.

In 1081 the Normans besieged Durazzo, and to gain the support of the Venetians, who controlled the Adriatic and were already deeply interested in Levantine commerce, the emperor Alexios granted to Venetian merchants exemption from duties in no less than thirty ports of the Empire, including Constantinople itself. No wonder this act had been described as one of "economic lunacy."

The Greek Church, too, must bear a share of responsibility for this decadence. In the bill of indictment against the Eastern Empire and the causes of its ruination history may justly charge Greek monasticism with a large measure of responsibility. No chapter in eastern ecclesiastical history is more contemptible. In 964 Nicephorus Phocas prohibited the founding of new monasteries, and sarcastically reminded the monks that the monastic ideal and their regulations enjoined asceticism and poverty. The prohibition soon became a dead letter. Basil II, though he conquered the Bulgarians, had neither the courage nor the strength to proceed in restraint of the evils of monasticism. In 988 the objectionable edict of Nicephorus was abolished. During the stressful conditions of the eleventh century Isaac Comnenos and later his son, the able Alexios Comnenos, for a moment dared lay their hands upon the surplus riches of the monasteries, but the cry of sacrilege and iconoclasm forced them to desist. Again in 1158 Manuel Comnenos revived the edict against new monasteries, with the result that towns were rent by the destruction of fanatical mobs, the countryside thrown into anarchy by raids of gangs of infuriated peasants incited by the monks, who burned the farmsteads, granaries, hayricks and crops upon the crown lands. Such was the condition of the Eastern Roman Empire upon the verge of the Crusades.

CHAPTER XV

THE BAGHDAD KHALIFATE AND THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM *

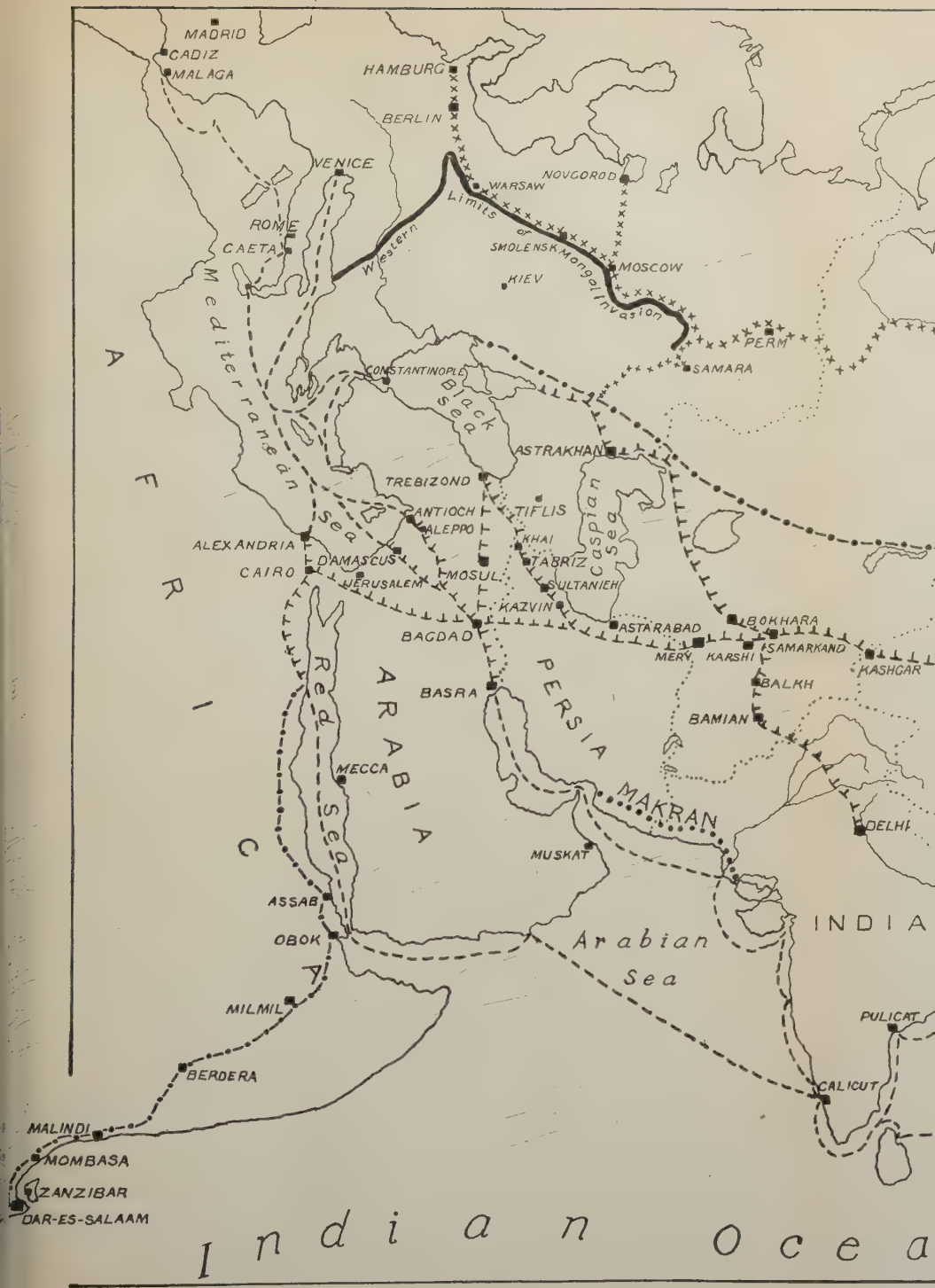
We resume the history of Mohammedan civilization in the East at the point where we left it in a former chapter—viz., the founding of Baghdad in 750—and shall carry the record down to the beginning of the Crusades in 1096.

The Baghdad Khalifate in the height of its power extended from the Oxus to Tripoli in Africa, and from the Arabian desert to the Caucasus. But the core of it was Arsacid and Sassanid Persia. Egypt, Libya, Tripoli, Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Georgia may be regarded as appanages, for the predominant population in them was neither Arabic nor Mohammedan. These countries, so to speak, formed an outer rim or barrier between the Mohammedan world of western Asia and Christian Europe. A survey of the commerce and industry of the Khalifate naturally will follow this distinction, after which the external commerce will be considered.

Eight great provinces—one might almost call them countries—were comprised within this heart of the Khalifate: (1) Mesopotamia, the valley of the twin rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, whose floor "is literally strewn with the rubble of past ages . . . broken bricks that date back to the Babylonian period . . . potsherd that was burnt blue when the Mohammedan religion was in its infancy." The principal cities in this historic lowland province were Baghdad, Wasit, Kufa, Basra, Mosul, and Rakka. (2) Adarbayjan. Its chief places were Tabriz and Ardabal. (3) Media, called Al-Jubal by the Arabs, in which were the great cities of Kirman, Hamadan, Ray, and Ispahan. (4) South of Al-Jubal lay Khuzistan, having the towns Tustar and Ahwaz. (5) Fars, "the ancient Persia and the cradle of the Persian monarchy," extended east of Khuzistan and bordered on the Gulf. The most important cities of Fars were Shiraz, Siraf, and Yazd. (6) East of Fars, the almost barren district of Kirman, having the towns of Kirman and Hurmuz. (7) Across the desert, opposite Kirman, the province of Sistan and (8), northwest of Sistan, Khorasan, "the great eastern province of Persia." Here were four important cities: Nishapur, Merv, Herat, and Balkh.

Each province had some forms of local enterprise—agriculture, weaving, and manufacturing, which gave it economic importance.

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 53, 102–103.


MADRID
CADIZ
MALAGA
HAMBURG
BERLIN
VENICE
ROME
CAETA
Western Limits of Mongol invasion
WARSAW
NOVGOROD
SMOLENSK
MOSCOW
KIEV
PERM
SAMARA
CONSTANTINOPLE
Black Sea
ASTRAKHAN
Caspian Sea
TREBIZOND
ANTIOCH
ALEPPO
TIFLIS
KHAI
TABRIZ
SULTANIEH
ALEXANDRIA
DAMASCUS
CAIRO
JERUSALEM
MOSUL
KAZVIN
BAGDAD
ASTARABAD
BOKHARA
SAMARKAND
MERV
KARSHI
KASHGAR
BALKH
BAMIAN
BASRA
PERSIA
MAKRAN
DELHI
MECCA
ARABIA
Red Sea
MUSKAT
ASSAB
OBOK
Arabian Sea
INDIA
MILMIL
PULICAT
BERDERA
CALICUT
MALINDI
MOMBASA
ZANZIBAR
DAR-ES-SALAAM
AFRICA
Mediterranean Sea
Indian Ocean

GREAT TRANS-CONTINENTAL TRADE ROUTES ACROSS ASIA IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY
ROUTE FROM REMOTE ANTIQUITY
" DEVELOPED IN THE MIDDLE AGES
" BY THE MONGOL CONQUEST
ARABIC TRADE ROUTE FROM INDIA TO PERSIA
ARABIC TRADE ROUTES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE CHINA SEAS
LIMITS OF MONGOL INCURSIONS
NERTCHINSK
IRKUTSK
KIATKA
KARA KORUM
Desert
PEKING
CHINESE EMPIRE
KHAN SE
ZAYTON
PEGU
South China Sea
MALACCA
PACIFIC OCEAN

Lower Mesopotamia was reputed an earthly paradise; it was very fertile and had numerous irrigation channels. Ibn Hawkal, a merchant who was also a traveler and author of the tenth century, says there were as many as one hundred thousand irrigation channels in it, twenty thousand of which were navigable. Around the city of Basra were rich pasture lands beyond which extended large groves of date-palms producing fruit which ranked second in importance among the exports from the Khalifate. The date harvest was like a country festival when all the plantations of the neighborhood were filled with workers gathering the ripe fruit. Some of the people were interested in fishing, others in weaving mats, and still others in the glass works in which were manufactured such articles as very white glass lamps decorated with blue ornaments and inscriptions. In Baghdad were manufactured enameled glass and drawn glass, from which costly frames studded with gold were made. Other articles were pitchers, bowls, cups and saucers, and flasks of various forms. Rakka, in upper Mesopotamia, had excellent markets and was the centre of much traffic. It was famous for quinces, olive oil, soap and reeds for pens. Amid was known for its woolen and linen fabrics, and Mosul, the capital, for its cotton goods (muslin), grain, honey, charcoal, cheese, butter, fruit, and salted meats. Adarbayjan abounded in fruitful orchards, famous sheep pastures, and vineyards. The principal trade, though, was in horses and cattle, and manufactured products, among which were silks, goat's-hair stuffs, linen, and wool. These were dyed with *kirmiz* (crimson), and then made into girdles, ribbed coverlets, carpets, rugs, cushions, and veils.

Through Media or Al-Jubal, passed the great Khorasan Road on which lay the city of Hamadan noted for its cheese and saffron; also for the skins of foxes and martens, tin, and the manufacture of boats. Cotton was spun in this region and dyed blue; the striped cloaks of Ray were famous; needles, combs, and great bowls were made for exportation, the last two being made of *khalanj,* a fine-grained hard wood which came from the Tabaristan forests. Ray was also famous for its peaches and melons, dried dates and salted meats. Many other articles, too, such as overcloaks, leathern wallets, bows for archery, bridles, stirrups and padlocks, were exported from this place.

The soil of Khuzistan was especially adapted to sugar cane, and Mukaddasi, who wrote in the latter part of the tenth century, states that in his time the only sugar exported came from this province. Also, at this time there were in Ahwaz great warehouses where merchandise from the inland towns was stored before being transferred to Basra for its final sale and export. Tustar was surrounded by gardens where grapes, oranges, and dates flourished. The town itself produced world-famous brocades and rugs and fine cloths. Transportation in Khuzistan was simplified by rivers and canals, all of which were navigable for

boats. There were roads leading from Basra and other neighboring towns and centering in Ahwaz.

The province of Fars has always been noted for the attar of roses. Ibn Hawkal says that rose water was exported from here to all parts of India, China, Khorasan, and also to Northwest Africa, Syria, and Egypt. Palm-flower water, perfumed oils and unguents made from violets, water lilies, narcissus, jasmine, myrtle, sweet marjoram, lemon, and orange flowers were exported to the East. Again, Fars was famous for its carpets, embroideries, and brocaded stuffs which were manufactured for the sole use of the Sultan. On such materials his cipher was woven. Other materials for royal use were peacock-blue and green stuffs shot with threads of gold and embroidered. From Shiraz, the capital, came gauzes, brocades, stuffs of raw silk, and a variety of fine cloths for making cloaks. The city of Siraf, on the Persian Gulf, was the rival of Basra in commerce. It is said to have been the chief port of Persia during the tenth century. It manufactured excellent napkins and linen veils. The writer Istakhri says that the richest merchants of Fars were in the port of Siraf. One evidence of this is in the wonderful houses they built out of teakwood brought from the Zanj country, one merchant spending as much as 3000 *dinars* on his house.

In commercial matters Kirman ranked far below Fars, though dates were exported to Khorasan, and indigo was sent to Fars, and cereals to Hurmuz on the Gulf. As products of Sistan, Mukaddasi mentions only date-baskets called *zanabel,* ropes of palm-fibre, and reed mats. Kuhistan was famous for its carpets, prayer rugs, and white goods. Ibn Hawkal says that the most famous exports of Khorasan came from Nishapur and Merv, the latter being especially a place for all loom work in silk and in cotton, and veils of all kinds. In these markets, too, were found sheep, camels, and Turkish slaves; also manufactured articles such as stuffs for turbans, linens, woolens, brocades of silk, cloths of goat's hair, cloaks, fine thread. Turquoises coming from Nishapur were well known.

In order to maintain an exchange of these products an elaborate system of roads branching from the great trade routes had been worked out. Another purpose of these roads was to facilitate pilgrimages to Mecca, but the Arabians so combined trade with religion that improvement for one meant betterment for the other. The most famous road in the provinces was the great Khorasan Road which centred at Baghdad in Irak, passed northeast to Hulwan, east to Kirmanshah, on to Ray in eastern Jubal, across the desert to Nishapur, through Tus and Merv, through Bokhara and Samarkand in Sughdiana, thence leading to the Indian and Chinese frontiers. Several of the towns mentioned—Kir-

manshah, Ray, Nishapur, Merv, and Bokhara—were centres for branch roads leading to other towns along the way.

As to industry in the Baghdad Khalifate, "the crafts were distributed into gilds and syndicates," says Burton, "under their respective chiefs whom the government did not govern too much. These . . . regulated the several trades, rewarded the industrious, punished the fraudulent, and were personally answerable, as we still see at Cairo, for the conduct of their constituents."

The industrial activity of the Baghdad Khalifate was on a par with its agricultural production and commercial enterprise. It especially excelled in the arts of metal working and of weaving an immense variety of textiles. The local products of cotton and linen cloth manufactured at Mosul, Amid, and Nisiber were known the world over. So also was the high-priced red and yellow "Morocco" leather. Baghdad was famous for its jewelry, its vases of gold and silver, its potteries, its embroideries, its silk cloth. Ferghana in the northeast sent considerable iron to Baghdad. From Kirman, along the Gulf, came manufactured iron, and weapons and coats of mail which were in great demand. Swords came from Syria, but Damascus swords did not become famous until comparatively late. The relics found show that the Mohammedan people had reached a high degree of excellence in the manufacture of steel.

In weaving each province had its specialty. In Irak were manufactured many articles out of sheep wool, cotton, and camels' hair. From Kirman came very fine clothes, turban materials, and head veils with beautiful borders. Baghdad became so famous for fabrics that counterfeits were made in other provinces and sold for genuine Baghdad silk or cotton. South Arabia, as in later times, was famous for brocades, linens, silks. Cloaks were manufactured in Aden and exported. In the making of fine garments, cotton, silk, or linen was used, while sheep's wool and camel wool were more generally used for rough cloaks, overgarments, carpets, upholstering, and blankets.

The material from which these garments were made was often highly ornamented, for handwork was not despised by the Arabians, since the Koran recommended it as pleasing to God. In this achievement the Orient stands unsurpassed. The demand for such ornate materials arose from the old Asiatic love of elegance and brilliancy of outward appearance, and from the Persians' fondness for glowing colors, brilliant dress, and gold, all of which the Arabians accepted when they came in touch with these people. Another cause for this demand lay in the increased luxury of the court. The dress became costly; then, too, there prevailed the ancient Persian custom that the ruler should upon state occasions present the dignitaries of the court with royal robes, the cost-

liness of which should correspond to the rank of the prince, a gift to an ambassador being usually rare and very costly. Not only the khalifs themselves, but the governors and the women of the harems contributed gifts. To make the gift more valued, the ruling khalif had his name and title embroidered or woven in gold upon the garments presented. So important was this that special shops were established over which one of the most trusted princes was placed. One governor of Khuzistan had as many as eight of these shops.

The rich and powerful not only clothed themselves in costly garments, but also furnished their dwellings with real oriental luxuries. So, in addition to the weaving done for garments there arose a great demand for the heavier products of the loom, as tapestries and carpets. The city of Tustar in Khuzistan produced especially artistic hangings and tapestries embroidered in figures of gold. Tustar is said to have furnished curtains for the Kaaba in Mecca.

We know very little about the history of oriental carpet weaving and knotting, except that it antedates the birth of Mohammedanism. The Persian Sassanidæ rulers of the sixth century already possessed such carpets, like the one from the White Palace of King Chosroes at Ctesiphon.

Nevertheless, Islam, with its stern prohibition of all images and pictures, doubtless concentrated and strengthened artistic expression in this particular field. It encouraged the symbolical representation of Nature in carpet weaving and knotting. These patterns gradually became conventionalized in different forms among different tribes and races. Some developed designs following closely their natural models; others turned to purely geometrical forms. The latter are found principally among tribes that originally had a strong infusion of Mongolian blood, while the Aryan races kept to conventionalized flowers and vines and, at an earlier period, to animal figures. . . .

Carpet weaving and knotting originated . . . among the nomads before the art was introduced into the towns. At first they were practised by women and children. The wandering herdsman who drove his flocks through the wilderness and slept on the bare ground under his tent admired the brilliant carpet of blossoms that covered the steppe for a few weeks every spring, forming a wonderful but short-lived mosaic that soon vanished under the summer sun and changed to withered weeds and dust. No other vision of color ever relieved the monotonous landscape, which was at all other times either brown and arid or else white with snow. This short season of flowers is still the one bright episode in the imaginative life of the people who wander over the great plains of Asia. A wish to perpetuate it, to have it about them in days of drought and dust and of frost and snow, led these people to adorn with bright-colored threads, dyed with decoctions of the desert plants around them, the miserable mats with which they carpeted their black camel's-hair tents. . . .

Arabian writers of the Middle Ages have described in all the glowing colors of the oriental imagination the famous "winter carpet" of the Per-

sian Sassanidæ king Chosroes I. Its purpose was to make the monarch forget the absence of his flower garden during the cold winter months. At that time his garden parties were given on this carpet, whose pattern reproduced beds of spring blossoms, murmuring brooks, winding paths, and verdant foliage. We have carpets of a later period that still follow closely this garden design with brooks, tree blossoms, flower beds, and paths. They give us a glimpse into the origin of such carpets. The city dweller felt the same longing as did the nomad of the steppes for the return of spring. He tried to perpetuate that brief fairylike season, to keep it constantly with him. So it is not strange that the highly civilized Persians of the Middle Ages gradually improved the art of making these fabrics untill they became real miracles of craftsmanship and have left marks of their influence upon all subsequent designs. Such carpets illustrate the fact that the culmination of art synchronizes with the apogee of a civilization.[1]

Along with tapestry and carpet-weaving developed the manufacture of tents. Tents were a necessity to the Orientals because of their frequent journeys to Mecca, because of the great distances traveled and the lack of taverns along the routes. Tents afforded protection from the sun and rain, and they were light and easily transported. Some of them were very luxurious. That of Harun ar-Rashid which he took with him on his journeys was made of black satin. The poles were silver-plated, the rings were of gold, and the ropes were of wool or silk in many colors. The interior of the tent was fitted out with very expensive shawl material. Some tents were round, others square; one used frequently by the poor had a roof and two sides; still another style which was extremely simple, was merely a canvas stretched between two poles to act as a shield against the sun or rain.

As their taste for luxuries grew, the Arabs learned to care for jewelry and precious stones. In the Persian Gulf valuable pearl fisheries were located, and from the mountains of Persia were brought precious stones. Gilding, too, came into use for decorating walls and screens. Makkrissi tells of a school of painters at Basra, also of two painters who lived with Wazir Bazury. Their works show that the art of painting and gilding had advanced to some appreciable degree.

These industrial activities in the immediate lands of the Khalifate were greatly encouraged by ideas which they received from other lands with which they came into communication. From Ceylon came pearls and precious stones; from China came the idea of manufacturing paper out of linen. This industry developed earliest in Samarkand. For some time there was much competition between the linen paper from the East and the cotton paper of the West, though linen paper was not introduced into Europe until the first half of the thirteenth century. Of course from China in the very earliest days came the knowledge of the

[1] *Living Age*, Nov. 14, 1925.

mulberry tree and silk culture. From India originally came the orange, citron, lemons, rice, and indigo.

A more natural product of the Khalifate was perfumes, which were made from the fragrant plants, flowers, and fruits of Arabia and Persia. There were oil of roses, oil of violets, of willow blossoms, of jasmine, and of citron. Arabia was known for frankincense and myrrh. The Mohammedans were famous for their syrups and their fruits preserved in sugar and honey. Back of all this was the agriculture—the cultivation of sugar cane, of saffron, of henna which was used especially for cosmetic purposes, of cotton, flax, and mulberry trees. The palm tree received much attention, for the Arabian looked upon it as a gift from God which He had bestowed only upon the believers. People in these lands delighted in gardens where vines, flowers, and fruits were cultivated. They knew how to produce different kinds of fruits, grapes with the taste of spices, pears and oranges in unusual forms. They understood grafting and budding. By combining roses with almonds they produced rare and beautiful flowers. Moreover, they learned to train fine horses, to breed birds and pigeons and poultry.

"Baghdad was the inheritor of the glory of Babylon, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon. In the midst of the richest and most thickly peopled country of the Abâssî empire, well watered by the Tigris and Euphrates and the countless canals springing from them, surrounded by gardens where the natural advantages of the climate were heightened by every device that art could suggest closely connected with the outer world both by land and sea, Baghdad may well have seemed an earthly paradise. . . . A city within a city inhabited by thousands of officials, the khalif's palace spread its vast courts on the west bank, with the great mosque, surrounded by the quarters of all the many trades which fed on the luxury of the court. On the east bank of the Tigris was the fashionable quarter where El-Mahdi built his palace and where the great family of the Barmecides had their houses and gardens. Countless minarets shot up their slender stems like tall rushes into the clear sky.[2]

In the time of that sumptuous rake and royal spendthrift Harun er-Rashid (763–809), and onward until the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258, the history of Baghdad is one of almost fabulous wealth and prodigious prosperity.

A well-regulated routine of tribute and taxation personally inspected by the caliph, a network of waterways, irrigation canals, a noble system of highways provided with viaducts, bridges, and caravanserais, and a postal system of mounted couriers enabled it to collect as in a reservoir the wealth of the outer world. . . . Under iron administration, agriculture and commerce, the twin pillars of national prosperity, necessarily flourished. A

[2] Burton, *The Arabian Nights,* X, 167.

scientific canalization, with irrigation works inherited from the ancients, made the Mesopotamian valley a rival of Kemi, the Black Land (Egypt), and rendered cultivation a certainty of profit, not a mere speculation as it must ever be to those who, perforce, rely upon the fickle rains of heaven. The remains of extensive mines prove that the source of public wealth was not neglected; navigation laws encouraged transit and traffic, and ordinances for the fisheries aimed at developing a branch of industry new to the Arabs. Most substantial encouragement was given to trade and commerce, to manufactures and handicrafts, by the flood of gold which poured in from all parts of the earth; by the presence of a splendid and luxurious court, and by the call for new arts and industries which such a civilization would necessitate.[3]

We have a remarkable picture of the widespread interests of a Baghdad merchant at the height of the Khalifate in Sadi's *Gulistan.*

I knew a merchant who had a hundred and fifty camels of burthen and forty bondsmen and servants in his train. One night he entertained me in his lodgings on the island of Keish, in the Persian Gulf, and continued for the whole night talking idly, and saying: Such a store of goods I have in Turkestan, and such an assortment of merchandise in Hindustan; this is the mortgage-deed of a certain estate, and this the security bond of a certain individual's concern. Then he would say: I have a mind to visit Alexandria, the air of which is salubrious; but that cannot be, for the Mediterranean Sea is boisterous. O Sadi, I have one more journey in view, and, that once accomplished, I will pass my remaining life in retirement and leave off trade. I asked: What journey is that? He replied: I will carry the sulphur of Persia to China, where, I have heard, it will fetch a high price; thence I will take China porcelain to Greece; the brocade of Greece or Venice I will carry to India; and Indian steel I will bring to Aleppo; the glassware of Aleppo I will take to Yamin; and with the bardimini, or striped stuffs, of Yamin, I will return to Persia. After that I will give up foreign commerce and settle myself in a warehouse.

Syria, like Egypt, was prevailingly a Christian country with a veneer of Islamic civilization imposed upon it. This stratum was much heavier in inland Syria than along the coast. The political vicissitudes Syria experienced—in the tenth century it broke away under a local dynasty from adherence to the Baghdad Khalifate; in the eleventh century the Fatimites of Egypt extended their sway over it, to be supplanted in turn in 1086 by the Seljuk Turks—had little effect upon its commercial prosperity. One must sharply distinguish between eastern or inland Syria and western or seaboard Syria, where the more dense Syrian population was reënforced with Greeks, Armenians, Jews. The chief cities of the former were Aleppo in North Syria and Damascus in

[3] Burton, *The Arabian Nights,* X 173–176.

South Syria; the chief cities of the latter, Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli.

Aleppo, located in a well-watered plain surrounded by hills, on the edge of the desert, from time out of mind was a converging point of the route from the Persian Gulf to the Euphrates and the caravan route out of central Asia, whence wares were transported to the Mediterranean ports. Until the middle of the tenth century Aleppo was attached to the Baghdad Khalifate, but in 948 a local dynast seized the power. A rival invited Byzantine intervention, and in 961 it was held by the Eastern Roman Empire for a brief time. But even after that Byzantine merchants secured commercial privileges in Aleppo. In the treaty which the two parties made, there is included one article for the protection of Greek merchants who trade in Aleppo or happen to pass through it or its territory. Greek merchants are not to be molested while at Aleppo; Greek caravans are to be provided with sufficient escorts when they pass from Greek territory into Mohammedan, till they arrive in the city. In the list of articles on which taxes were to be levied, are enumerated gold, silver, Greek silk, raw silk, brocades, cotton stuffs for clothes, linen, precious stones, pearls, cattle. etc. From this treaty we can see clearly the importance of Aleppo as a trading centre. It was one of the most important centres for commerce in the East, being a gathering place for caravans passing from Asia Minor and Syria to Mesopotamia. Baghdad, the Persian and Indian kingdoms, a stopping place for the trade beween the Mediterranean and the interior of Asia. Aleppo was thrice destroyed by earthquakes in the twelfth century (1114, 1139, 1170) and each time rebuilt, and twice in the thirteenth century it was destroyed by the Mongols (1260, 1280).

Greater than Aleppo was Damascus, situated in the best watered plain in Syria, indeed so fertile and so beautiful that it seemed almost an earthly paradise to the first Arabs. Like Aleppo but in greater degree, Damascus was the focal point of important vertical and horizontal trade routes and from remotest recorded time has been a great commercial city. As we have seen, it was the first seat of Mohammedan power outside of Arabia and even when the capital of the Khalifate was removed to Baghdad, Damascus retained its importance. It early seceded from Baghdad and fell under the rule of Egypt. Damascus steel acquired world-wide fame during the Crusades, but "damask" cloth was little less famous. Damascus had a flourishing trade with Egypt, especially when Egypt and Syria were united. It also had intelligent and industrious workers of its own. They made silks of all kinds, brocades worked with gold thread with a perfection surpassed only at Ispahan and Nishapur. Renowned also were its sweetmeats and dyes. In one particular Damascus excelled any other Mohammedan city in the Near East. For it was the chief outfitting place for caravans bound to Mecca.

Aleppo and Damascus, as inland cities, faced the East. But Antioch and Tripoli were Mediterranean cities. Antioch, situated in the beautiful and fertile plain of the Orontes River, was not a seaport but was near the sea. It lay at the intersection of the important route from the Euphrates to the seaboard, and the broad valley road between the Lebanon and Anti-Libanus, running to Asia Minor through the Cilician Gates. It was one of the cities in bitterest dispute between Byzantium and Islam.

From 638 to 969 Antioch was under Moslem rule, passing from Ommeyad to Abbasid to Fatimite, until in the latter year it was recovered by the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, to fall again into the hands of the Seljuk Turk in 1081, just before the Crusades began. Its history during these four centuries was one of decadence. Repeated earthquakes ruined the city and the long wars between Byzantium and Persia and Byzantium and Islam had devastated the country round about to such an extent that the villagers were reduced to a semi-barbaric condition. Bandits and even lions infested the roads so that communication with Aleppo and the Euphrates was impaired. Moreover, it must be remembered that Antioch was not upon the sea but depended upon the little port of St. Simeon, so that she never profited greatly from the maritime commerce of the Mediterranean.

Throughout these three centuries of Arab supremacy the intervals of peace between the two empires were few, and communications difficult. In fact, in the earlier period a broad band of devastated and unoccupied territory ran between Arabian Syria and the land of Rûm, or Asia Minor. Byzantine ships put in at certain agreed ports along the coast of the Sea of the Romans. . . . The subordinate position of the town during these centuries makes impossible any connected narrative. Historians seldom mention it, and most of our information comes from Arab geographers and travelers, who describe the natural features of the district, its trade and products. . . . Commerce was fairly active and a few fresh industries came in. The sugar cane was brought from Persia and grown on the coast, and in the tenth century oranges from India followed, and groves were planted around Antioch and other towns. . . . Textile industries were active throughout, and the Arabic name *Antakiya* came to signify a cover or carpet. The art of weaving silk and other rich stuffs was already well developed; cotton paper (*charta Damascena*) was manufactured, and a factory of arms, first mentioned under Diocletian, continued to exist. . . . Whatever views may be held as to the respective merits of Arab and Byzantine civilization, it can hardly be doubted that its status was improved by the substitution of a stable government (969) for the series of adventurers of diverse races who had seized on the city during the previous years. In view, however, of the nature of the population—a mongrel collection of Levantines, having a superficial knowledge of Greek, but more familiar with Arabic, pro-

fessing Christianity, but sunk in gross superstition and relic-worship—it would be vain to look for any revival.[4]

From this depth late in the eleventh century Antioch began to rise, when Amalfitan and Venetian merchants commenced to frequent the port of St. Simeon. By the time the Crusades opened Antioch had become again an important mart.

Tyre, under Moslem rule, owing to its location on a bold promontory projecting into the sea, prospered more than Antioch. Sugar growing was added to its ancient industries. But its commerce suffered from piracy until Byzantine sea power was restored by Nicephorus Phocas in the last half of the tenth century by the conquest of Crete and Cyprus. In the next century the appearance of Amalfitan, Venetian, and Pisan merchants further helped to revive Tyre's prosperity, and it was "a city of great beauty, industry, commerce, and wealth" on the eve of the Crusades. It was in Syrian ports that the West first came in contact with sugar, which almost rivaled silk as an export. Silk manufacture was enhanced by the plentiful variety of dyes available, purple from the sea, madder, indigo, whose plants were cultivated in the valley of the Orontes.

North of Mesopotamia lay Armenia, extending to the Caucasus and the south shore of the Black Sea and west to Asia Minor and the Greek Empire. The Arabs had an extensive trade with this country. Although mountainous, its river valleys were very fertile. The mountains furnished timber and metals. The raising of sheep was an important industry and the wool of Armenia was much sought after. As in antiquity, Armenia provisioned Mesopotamia generally by way of the Euphrates. A large part of its wool was manufactured at Debil, the chief place of the province. From it were made rugs renowned for their dyes in purple; the latter came from a worm common in the environs of Mt. Ararat.

East of Armenia up to the Caspian Sea lay the province of Ran, present Georgia, with Tiflis for a capital. The silkworm was cultivated here on a large scale. This province traded via the Volga River with the Slavic populations north of the Caspian Sea—mainly the Khazars and beyond them the Bulgars. These peoples were independent, but were brought under the commercial influence of the Arabs. They had some towns and a certain political organization, practised agriculture, and had an extensive commerce with the peoples to the north and east and with the Baltic lands.

Egypt broke away from the Baghdad Khalifate in 868 and between 969 and 1171 was under Fatimite rule. In the three hundred and thirty years since the Arab conquest the fusion of the people had gone on

[4] E. S. Bouchier, *Short History of Antioch.*

apace, giving birth to the Egyptians as they are today, Moslems forming the larger portion of the population. The earlier sovereigns were excellent rulers under whom the population and commerce increased.

The *Book of Lands,* a geographical work by Ya'kubi, published about the year 891, informs us that Fostat occupied about one-third of the area of Alexandria at that period; that Alexandria was the most important commercial city in Egypt; that Ashmunen in Upper Egypt was noted for its extensive cloth factories, Tinis for its weaving and gold embroidery, Alexandria, Damietta (Damyat), and Shata for their brocades and cloth of gold, the Fayum for its canvas, Siût for its carpets, Akhmin for its straw mats and leather work, and Taha for its pottery. The chief export at that period, as in ancient times, was corn [wheat], which was chiefly sent to the Hejâz.[5]

The new dynasty within ten years extended its sway over Syria, the dominions of Egypt now stretching from the Euphrates and Asia Minor to Barca. Ahmad-ibn-Tulun, the founder of this new power, was an intelligent and able ruler. "In spite of the necessity of a large revenue to furnish the means for his grandiose plans and magnificent buildings, and his extravagant court, so far from raising the taxes, he abolished new imposts and encouraged peasant proprietorship and security of tenure, to use modern terms, so that his revenue was due more to better cultivation than to extortion. He left ten thousand *dinars* in his treasury." Egypt attained a wealth and prosperity greater than before. This prosperity, however, was more in commerce than in agriculture. The Arab has never been distinguished as a farmer but has always excelled as a trader. We find a reflection of this fact in the decay of agriculture due to Arab indifference to it and the deterioration of the system of irrigation on which agriculture so depended. The decrease of the land tax is significant.

But partial compensation for this agricultural depression was found in the enormous commercial and industrial development of Egypt under the Fatimites. The material wealth of the country increased prodigiously. An Egyptian princess at her death left five sacks of emeralds besides other precious stones, 3000 silver vessels, 30,000 pieces of Sicilian embroidery, 90 crystal vases. Another died possessed of 12,000 silk dresses. The textile, glass, and pottery manufactures of Egypt were spread over the whole world. Fostat made ware so delicate one could see his hand through it. Cairo and Alexandria made silks so fine that a whole garment could be drawn through a finger ring; Asyut made turban cloth, Bethnesa white woolens; Damietta gave its name to dimity.

The Fatimites, however, could not maintain the ascendancy acquired

[5] E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages.*

between 868 and 969, when the fleets of Egypt kept Sicily and the African littoral under Egyptian sway and even raided the coasts of Moorish Spain. Both commerce and the dockyards declined under them. The ties which bound Africa to Egypt were dissolved, Syria was restless. In 965 plague devastated Egypt. In the reign of El-Hakim (996–1021) the Nile failed to rise for three successive years. Another evil was the madness of the sovereign whose tyranny closed the bazaars and drove merchants out of the country. In 1025 the Nile again failed to flood so that between privation and tyranny the country verged upon ruin. "Oxen rose to 50 *dinars* a head, and their slaughter had to be prohibited to prevent utter extermination. Camels of burden became scarce, and fowls, the common meat of Egypt, were not to be had. . . . People sickened and died for want of food and the stronger turned brigand and plundered the caravans, even of pilgrims; the roads were infested with robbers. . . . The treasury was empty, the taxes in arrears. Slaves broke into revolt." [6]

Finally came relief from administrative tyranny and the privation inflicted by nature. A traveler in 1046 was impressed with the prosperity and tranquillity of Egypt. The strong wazir El-Yazuri (1050–58) made a brave attempt to improve agriculture by curtailing speculation in wheat and suppressing the abominable practice of usurers of buying up standing crops and cornering the supply. Unfortunately for the success of these measures the Nile failed again to rise in 1050 and plague and famine ensued. The government tried to purchase two million bushels from the Crimea in 1055, but the imperial government insisted upon an offensive and defensive alliance between Egypt and Constantinople against the Baghdad Khalifate as a condition, and the project fell through. This was the time when the Seljuk Turks were in ascendancy in Baghdad (1058), and the eve of the Crusades. But greater privation was in store. The Nile failed to rise for seven long years (1065–72). The anarchy of 1025 was repeated and continued for years. Turkish and negro regiments mutinied and their bands were added to those of more ordinary brigands; the Bedouin of the desert harried the borders. Cairo and Fostat were cut off from supplies. The dikes decayed or were destroyed. Famine prevailed everywhere. Not a domestic animal was left in the country. The khalif's stable of 10,000 horses was reduced to three. People in the streets were waylaid and eaten; human flesh was even openly sold. The very richest were impoverished, having sold their jewels, their furniture, their houses for food. Three of the emirs of the day became bath attendants. The looting of houses and palaces went so far that vast accumulations of jewels, plate, silks, furniture, coin were dissipated forever. The royal library of over

[6] E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages.*

100,000 books, representative of the intellectual world of Islam, was destroyed. The loss was second only to that of the Alexandrian Library in the fifth century. The exodus out of Egypt was enormous, the wealthiest families removing to Baghdad.

At last in 1073 the Nile resumed its wonted overflow and a bountiful harvest came. The khalif, reduced to desperation by the Turkish guardsmen, summoned a former Armenian slave who had risen to high place in the wars in Syria and distinguished himself by his hostility to Turkish oppression, and made him wazir. He reëstablished law and order, repaired the dikes and the roads in Lower Egypt, and then began a war of subjugation against the negro and desert tribes (1076). "The fellahin under his strong, just, and benevolent rule soon began to enjoy a security and prosperity unknown for many years. In 1090 a return of taxation . . . showed that the revenue of Egypt and Syria had risen from the usual 2,000,000 or at most 2,800,000 to 3,100,000 *dinars*." When the Crusades began Egypt was politically strong and economically prosperous. The loss of Syria, for so long an Egyptian dependency, first to the Seljuk Turks and then to the Crusaders, was a blessing in disguise.

While Baghdad and Cairo, in Mesopotamia and Egypt, were the commercial capitals of the Mohammedan world, as has been suggested in the chapter upon the early expansion of Islam, the commercial enterprise of the Arabs carried them to the ends of the earth. The geographical treatises of the Græco-Roman world which the Arabs came upon in the course of their conquests stimulated an interest both in geographical discovery and in commercial exploration. Arabic geographical works are an important branch of medieval literature. But a greater wonder is that the Arabs took to the sea with the readiness of the ancient Greeks or the Norsemen. Pilot books of the Red Sea and the coasts of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India were written by former sea captains.

With Islam there arose a new race of explorers . . . searching out new ways for their commerce, and it is with them now and their marvelous records of restless commercial activity that we have to deal. Masters of the sea, even as of the land, no military and naval supremacy which has ever directed the destinies of nations was so widespread in its geographical field of enterprise as that of the Arabs. The whole world was theirs to explore. Their ships furrowed new paths across the seas, even as their khalifas trod new highways over the land; and at the root of all their movement was the commercial instinct of the Semite. . . . The might of the sword of Islam but carved the way for the slave-owner and the merchant to follow. . . . Nothing in the history of the world is more surprising than the rapid spread of the Arab conquests in Asia, Africa, and western Europe. . . . Even in the English language the sea terms of the Arab sailor still live.

What is our "admiral" but the *Al-mir-ul-bahr* of the Arabian Sea, or our "barge" but his *barija* or warship? [7]

We shall begin with a résumé of the condition of the Mohammedan dominions of North Africa.

In the tenth century the Fatimites, having become supreme along the North African coast-line, pushed their conquests westwards, and by 991 A.D. had brought under their rule all the African littoral as far as Morocco. At the time of the conquest, the Arab possessions in the West, including the North African coast and Spain, were called Maghreb, or the Occident. Later the name Maghreb denoted what is now Algiers and Morocco, and Ifrikia was the name given to Tunis and Tripoli. For convenience it may be divided into (*a*) Africa proper, including Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli up to the Syrtis, (*b*) Mauritania, composed of the provinces of Fez and Morocco, and (*c*) the interior.

Here, as everywhere, commerce followed in the wake of religion and Africa recovered her ancient prosperity. The interior was a desert of burning sand, but the coast region was fertile. The raising of cattle everywhere prospered and from this region Egypt received each year great herds of sheep, horses, and horned cattle. Wheat was exported from Barca. Farther to the west and north of the Atlas range was one of the richest countries of Islam. Agriculture penetrated far to the south, up valleys whose rivers were fed by the snows of the Atlas range. Plantations of sugar and cotton were common, dates grew everywhere and the country produced great wealth with little work. The mountains produced timber and held within their folds mines of silver, iron, and copper. The Arabs knew better how to use this country than the Carthaginians, who found no mines there and went away to look for the precious metals in Spain.

By the ninth century, the Mohammedans of Africa, possessing Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, too, had become an important commercial people, developed a sea-power and aspired to make the Mediterranean a Mohammedan lake. Bitter warfare then ensued between them and the maritime cities of Italy and southern France, the balance of power being in favor of the Mohammedans until the rise of the fleets of Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and the expulsion of the Arabs from Sicily by the Normans (1060–90). The ports of Tunis, Bona, Bougia, Oran, Ceuta, and Tangier on the African littoral had considerable export and import trade. Dépôts for the products of Africa, these ports received also the merchandise of Asia in transit for western Europe. The ships of Syria and Egypt exchanged here their cargoes for those of the ships of Spain and Sicily. The Iberian peninsula was drawn into the circle of Arabic

[7] Holdich, *Gates of India.*

civilization and commerce, and Morocco felt the happy effects of this close relation. Its capital, Fez, offered an asylum for those who had been banished from Spain. The refugees introduced there the different industries of Seville and Cordova, among others the art of dyeing in red and yellow the fleece of the sheep and the hide of the horse, and Fez became very flourishing as a leather market. Here originated the brimless red hat known as the *fez*. The city's dyes, its soaps, its essences were renowned, as was also its metal work.

In succeeding centuries under more settled governments, war became very rare, and mutual amity was the prevailing policy, between the African and the Italian and southern French cities. The Berber people wanted many of the products of Europe, and the European states were a market for many of their own surplus products. Consequently treaties of commerce were mutually beneficial, and from time to time the cities of France or Italy formed such treaties with the rulers of North Africa and Spain.

Piracy was always distinctly prohibited in the commercial treaties of the African states; nevertheless piracy went on, and most pertinaciously on the part of the Christians. The Greeks, Sardinians, Maltese, and Genoese were by far the worse members of the fraternity of rovers, as the treaties themselves prove. The increase of commerce under the stimulus of the Crusades tempted the adventurous.[8]

Between 893 and 911 the African provinces broke away from Egyptian rule, as Egypt herself had broken away from the rule of Baghdad, and formed independent states—Barca, Tripoli, Tunis (Kairwan), and the Maghreb (Algeria and Morocco). The ancient Numidian, Moor, and Berber peoples were too intractable to be held in leash. Even their religion, though Islamic in form, was a secession from orthodox Mohammedanism. No single khalif was strong enough to impose his sovereignty over the whole area. The strongest among them was the emir of Kairwan.

Kairwan was on the edge of the Great Sahara, whose border was then more densely populated than today, and possessed more oases than now. The Arab historian Ibn-Khaldun, whose work is "unsurpassed in Arabic literature as a masterpiece of historical composition," records that at the time of the Mohammedan conquest "the wide region between Tripoli and Tangier had the appearance of an immense thicket under the shade of which arose a multitude of hamlets touching each other." Today this land is a treeless, almost verdureless plain, in which the gaunt ruins of ancient Roman oil mills are frequent, with less than a tenth of the population it once supported.

[8] Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs*, 7.

Arabic religious and commercial influence was slow in penetrating the heart of Africa from the east coast, but it was not slow in doing so from the Mediterranean. There is ground to believe that Carthage had once established trade connections across the Sahara with Negroland and the Niger country. But whether Carthaginian merchants crossed the desert thither, or whether these traders were natives from the Lake Chad region, or whether the Numidian and the Berber were the middlemen, is uncertain. There is a Punic tradition of a people called Garamantes who crossed the Sahara with burden-bearing oxen, and in the second century A.D. we have a fragmentary Roman inscription showing that gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers were imported from central Africa into Roman Africa. But our real knowledge of Saharan and Sudanese history begins with the Arab conquest of Tripoli, Tunis, and Maghreb, and the advent of the camel.

The Arabs began to penetrate the desert hinterland soon after the conquest of the Mediterranean littoral. The Fezzan was conquered within fifty years after the Hegira. In the late ninth century we have positive information as to the commerce of the Fezzan with Kawar, whence the route was soon extended to Lake Chad. But Kairwan, with exit on the Mediterranean through both Tunis and Bona, soon became a competitor of Tripoli on the Lake Chad route and also opened a new route farther west across the Sahara to Songhay on the bend of the Niger before the end of the ninth century.

Kairwan became the chief base of Arabic military, religious, and commercial expansion into and across the Sahara, through which contact was established with the peoples of the central Sudan. The importance of this achievement is comparable to what the Norse peoples did in raising the northern countries of Europe above the horizon of history. For the first time in history central Africa (Sudan) was brought into close connection with the Mediterranean and Europe. The gigantic nature of the feat may be appreciated when it is remembered that the Sahara Desert with its scorching sands, its mountain ranges, its stony plateaux, its scattered oases, is greater in area than the United States. In the tenth century we find still another road traversing the desert, the Great Western Route from Morocco through Audoghast to Timbuktu. There were thus three arteries of trade across the Sahara. The eastern and the western marked the narrowest parts of the desert, for in each the fertile coastland extended a long tongue into the arid zone. But the middle route from Kairwan was very long. The locations of the oases and water wells have determined the courses of these caravan roads for centuries. Not even war has effaced them. In the oases were *funduks* or caravanserais, at once rest houses and place for stores. The prodigious length of these desert routes is staggering, 1500,

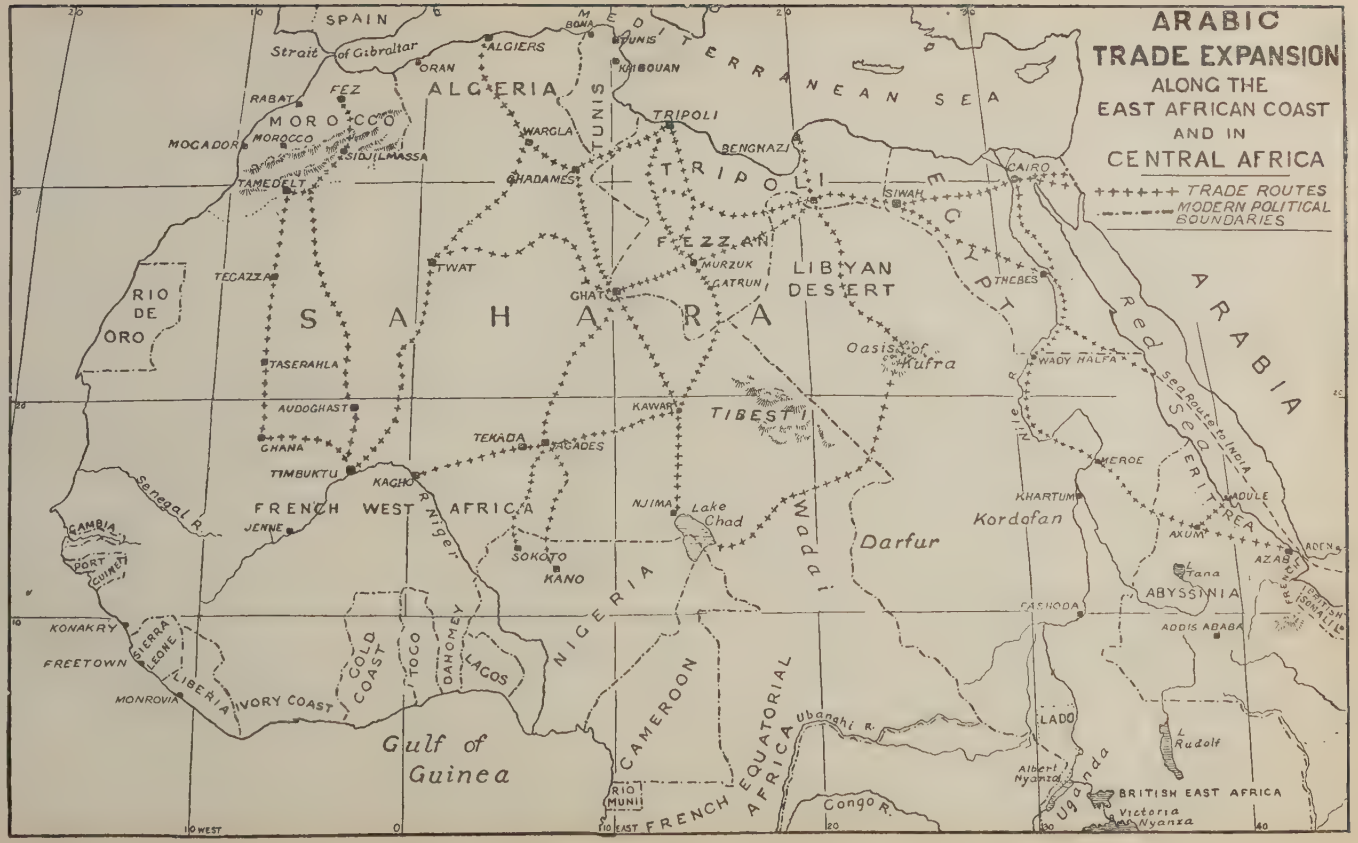
1800, and 2000 miles. It took nine months for wares to cross from Lake Chad or Timbuktu to the coast. The articles of trade were slaves, gold dust, gums, skins, ivory, natron, ostrich feathers (once a giraffe was brought through to the astonishment of Tunis), in return for salt, dates, coral, silk, spices, sugar. During the Crusades shirts of mail brought by Arab traders from Palestine found their way into the Sudan.

The Sudan, it must be clearly understood, was not and is not now desert. It has two seasons, a dry one of seven months and a wet one of five months, during which prodigious quantites of rain fall, which feed the rivers of the land, the Niger, the Bahr el Ghazal, the Shari, and the Senegal. The negro and negroid population in this immense area, too, differed then as it differs now from the lower type of the race farther south. The Hausa peoples dwelt in large mud-walled towns; they were herdsmen primarily and their industries were based upon cattle- and goat-raising, such as tanning and dressing hides (for which they used a native vegetable red dye). They also made a coarse but excellent cloth, dyed with local indigo, which was sold in the marts of Tripoli, Fez, Tunis, and Kairwan. "When Mohammedan merchants came to the Sudan about 1000 A.D. they already found a well-arranged system of commerce"—the Hausa culture—upon which they superimposed their own. "From any time of which history has note, the northern belt of the Sudan has been occupied by races of a higher than negroid type. When the Arabs first visited Negroland by the western route in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era they found the black kings of Ghana in the height of their prosperity." [9]

The first Mohammedan writer who mentions Negroland is Abd-el-Hakem who died in 870, but he had no knowledge of it. Nearly a hundred years later Ibn-Hawkal, the traveler and geographer, yet knew little of it, sufficient evidence that Arab penetration thither postdates the year 1000.

Ibn-Hawkal died in 968. Just a hundred years later, in 1067, a book was written that gives us a description as vivid as the description of Ibn-Hawkal is bare. The name of the book is usually translated as *Roads and Realms*. It treats of the whole of North Africa, but of Negroland in special detail, and the intimate knowledge which it displays serves to indicate the development of intercourse with the Sudan. . . . The exact date of El-Bekri's birth is doubtful, but the best authorities put it at 1028. . . . It is evident from El-Bekri's account that the trade of the Sudan with Spain and the countries of the Mediterranean coast had for a long time been important enough to attract attention and interest. . . . Tafilet, known to the Arabs and always spoken of under the name of Sidjilmessa, the last

[9] Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency*, 84.


ARABIC
TRADE EXPANSION
ALONG THE
EAST AFRICAN COAST
AND IN
CENTRAL AFRICA
++++++ TRADE ROUTES
MODERN POLITICAL BOUNDARIES
SPAIN
Strait of Gibraltar
ALGIERS
ORAN
BONA
TUNIS
KAIROUAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RABAT
FEZ
ALGERIA
TUNIS
MOROCCO
MOGADOR
MOROCCO
SIJILMASSA
WARGLA
TRIPOLI
BENGHAZI
TAMEDELT
GHADAMES
TRIPOLI
SIWAH
CAIRO
FEZZAN
TWAT
MURZUK
LIBYAN DESERT
EGYPT
TECAZZA
GHAT
LATRUN
THEBES
RIO DE ORO
SAHARA
Oasis of Kufra
WADY HALFA
ARABIA
Red Sea route to INDIA
TASERAHLA
AUDOGHAST
KAWAR
TIBESTI
Nile R.
HEROE
Red Sea
ERITREA
GHANA
TEKADA
TAGADES
TIMBUKTU
KAGHO
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
NJIMA
Lake Chad
KHARTUM
ADULE
Senegal R.
GAMBIA
JENNE
Niger R.
Kordofan
Darfur
AXUM
ADEN
PORT GUINEA
SOKOTO
KANO
AZABO
Tana
ABYSSINIA
FASHODA
KONAKRY
SIERRA LEONE
FREETOWN
COLD COAST
TOGO
DAHOMEY
LAGOS
NIGERIA
ADDIS ABABA
LIBERIA
MONROVIA
IVORY COAST
CAMEROON
EQUATORIAL AFRICA
Ubangi R.
LADO
L. Rudolf
Gulf of Guinea
RIO MUNII
Congo R.
Albert Nyanza
Uganda
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Victoria Nyanza
10 WEST
0
10 EAST
20
30
40

town at which the road to the Sudan left the fertile territories of Morocco, . . . was, according to El-Bekri, founded in the year 757 of our era. He describes it as being situated at the junction of several streams in a plain of which the soil was impregnated with salt, and was extraordinarily fertile. Among their crops the people grew "Chinese wheat" . . . Grapes, dates, and all kinds of fruits were very plentiful, and amongst other industries the town was celebrated for drying raisins. There was a gold currency, and it was regarded as a peculiarity that gold pieces at Sidjilmessa were received by count and not by weight. . . . Sidjilmessa . . . was the meeting-place of many roads: those leading from Wargelan and other places in the Barbary States which were marts of the trade of the Sudan, and also from Morocco, Telemcan, and the coast. For all these roads it formed the most westerly entrance to the desert. From Sidjilmessa to Ghana in the Land of the Blacks there was a march of nearly two months to be made across a practically uninhabited desert . . . having no town, he says, . . . with the exception of the Wadi Dra at five days' distance from Sidjilmessa.[10]

Simultaneously with their penetration of central Africa the Arabs also extended their power by sea along the east coast from the horn of the continent to Cape Corrientes (latitude 24° 4′ S.). Both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, giving exit upon the Indian Ocean, were bases for this expansion, and the Bahrein Islands in the latter and the islands of Aden and Sokotra in the gulf leading to the Red Sea were important naval and mercantile stations en route. Magadoxo, Brava, Sofala, and, most important of all, Kilwa (later Portuguese Quiloa), Mombasa, Pemba, Mafia, Comoro, and Mozambique were thus founded. The articles of trade were slaves, gold dust, ivory, gums, ambergris. How far inland penetration was pushed is a matter of doubt. Some writers credit the Arabs with having built the mysterious ruins in Rhodesia. It is a question, too, whether the Arabs discovered Madagascar. No evidence of settlement there in medieval times has been found. The strong current of the Mozambique Channel and the formidable storms off Cape Corrientes probably deterred Arab navigators from going so far out to sea.

The great continent of Asia, like Africa, was penetrated by land (central Asia and India) and settled from the sea by the Arabs, whose double zeal, religious and commercial, led them almost to the earth's ends.

We shall first follow the history of Arab penetration of central Asia by land, and then describe the expansion into the Far East by sea. Already we have seen that the Arabs, in the conquest of Persia and Syria and the establishment of the Baghdad Khalifate, were in control of the great trans-Asian trade routes whose first history is lost in

[10] Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency*, 16-17.

antiquity. As far back as Alexander the Great the way had been blazed to the cotton lands of India and the silk lands of China. The road started out of Mesopotamia, surmounted the gorges of the mountains encircling western Persia—a lift of 5000 feet—passed through Ray, Nishapur, and Meshed and the rich and populous oases of Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand to Kashgar, the last two of which were conquered by Islam in 711 and 714. This country was better watered in the Middle Ages than today. From the eighth to the fifteenth century these places were prosperous emporiums under Arab rule. Their ruination dates from Timurlane.

From Merv or Samarkand the road divided, the main road going on to China, the branch road diverging toward the southeast upon Balkh and Kabul and so to India. Between Samarkand and Kashgar this longest caravan route in the world crossed two tremendous ranges of mountains and so entered the Celestial Kingdom, skirted the gigantic wall of the Karakoram Mountains along the southern edge of Khotan—then a populated country but now a desert—through Kashgar and Khotan (the city), to Suchow, the westernmost city of China, whence the valley of the Hwang-Ho opened into the heart of China.[11]

The Chinese Empire in the seventh century was at the height of its glory, and in closer relations with the West than ever before in history, thanks to the liberal and ambitious policy of the emperor T'ai Tsung, who had mounted the throne in 627. His capital city, Chang-an, was open to Nestorians and Mohammedans. Christianity had been introduced in 634 by a Nestorian monk; in 638 the first Christian church was built in China. Embassies poured in from India, Nepal, Persia and Byzantium; for in the last duel between these two antagonists both states had appealed to the celestial emperor for support. Finally came embassies from the khalifs Omar and Othman.

The Saracens skilfully availed themselves of the political situation in central Asia to extend their domination. During the reign of Walid (705–15)

in Transoxiana there was a mixed population of Iranians and white Huns (Ephthalites) who had been subdued by the Turks. . . . At the time of Kutaiba's conquest there was an insurrectionary movement in Transoxiana of the poor against the rich. The Saracen conquerors most skilfully took advantage of the two elements of disunion. . . . The conquest of Farghana cost more blows than the conquest of Sogdiana. Here the Saracens came into contact with the Tibetan Buddhists who had recently

[11] There were three routes from China to the West: (1) the Northwest Route, (2) the route via Tibet, and (3) the route via Suchow or Szechwan and Yunnan. The first was dangerous on account of marauding nomads; the second, difficult on account of the high plateaux and enormous ranges of mountains to be crossed; the third was the safest and easiest.

revolted against the emperor of China. Bands of these Tibetan mountaineers crossed the great southern pass to plunder in the lands of the Oxus and Jaxartes. They formed friendly relations with the Saracens, who in their turn reconnoitred in Kashgaria. It would have been of great importance to the Saracens to hold the southern gate of China and thus create and command a new route of commerce from east to west. But this would have taken away the occupation of the Turks who had hitherto been the intermediates between China and western Asia, holding the northern gate and hindering any one else from holding the southern. Accordingly, the Turkish chagan interfered.[12]

But back of this Turkish resistance stood the Chinese government, determined not to let the Mohammedan hordes pour into China's western provinces as they had inundated Persia, Egypt, and Syria. Yet China could not keep the western door shut. By the middle of the eighth century Mussulman traders and missionaries were pouring into the western provinces of China from Transoxiana, Bokhara, and Samarkand in large numbers. By 742 a mosque was built in the capital city of Shen-si province.

But the real "open door" to the Far East was by the sea, not by the land. It has been observed in a former chapter that trade relations were old between Persia and China, and that junks from China via the Straits, Ceylon, and the Malabar coast of India were not unfamiliar sights in the port of Basra. But if Chinese junks could venture to travel this long sea-route, so also could Arabic dhows.

There were seafaring traders on the Arabian coasts to whom the ports of western India had been familiar from the earliest times. Arab merchants sailed from Siraf and Hurmuz in the Persian Gulf, coasting along till they came to the mouth of the Indus, and thence on to Sapera and Cambay; or they even struck boldly across from their harbors at Kalhat and Kurayyat in Oman to Calicut and other ports on the Malabar coast.[13]

The Malabar coast led them to Ceylon, whence they crossed the Bay of Bengal to the Malayan Archipelago, and established colonies in the Andaman Islands, Singapore, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and in China.

There is ground for believing that a colony of Arab merchants was established in Canton as far back as 300 A.D. It is certain for the fifth century, and in the eighth century this group, composed of Arabs and Mohammedanized Persians and Jews, was large and important. In 700 A.D. Canton was thrown open to foreign merchants, among whom the Arabs must have been the leaders. In 758 these burned the town in alliance with native rebels. After the revolution in China of 795 they traded

[12] Bury's ed, Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* V, 414.
[13] Rawlinson, *The Parthian Empire.*

principally through the port of Khan-Fu, modern Hang-Chow-Fu, but prudently removed their chief base to Kalah in the Malay Peninsula.

Throughout the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries the political relations between the Arab colony in Khan-fu and the Chinese continued to be friendly with the exception of a slight break near the close of the ninth. It was during the latter century that the Arab trade in the East reached its highest development. The best proof of this is found in the account given by the merchant Soleyman. Much information may be obtained from the record of this merchant of the conditions of the country and the character of the trade. One fact is clearly brought out by Soleyman. This is the great security of trade and commerce in the Chinese Empire during these years. He declares that no impost was exacted from the lands but that each man in the country was taxed according to the means he possessed, the Arabs and other strangers paying like the natives. Internal traffic within the Chinese Empire was not prohibited but was under careful supervision. Any person who wished to travel from one province to another had to obtain a passport which specified the road the traveler intended to follow and gave a description of the person or persons accompanying him, and set forth his profession and the amount of money he was carrying. In this minute manner the person and trade of the merchant or traveler was protected, which undoubtedly aided in the commercial relations between the Orient and other lands. Moreover, the Moslems in China were under a *kadi* or judge, appointed by the emperor, with most extensive powers. The custom-house regulations were strict, but neither unfair nor illiberal. As soon as a merchant cargo reached China it was seized and kept in warehouses for six months. Then a tax of from three to thirty per cent was levied on each commodity and the rest was returned to the owner. The emperor always retained the right of preemption; but he paid to the "utmost fraction of the value" and so "dispatched his business immediately and without the least injustice." The importance of the Moslem settlement in Canton in Soleyman's period may be ascertained from the fact that "one of the Mussulmans was appointed by the Chinese authorities to maintain order among his coreligionists and to administer the law of Islam. On fast days he said prayers, repeated the Khotta and prayed for the welfare of the Caliph." However, in 875, there was a Chinese insurrection and the trade relations were greatly interrupted by this occurrence. When the Chinese emperor was once more restored to power the officials did as they pleased; and as a result of this state of affairs the Arabs changed their headquarters to Kalah. Here the products of Indo-China were brought, such as camphor, cloves, aloes, Brazil-wood, santal, coconut, and nutmeg. The principal imports into China, during this century, were ac-

cording to Soleyman, iron, frankincense, copper, tortoise-shell, camphor, and rhinoceros bones.

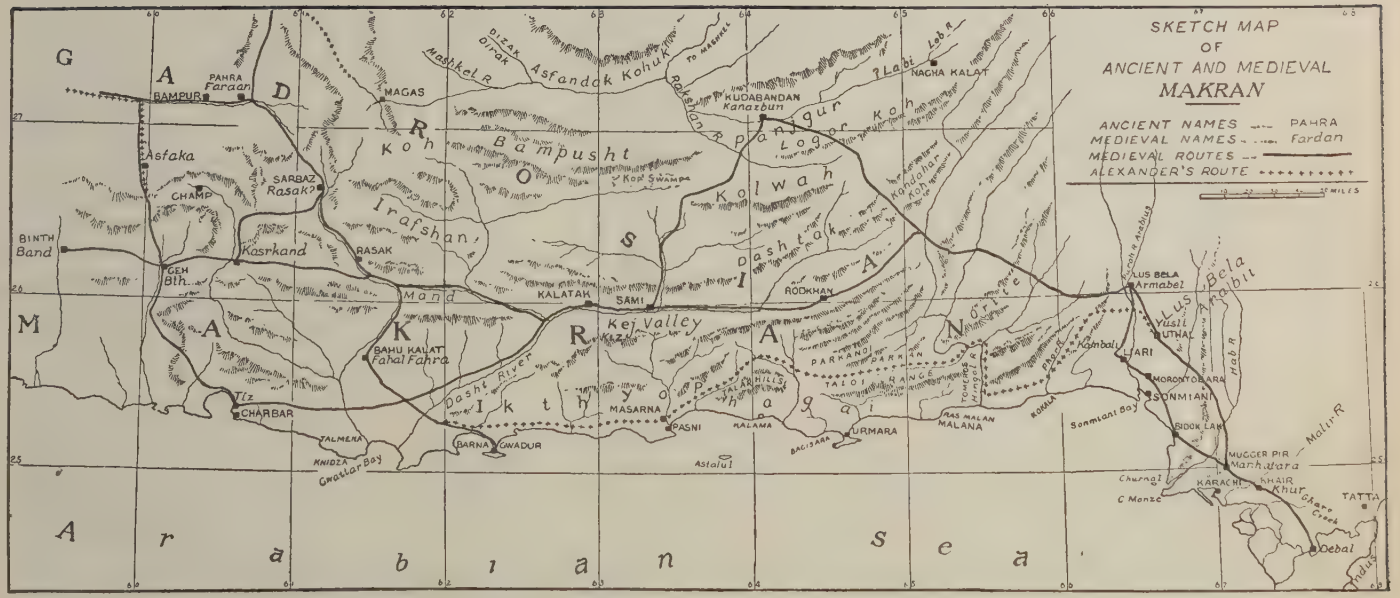
For the next five centuries we find many references to the relations between the Arabs and the Chinese. In the fourteenth century Ibn Batuta in the farthermost eastern part of China recounts meeting a friend of his youth who was born at Canton and engaged in trade.

At the same time Arab merchants also reached India by land. A glance at the map of Asia will show that modern Baluchistan, now under British rule, is a connecting link between Persia and India. Coast trade along this shore was probably earlier than caravan traffic, but both are as old as ancient Assyria and Persia. In antiquity and medieval times this territory, or rather the coastal zone of it, was called Makran, while the interior was known as Seistan. This overland route to India out of Persia was opened early in Mohammedan history. For the impulse of trade certainly antedated the historical invasion of India in 712 A.D. Arab merchants thronged the country; good roads, good inns prevailed. The rivers were crossed by bridges of boats. At the same time Seistan was settled by Arab and Syrian immigrants. The ruins of the ancient capital Zarinje cover an enormous area. The plains were white with cotton, and red with the indigo poppy. The hillsides were terraced to their tops and a network of irrigating canals, now disappeared, distributed the water from the hills. "There were canals innumerable, and always the wind and the windmills." The trade of Seistan could find an exit either by the coast road or by a more difficult but practicable transverse road leading northwestward and terminating at Meshed in Persia.

Today almost all evidence of this once great civilization has vanished. It was destroyed less by war (though the Portuguese and the Turks did destructive work), than by the strange shift of the monsoon in later times, which deprived the land of the rains from the Indian Ocean and reduced the country to semi-aridness if not actual desert.[14]

It is worth observing, in connection with this tremendous expansion of Mohammedan power in Asia, that the Arabic geographers had a very large amount of source material to draw upon. In the first place they had pilot books, travel records, relations of campaigns, merchant and pilgrim accounts. In the second place they drew upon Egyptian, Coptic, Greek, and Persian sources. And the navigators themselves were indebted to previous civilizations for much of their knowledge of navigation. The geographer Idrisi writes, "The captain used to sit in the

[14] "Such uninviting ports as Urmara, Gwadur (which belongs to Muskat), Charbar and Jask have all been historical places in their day, but their day has passed long since, and they are now but stations of the Indo-Persian telegraph line or fishing villages inhabited by a mixed race of people as ichthyophagous in their habits as they were in the days of Nearkos.—Holdich, *Indian Borderland,* 315.


SKETCH MAP
OF
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL
MAKRAN
ANCIENT NAMES — PAHRA
MEDIEVAL NAMES — Fardan
MEDIEVAL ROUTES
ALEXANDER'S ROUTE
MILES
GADROSIA
MAKRAN
Arabian sea
PAHRA Faraar
BAMPUR
MAGAS
Mashkel R.
Dizak
Asfandak
Kohuk
To MASHKEL
KUDABANDAN Kanazbun
Rakshan R.
Pangur
Lab R.
Labi
NACHA KALAT
Koh Bampusht
Koh Swamps
Logar Koh
Kolwah
Kaldahar Koh
Dashtak
Astaka
CHAMP
SARBAZ Rasak?
Irafshan
BINTH Band
GEH Bth.
Kasrkand
RASAK
Mand
KALATAK
SAMI
RODKHAN
Kej Valley
BAHU KALAT Fahal Fahra
Dasht River
Ikthyophagi
TIZ
CHARBAR
TALMERA
KNIDZA
Gwattar Bay
BARNA
GWADUR
MASARNA
BASNI
KALAMA
Astalul
Parkanoi
Talo
Hanging Towers
Ras Malan
MALANA
BAGISARA
URMARA
KOMLA
LUS BELA Armabel
Bela
Rabit
Hab R.
Kambali
LIARI
Yasai
UTHAL
MORONTOBARA
SONMIANI
Sonmiani Bay
BIDDK LAK
Malir R.
MUGGER PIR
Manhowara
Churngi
KARACHI
C Monze
SHAIR
Khur
TATTA
Debal
Indus

poop of the vessel furnished with numerous and useful instruments"—among which were certainly the astrolable and the sounding lead, and perhaps the compass.

There is a large literature written by Mohammedan travelers and geographers pertaining to this Indian, African, and Chinese trade of the Arabs. The Sindbad Saga is based on the narratives of "The Two Mussulman Travelers" and similar records, such as those of Misar-al-Dolaf who in 942 went to China, supplemented by Greek myths and traditions of Alexander the Great, Indian tales, and Persian lore. It is an oriental form of Europe's "Wondrous Adventures of Sir John Mandeville." Sindbad's localities have been identified as Japan (?), China, Borneo, Sumatra, Ceylon, the Coromandel Coast, and Madagascar (?). More trustworthy is the account of Abu-Zeyd, who describes the sack of Khan-Fu in 878. In the ninth century Ibn-Khordabeh describes India, Ceylon, the East Indies, Khan-Fu in China, the mouths of the Yangtze and Hwang rivers and seems to have had information about Korea and Japan, probably from Chinese merchants. Ibn-Hawkal in the same century knew Africa and India, but not the Far East. The same is true of Macoudi in the tenth century, who knew Persia, India, Ceylon, central Asia from Ferghana to the Caspian, North Africa and Spain, but not the Straits or China. In the twelfth century the great geographer Idrisi, having traveled much and studied widely, settled down at the court of Roger II at Palermo and compiled a valuable geography of the known Arab world.

But the most famous of Arab travelers was Ibn-Batuta, who lived in the fourteenth century and was born in Morocco. Not even Marco Polo compares with this indefatigable traveler. He traveled steadily for more than thirty years; crossed Africa twice from the Atlantic to the Red Sea; made four pilgrimages to Mecca; visited Egypt, the Holy Land, Syria, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Russia—where he journeyed far enough north to see the midnight sun; passed through most of the provinces of the Baghdad Khalifate on the way into China as far as Kashgar; crossed the tremendous passes of the Hindu Kush into India; journeyed through India, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java, Sumatra; lived for some time in China—where he was much impressed with the industries, especially the porcelain manufacture,—and met in Canton an old friend whom he had known in Delhi; sailed for Arabia on a fourth pilgrimage to Mecca; thence crossed the Red Sea and made his way a second time across the Sudan, visiting Timbuktu and the Niger region; in the heart of the Sudan he met his own brother, who told him his father had died fifteen years before, and so returned home to Fez, where he spent his remaining years in writing the most amazing book of travel in any language. His work is a mine of information with reference to Mohammedan commerce in all the world

and monumental testimony to the greatness of the Mohammedan Empire. "The hazards of the way were less than might be expected. Though Ibn Batuta occasionally found himself in a perilous position, he usually appears to have traveled leisurely and comfortably, and that wonderful freemasonry which made a Mohammedan welcome from Gibraltar to Canton ensured him a hearty reception wherever Islam prevailed."

Throughout the East during the Middle Ages the prevalence of the Mohammedan religion and the spread of the Arabic language were passports to the merchant and the trader. What the English tongue is today in these parts of the earth the Arab tongue was in the Middle Ages. The Arabs were the English of the medieval oriental world. Gibbon wrote truly when he said: "The uniform ascent of Arabian greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation." They were a nation of traders. It is an impressive fact that in the Middle Ages all of Africa then known, i.e., from the Mediterranean to the equator, all of western Asia, half of India, and the whole coast of the continent and the islands of the Indian Ocean were under Mohammedan sway and civilization. History has seen no empire like it except that of Great Britain in modern times, and both are preëminently commercial empires.

Even Russia was invaded by Mohammedan merchants, and Astrakhan, Sari, Kiev, and the Black Sea ports were familiar places to them. Astrakhan received the commerce of both river and sea for and from the vast basin of the Volga, with all its trade connections with more remote lands. The productions of the south—fruits, wines, spices, fine cloth, perfumes, articles of luxury—were exchanged for those of the north lands—mainly slaves, furs, skins, honey, beeswax, tallow, hemp, cordage, and lumber. And at least one ambitious Muslim traveler, Tartûsi, in the time of Otto the Great (936–73) visited Germany, where he was astonished to find eastern spices and silks for sale in Mainz, and was shown money from Samarkand.

The isthmus of the Caucasus was the natural bridge and the Caspian Sea the natural water link between the territory of the Baghdad Khalifate and Russia and the Baltic lands. Beyond the Caucasus the Khazars, whose capital was at Itil, became intermediaries of Arab trade. But Arab merchants were not entirely content to make purchases in the markets of Itil from a third person. They pushed up the Volga in boats to the city of Bulgar, the capital of the old Bulgarians, but they dared not go farther. At Bulgar the Arabs met the Russians from Novgorod, who sold to them directly the precious furs so much sought after by the oriental courts, principally marten, ermine, sable, beaver, and black fox. The Russians also sold to them slaves and yellow amber.

Great quantities of coins that bear the stamp of Arabic sovereigns

have been found on the higher and middle courses of the Volga, the territories on the upper courses of the Dnieper, the upper shores of the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland. On the islands between Finland and Sweden, on the south shores of Norway, on the islands of Denmark, in Jutland and Schleswig, many coins of Arabic rulers from the seventh to the eleventh century have been found, the most numerous being from the end of the ninth to the middle of the tenth century. The wide extent of Arab commerce is interestingly attested by these numismatic specimens, in all more than 13,000. Some Arabic coins have been found even in Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and western Prussia.

CHAPTER XVI

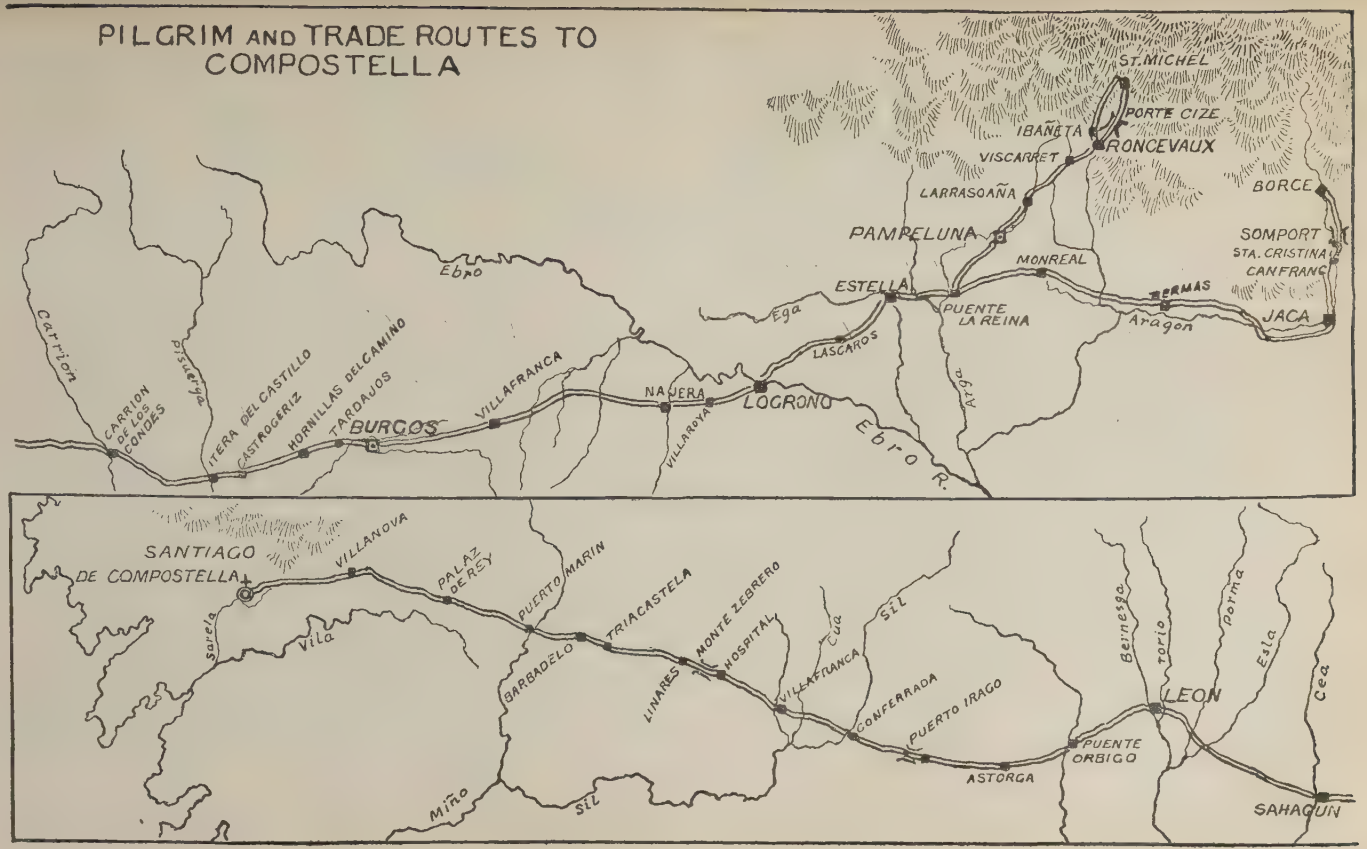
THE CRUSADES * (1095-1291)

UNTIL the eleventh century, the peoples of western Europe lived chiefly an agricultural life, each region separate from its neighbors. They had very few dealings with the Mohammedans, save in event of incursions and the enrolment of Christian adventurers for war in the East. The Mohammedans were in occupation of the countries in which the highest ancient civilization, the industrial arts, and the sciences were preserved. The Mohammedan countries of the Mediterranean and western Asia were in advance of the Christians of the West. The highest point of Arabic civilization in the East and in Spain in the tenth century coincides with the greatest barbarism and greatest poverty in the West. But at the end of the eleventh century this isolation was brought to an end; a permanent contact was established between the two groups of peoples mainly in three regions; the principalities of the Crusaders, Spain, and Sicily.

The Crusades are the most interesting and the greatest expression of that awakening collective consciousness, or the group mind, in the eleventh century, which manifested itself in so many ways: mass pilgrimages, relic worship, church building, the Truce of God, peasant unrest, economic discontent, commercial enterprise, group heresies, the earliest stirrings of the communal spirit. The collective nature of the movement is strikingly stamped upon it. This was observed by keen contemporary writers. "There was no nation so remote or secluded," wrote William of Malmesbury, though with some exaggeration, "as not to contribute its portion. . . . Lands were deserted of their husbandmen, houses of their inhabitants, even whole towns migrated." History perhaps can cite no other so great example of the contagion of suggestion. Psychologically the Crusades illustrate how great numbers of humanity may be simultaneously seized with aberration or mania, under the pressure of intense emotional stimuli.

Like every other great historical movement the Crusades were the resultant of complex forces which had been at work for many years, the cumulative issue of many separate movements which in course of time became united. The roots of the Crusades go deep down into the soil of medieval history. The longest and deepest of these roots was

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 66–67, 70–71, 73.



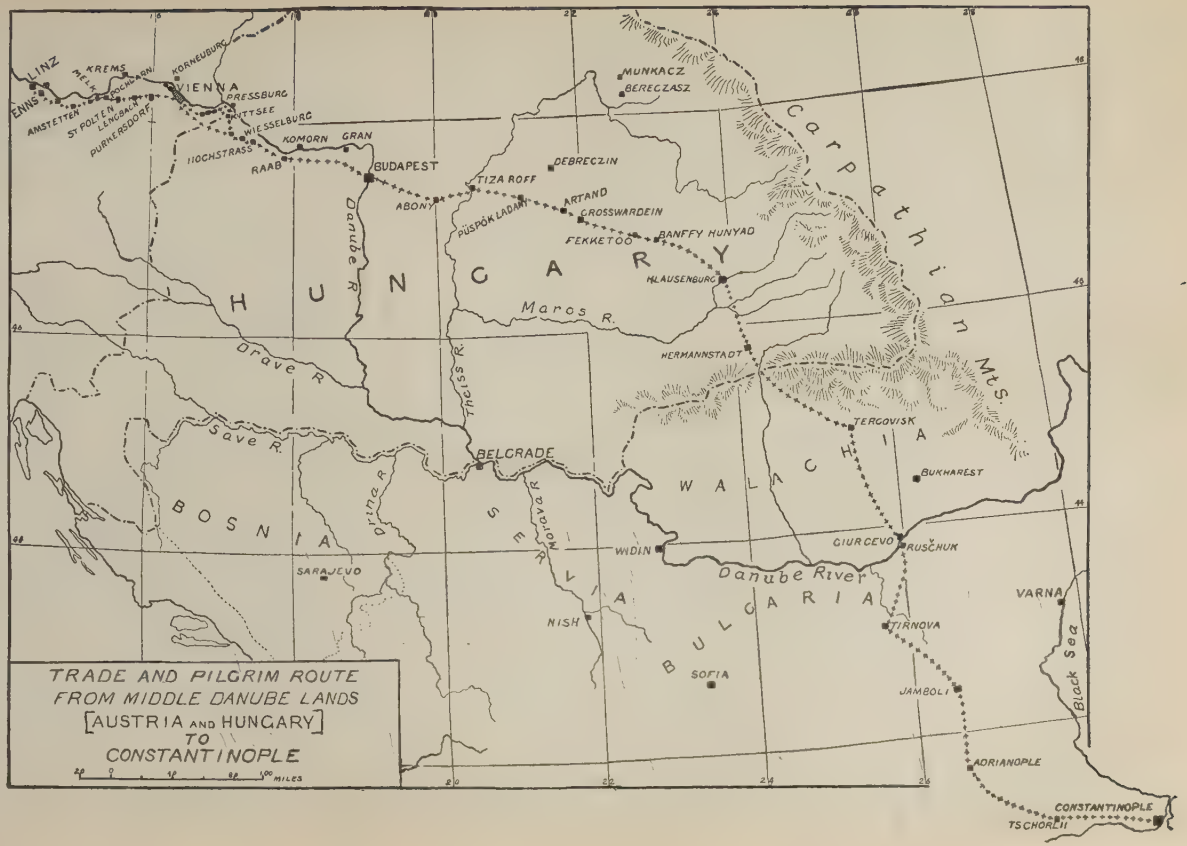
NOTE.—The lower section is a lateral extension of the upper.

the practice of making pilgrimages to the Holy Land, a practice which was as old as the fourth century.

The Church also exacted pilgrimage as a penance for certain offenses. For it was a long, arduous, expensive, and sometimes dangerous journey. There were two species of such expiation. Major pilgrimages were to Rome, St. James of Compostella, and Jerusalem. Minor ones were to nearer and more local shrines. It was not always easy to distinguish honest pilgrims from vagabonds, as hobo monks, runaway husbands and runaway wives, fakirs, charlatans. In 747 St. Boniface complained to Cuthbert of Canterbury of the "veiled women on the journey to Rome" and added: "There are few towns in Lombardy or in France or Gaul in which there is not a harlot of English race." Unmarried women were forbidden to go on pilgrimage and married women unaccompanied by their husbands. Other curious moral-social complications arose. It sometimes happened that the pilgrim was gone so long that his wife, believing him to be dead, married again, and the wandering spouse at last returned. Even if the pilgrim did not return it was difficult in that age to prove his decease, especially since going on pilgrimage was a favorite form of desertion. We have record of word sent in 1068 by a group of Norman women to their absent husbands threatening that they would marry other husbands if they did not return soon.

Since pilgrims were to be found by thousands, hospices and hostelries were early attached to monasteries on the main routes, especially in the passes of the Alps and the Pyrenees. The accommodations of Fulda were famous. Hadrian I urgently recommended the need of Alpine hospices to Charlemagne; Louis the Pious erected a hospice on the Mont Cenis Pass. In 855 the emperor Louis II ordered the repair of all hospices in the Alps. The ravages of the Saracens and the Hungarians destroyed many of these in the tenth century, but the building fever and the passion for pilgrimage in the next century speedily repaired them, and built new ones like the famous Hospice of St. Bernard. When the Danube route was opened to the East after the conversion of the Hungarians (1000), a string of monasteries and hospices, like Melk, came into being for the accommodation of pilgrims.

The backwardness of Syria and Palestine in modern times must not deceive us into thinking that their condition was always thus. The Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century nearly ruined one of the most populous and favored countries of the world. Under the Greeks and Romans, and under the early Byzantine Empire, Syria was a flourishing province commercially, industrially, agriculturally. It was this wealth which made it a battle-ground between the Khalifate and the Byzantine Empire. It was a land of small proprietors in much greater degree than elsewhere. The imperial laws show that in the tenth and eleventh


LINZ
ENNS
KREMS
MELK
KORNEUBURG
VIENNA
PRESSBURG
AMSTETTEN
ST POLTEN
LEMBACH
PURKERSDORF
ATTSEE
WIESSELBURG
HOCHSTRASS
KOMORN
GRAN
RAAB
BUDAPEST
DEBRECZIN
MUNKACZ
BERECZASZ
TIZA ROFF
ABONY
PUSPÖK LADANI
ARTAND
GROSSWARDEIN
FEKETOO
BANFFY HUNYAD
HLAUSENBURG
Carpathian Mts.
HUNGARY
Danube R.
Maros R.
HERMANNSTADT
Drave R.
Theiss R.
TERGOVISK
Save R.
BELGRADE
WALACHIA
BUKHAREST
BOSNIA
Drina R.
SERVIA
Morava R.
WIDIN
CIURCEVO
RUSCHUK
SARAJEVO
Danube River
VARNA
NISH
BULGARIA
TIRNOVA
SOFIA
JAMBOLI
Black Sea
ADRIANOPLE
CONSTANTINOPLE
TSCHORLI
TRADE AND PILGRIM ROUTE
FROM MIDDLE DANUBE LANDS
[AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY]
TO
CONSTANTINOPLE
MILES

centuries the emperors labored to protect these against the engrossing processes of great proprietors and the Church. Great domains were cultivated by serfs and slave labor, but much of the land was cultivated by the actual owners, who were small farmers, olive and wine growers.

The Arab conquest in the seventh century, after the immediate shock was over, and especially under the Abbasid rule, was a mild and just one. The Church and the grand proprietors lost their lands, which went to the Mohammedan fisc, to the mosques, to civil and military officials. But the mass of the native population was little molested. The land tax and capitation tax imposed by the Arab government were not different from those formerly collected by the imperial government. The novelty was the tribute paid by all non-Mohammedan subjects. But the prosperity and industry of the Syrians was sufficient to prevent the Arabic taxation from being a burden. Neither free farmers nor serfs suffered unduly under the Mohammedan rule in Syria. The internal peace and prosperity of Syria and Palestine under the Abbasids was greater, it may be safely said, than under Byzantine domination. The annual fair which had been established at Jerusalem by the Ommeyads attracted an immense concourse of merchants and pilgrims from the West. The *Life of St. Adamnan* expresses wonder at *"diversarum gentium undique prope innumera multitudo . . . in Hieresolymis convenire solet ad commercia mutuis venditionibus et emptionibus peragenda."*

The habit of sending regular contributions to the Holy Land was an early custom of the West. Louis the Pious in this matter fulfilled the wishes of his father; he levied a penny tax upon every manor of his crown lands for the support of the Holy Places; he corresponded with the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Some years later the popes, who were suffering from the scourge of the Saracen invasions, showed the same solicitude for Palestine. In 870 John VIII, through three monks of Jerusalem who had come to Rome, sent a contribution, the smallness of which he apologized for on account of "the ravages of the pagans." The patriarch at Jerusalem did not fail to request this assistance and sent his agents "through all Europe." They went to England; they went to Constantinople, where they received presents from Constantine Porphyrogenitus. In 881 the patriarch Helias III addresses himself "to all the kings of the race of Charlemagne and to the clergy of the West," and recommends the monks Gisbert and Rainard, who are to receive subsidies intended to reduce the drain upon the resources of the church at Jerusalem, incurred as a result of the reconstruction of numerous sanctuaries. In the tenth century the practice came to prevail in the West of giving endowments, from which the monks of Jerusalem

received the revenues, to the monasteries of the Holy Land. Such was the gift made to the Holy Sepulchre in 993 by Hugh, margrave of Tuscany, and Juliet his wife. The revenues of property situated in the counties of Orvieto, Sovana, and Aquapendente were devoted to the support of the monks of St. Mary the Latin at Jerusalem, and of the pilgrims to whom they gave hospitality. The church founded by Charlemagne still existed at this time. Analogous gifts were made by Richard II, duke of Normandy, to the Holy Sepulchre and also to some monasteries of Sinai. Every year some monks came to Rouen and returned to Palestine with presents. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Church of the Holy Sepulchre possessed extensive lands in Italy and in the south of France.

These facts prove that the Christians of Palestine until the eleventh century were not molested under Arabic rule. Theodosius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in a letter written in 869 to his colleague in Constantinople, Ignatius, praises the benevolence of the Saracens, who permitted the Christians to build churches and to live according to their law. "They are just, and we suffer no violence in any particular." The pilgrimages of Westerners to the Holy Land continued without obstacle on condition that they always recognized the laws of the country and exhibited a passport to the authorities of the cities through which they traveled. The account of Bernard the Monk, who lived in the Orient from 866 to 870, in this regard is very characteristic. Before leaving Italy he and his two companions went to Bari, which had belonged to the Saracens since 840 and there received a regular passport in which was set down a description of them and the asserted purpose of their trip. From Tarentum, where they embarked, the pilgrims went to Alexandria, where they had to pay a tax of six *aurei* in order to land. Every time they entered a town it was necessary to renew the passport and to acquire a new permit for thirteen pennies per head. Forgetfulness or ignorance of this formality brought upon them a short imprisonment in "Babylon" (Cairo). This system of taxation was heavy; but it was less than that which prevailed in the West in the same epoch and is indicative of a regular state of affairs. The author admires the security with which one could travel in these countries.

If the hired beast which bears my thin form happens to die in the road, and if leaving there my baggage unwatched I go to the neighboring village to find another mount, upon my return I would find everything intact. Such is the peace which they observe. But if in a town or upon the sea or along the road a man is found wandering around at night or day without letter or passport, bearing the seal of some prince or governor of the country, he is forthwith put into prison until it can be established whether he is a spy or not.

From the early years of the tenth century pilgrimages to the Holy Land became more and more frequent, but only great personages, lay or ecclesiastical, are mentioned by the chroniclers. These enterprises responded to the adventurous spirit of feudal society; some of them were the result of a vow undertaken in great danger; of others the motive was the wish to see the relics of the Saints; curiosity to behold the eastern countries was often mingled with religious considerations; finally, pilgrimage was sometimes imposed as expiation of crime. The enumeration, dry as it is, of the chief pilgrims of this epoch is sufficient to show how frequent the relations between the West and Palestine were. About 920 St. Conrad, bishop of Constance, made the trip three times; in 965 Hilda, countess of Swabia and sister of Gero the great margrave of the North, died at Jerusalem, during the course of her pilgrimage; in 970, Judith, sister-in-law of Otto the Great, undertook the same trip; St. John of Parma went six times to Jerusalem; Leo, brother of Aligermus, abbot of Monte Cassino, brought back a piece of the True Cross; John of Beneventum, later abbot of the same monastery, visited the Holy Land and the monasteries of Mt. Athos. In 990 the pilgrimage of Poppo, abbot of Stavelot, took place; in 997, that of Frederick, count of Verdun; in 1002 the first pilgrimage of the terrible Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou; in 1005 that of Roger, abbot of Figeac. All these pilgrims seem to have traveled rapidly and without great difficulty; they did not yet form large bands, but united a few companions. That security which had astonished Bernard the Monk therefore still existed in the Mohammedan countries at the end of the tenth century. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land haunted the imagination of many in the West. Those who could not undertake the long trip consoled themselves by reading the accounts which circulated throughout Europe, in venerating the relics brought back from Jerusalem, in praying in the churches, which were built over all Europe after the model of the Round Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The movement even reached the extremities of the West and at the end of the tenth century we find the arrival in the Holy Land of the first Scandinavian pilgrims, some of whom came from far Iceland.

Before the middle of the eleventh century these movements were of individual pilgrims or at most small groups. Then, however, instead of little pilgrim groups we find hundreds and even thousands traveling together. In 1011, at the moment when the relations were still good between Rome and Constantinople, Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, carried for his entire safeguard only a letter of recommendation from the Pope to the Byzantine emperor. At Constantinople he was furnished with guides who led him through the Holy Land; at Jerusalem he was required to pay the tribute levied by the Mohammedans upon Christians who wished to enter the City, and befriended a crowd of poor pilgrims

who had been kept outside the gates, because of lack of means. About the same time Meingold, archbishop of Trèves, was accompanied to Jerusalem by a single companion, the hermit Saint Simeon, a Sicilian Greek, whose travels in the Orient made him an excellent guide. In the middle of the eleventh century Ulrich, later prior of the monastery of Zell, went to the Holy Land with his servant, the two riding a single horse; every day he recited an entire psalm before taking to saddle. In 1058 the chronicler Lambert of Hersfeld left his monastery without informing the abbot, crossed the continent and returned after having reached Jerusalem.

The conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity under St. Stephen (997–1038) rendered easy pilgrimages by way of the valley of the Danube. The future continental route of the Crusades was therefore already open and we find hospices founded here by high personages in order to give rest to the pilgrims. Orderic Vitalis cites an establishment of this kind situated on "the frontiers of the Bavarians and the Hungarians," according to Pertz, at Molk, Austria, at the head of which was a Norman knight who had taken orders, named Ansgot, a relative of Roger of Toeni. The pilgrimages to Jerusalem had therefore begun to acquire a new organization.

But by the side of these trips undertaken personally and individually, we find the beginning of organized expeditions which crossed all Europe and the East, not without sometimes becoming involved in hostilities with the people. One of the first pilgrimages of this kind was that of Richard, abbot of St. Vanne, at the head of 700 pilgrims, among whom were to be found many Norman knights; it took place in 1026–27 at the expense of Richard II, duke of Normandy, who showed a great zeal for everything which concerned the Holy Land. In the same year William, count of Angoulême, followed by many abbots of western France and a great rout of nobles, went across Bavaria and Hungary to Jerusalem; the pilgrims received the hospitality of the King of Hungary and successfully accomplished their journey. In the year following, their example inspired a new journey on the part of some nobles of the West; the bishops of Poitiers and Limoges and Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, again departed for the Holy Land. In the year 1033, according to Raoul Glaber, there was an immense throng of pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre, greater than any ever seen before. All classes and all ranks were represented, from the lowest people up to princes and nobles. "What had never taken place before, some nobles, the rest poor, undertook the journey; many wished to die rather than to return to their country." Some years later, in 1035, the famous Robert the Devil, duke of Normandy, having gathered together the gold and silver necessary for his gifts, took the road to Palestine "with a multitude of his subjects." He died on his return at Nicea, where he was buried. But of all these expeditions the

most celebrated and most important was that of some bishops and knights of southern Germany which took place in 1065 under the leadership of Gunther, bishop of Bamberg, and which included more than 11,000 persons. For the passage of this army, lodgment was prepared in advance.

It is evident that in the generation just previous to the actual First Crusade we are to discern the appearance of a new phenomenon. Statistics will make this fact clearer. We have record of 6 pilgrimages in the eighth century, 12 in the ninth, 16 in the tenth, and 117 in the eleventh! By the eleventh century the Holy Land as a place of pilgrimage had begun to supplant the time-honored shrine of St. James at Compostella, and Rome itself. Old guide books of Palestine multiplied and new ones were written, even for the accommodation of pilgrims from Iceland. Many of these pilgrims combined business with religion, and peddled or merchandised along the way. *"Alii causa negotiationis tracti, alii causa devotionis et peregrinationis,"* wrote Jacques de Vitry, and William of Tyre said: *"Devotionis aut commerciorum aut utriusque gratia."* The chansons and epic literature of the twelfth century, "instead of resting upon songs and sagas of the early Middle Ages, as was once thought, were composed in large measure for the traveling public of pilgrims and frequenters of fairs, . . . along the great routes of pilgrimage. Written by travelers and for travelers, they must be interpreted in relation to Rome and Compostella, while they show the closest coöperation of classes once deemed entirely distinct."

These expeditions were not yet crusades. They did not differ from ordinary pilgrimages, except for the number who took part in them; nevertheless, they played an important part in the history of the origins of the Crusades. For they made western Europe familiar with the stages of the road to Palestine and served to determine the itineraries which later were those of the Crusades; they aroused in Europe a fervid enthusiasm for the Holy Land.

But we find other pilgrims combining religion and business closely. These were the merchants of Italy, and earliest among them those of Amalfi. At the end of the tenth century the merchants of Amalfi profited by the protectorate of the Byzantine Empire over them to establish commercial relations with Egypt and Syria. The rich family of the Mauri and the Pantaleoni, who played a great part in the economic relations of Italy with Byzantium, showed their zeal for the Holy Land by founding hospices at Antioch and at Jerusalem. In 1080 they founded the hospital of St. John, which later became the house of the Hospitallers. All pilgrims from the West were received there without discrimination. Alms more or less regular were sent to Palestine, and after 1083 these new institutions received fixed gifts of land in the south of France, especially in the diocese of Albi.

At the same time the balance of sea-power in the Mediterranean, which had been for nearly three centuries in favor of the Islamic states, was redressed by the naval victories of the Genoese and Pisan fleets; and this, clinched by the Norman conquest of Sicily (1090), gave a powerful incentive to the mercantile ambition of the Italian maritime republics. It is not without significance that Urban II appealed to Genoa for use of its shipping even before the armies of the First Crusade got under way.

Although, as said, these movements were not Crusades, it is important to observe that before the First Crusade, Europe in the eleventh century had actually witnessed three enterprises which partook of the nature of a crusade. In other chapters it has been pointed out that the wars in Castile against the Moors (1072–99), the Norman conquest of Apulia and Sicily (1016–90), the Norman conquest of England (1066), were veritable crusades, and involved upon a smaller scale most of the motives which afterwards actuated the Crusades proper upon a grand scale. By example and contagion of influence these three events powerfully stimulated the warlike spirit and economic appetite of the western nations. Numbers of those adventurers who had participated in one or another of these expeditions went later on the First Crusade.

There is little in the conduct of the Crusaders or in their letters to indicate that they had generally left behind them the motives and passions which found expression in other medieval wars. It is true that their imaginations were fired by pictures of the hardships of the pilgrims and the desecration of holy places; but they were also fired—and much more effectually, it would appear—by tales of the fabulous wealth of the Orient, of the gold and silver and beautiful women awaiting the hand of the spoiler. . . . Men were the more inclined to accept this invitation because, in spite of pestilence and war, the population of Europe had already reached a point where the law of decreasing returns began to inflict hardship. The younger son, who remained a social problem and danger for the next five centuries, . . . had already made his appearance. Where land was entailed and no wilderness remained in which to carve out new estates, he was driven to seek a livelihood by his sword. Where subdivision had been practised, holdings had grown so small that the revenues no longer supported the feudal tenants in their accustomed mode of life; whence arose oppression of the peasants, who were impoverished to make good the deficiency; but in spite of this many of the feudal lords had fallen hopelessly in debt. From all these causes there resulted a dangerous social ferment and unrest; landless and impoverished men of every class stood ready for any undertaking, however desperate, that promised relief from their misery. To all such the Crusades seemed, indeed, a call from Heaven.[1]

The "appeal" of the emperor Alexios to the count of Flanders for

[1] *Political Science Quarterly*, XV, 600.

western assistance after the disaster of Manzikert may—or may not—be genuine. But one cannot discount the potency of *"amor auri et argenti et pulcherimarum feminarum voluptas"* in it.

In this engendering of a war spirit in Europe the influence of the Truce of God upon developing the crusading spirit must not be overlooked. While that movement had endeavored to repress the evils of private warfare, the clergy who promoted it had at the same time realized that warfare was too deeply ingrained in feudal society to be entirely suppressed. In order to divert the violence of war from home the Church, notably the Order of Cluny, idealized war against Islam as righteous. Spain was the first battle-ground of this new nature. The chanson of *Girart de Roussillon* clearly indicates this revolution in ideas in the eleventh century. By opening an unlimited career to the baronage the Crusades might be successful where the Truce of God had failed.

The Early Church had discountenanced all war. From the union of the Roman Empire with the Church, the legitimacy of war in defense of country and property was recognized. But from the time of the conquest of the Saxons by Charlemagne the righteousness of war against heathen—and infidel—peoples was conceded. In the depth of the feudal age Europe was a world of war within, from which the Truce of God and the Crusades in Spain and the Holy Land did much to rescue it. The Crusades consecrated war and the idea finally was established in the *Decretum* of Gratian about 1150, "when the military spirit was blended with religious fanaticism, the clergy and the army were fused in the religio-military orders, and the Bellum Dei replaced the Treuga Dei." And yet even so late as the Second Crusade, St. Bernard protested: "By what strange caprice have I been chosen as general and leader of this expedition? Who am I that I should have charge of a camp and go out before the faces of armed men?"

The diversion of masses of the most violent and intractable spirits among the feudal baronage into other lands for the purpose of relieving western society of its marauding, indubitably was one of the clerical motives in advocating the Crusades. For this purpose the wars in the Spanish peninsula for years prior to the First Crusade had been sustained by an adroit and organized propaganda which, when the Crusades arose, was skilfully utilized.

The propagandistic literature which flooded Europe immediately before and during the Crusades, in the form of papal bulls, circular letters, diplomatic despatches, official bulletins, epistles of Crusaders, narratives, legends, poetry, was enormous. Many of these were pure fiction, improvisations invented with the design of stirring up interest, such as the letter of the patriarch Simeon to Urban II and the princes of the West relating the profanation of the Holy Sepulchre and the outrages inflicted upon pilgrims, the story of the alleged discovery of the Holy

Lance. All of these, whether authentic or not, pertain to that category of literature known as *excitatoria,* and were rhetorical compositions.

Pilgrims from the West had no just complaint of the treatment they received. Nor did they complain, until the vicissitude of war in 969 delivered Syria again to Byzantine rule, when the imperial government as a fiscal measure imposed special taxes upon the pilgrims. After that, until the loss of Syria to the Turks in 1071 and their capture of Jerusalem, western grievances were wholly against Byzantium.

The Seljuk domination in Syria and Palestine entailed little change in the status of the people of Syria and Palestine. The principal new burden thrown on the land was support of Turkish garrisons established to hold the country against Byzantine attacks from Asia Minor or by fleet. Most of the popular allegations made in regard to the sufferings of pilgrims in the East from Turkish atrocities just before the Crusades broke owe their currency to anti-Islamic propaganda, which inflamed the fanaticism and preyed upon the credulity of the masses. It is true that the Christian populations in Asia Minor suffered severely, but that was because the Byzantine Empire, until the collapse of its power in Asia after the disastrous battle of Manzikert (1071) still disputed the mastery of those provinces with the Turks, and a chronic state of war and pillage existed. But this was not so in the Holy Land and Syria, where Turkish rule was a *fait accompli.*

> The Seljuk sultans governed their Christian subjects in a most lenient and tolerant fashion, and even the prejudiced Byzantine historians drop a few hints at the Christians in many cases preferring the rule of the sultans to that of the emperors. . . . Christians under the Seljuk rule were happier than in the heart of the Byzantine Empire, and most miserable of all were the Byzantine frontier lands exposed to continual raids. As to religious persecution there is not a trace of it in the Seljuk period, . . . and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that many of the Christians became Mohammedans.[2]

An analysis of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095, the initial date of the First Crusade, is interesting for the evidence it gives of how adroitly the pope played upon every motive of excitement. Four auditors of the speech have recorded, not the pope's actual words, but the sense of what he uttered, and we have besides other versions resting on less direct contact. The alleged sufferings of the Christians in the Orient, the "atrocities" of the Turks, fanaticism, plenary indulgence, naturally appealed to all; love of adventure, promise of war, and the prospect of fiefs touched the feudality; commercial opportunity and aggrandizement, though not mentioned in the speech, were expressed

[2] Ramsay, W., *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* I, 27, *Contemporary Review,* XC.

motives in the papal letter to the Genoese asking for naval assistance; most interesting is the pope's reference to the land of France as "too narrow for its dense population; nor does it abound in wealth; and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. Hence it is that you murder and devour one another, that you wage war."

More than one clear-headed contemporary historian of the First Crusade perceived the mixture of motives in it and was not deceived by the verbiage of the preachers.

> For some went to the East out of curiosity; others who had lived at home in pinching poverty, wanted only to fight, either against enemies or friends of Christianity, in order to end their poverty; still others fled from their debts, from duties which they ought to have performed or from punishments which their crimes deserved. Only a few could be found who did not bow their knees to Baal, and who were actuated by a holy purpose.

The Crusades made a potent economic appeal to the peasantry of Europe, especially of France. The masses of the common people threw themselves into the movement with prodigious enthusiasm. Guibert de Nogent, an eyewitness, has preserved the scene in a remarkable paragraph:

> The French at this time suffered from famine; bad harvests coming blow upon blow had raised the price of grain to an excessive rate. Avaricious merchants speculated according to their custom upon the misery of all. There was little bread and it was dear. The poor supplied the place of it by eating roots and wild herbs. All of a sudden the cry of the Crusade, resounding everywhere at the same time, broke the locks and the chains which kept the granaries. Then provisions which formerly were beyond price, which no one could buy, were sold for nothing when everybody was aroused and wanted to go. One saw seven sheep sold for five pennies. The famine disappeared and was followed by abundance. As every one was eager to take the road of the cross, each hastened to convert into money everything which he did not need on the journey; the price of sale was fixed not by the seller, but by the buyer. Things which cost most were objects necessary for the road, but the residue was sold for nothing.

It is evident, if we analyze this account, that this condition of famine in France was not due to natural causes, but an artificial one created by the speculation of corn merchants; that the call of the Crusade broke this monopoly and prices fell with a rapidity ruinous to those who were about to depart and profitable to those who stayed. Ekkehard of Aura, writing at this time in Germany, pointed out that rural France suffered from private war, that this gave rise to famine conditions, for at this very time Germany, where the strong and intelligent government of Henry IV prevailed, was prosperous. And he pithily said: "They de-

serted their own possessions in a greedy struggle for those of others." "At this time," recorded Guibert de Nogent in his *History of the Holy War* (*Gesta Dei per Francos*), "turbulence racked the whole realm of France; everywhere were robberies, blockade of roads, incendiarism." Western Europe, and especially France, where feudal violence was worst, must have experienced an immediate and very deep sense of relief as it saw these mailed swashbucklers riding off to the East. The fighting instinct, but partially suppressed by the Truce of God, sought new fields of endeavor. We have striking proof of this sense of relief in the pithy letter which Suger, minister of France during Louis VII's long absence in the East on the Second Crusade, wrote to the king imploring his return. "Dear King and Lord," it reads, "I must cause thee to hear the voice of thy whole kingdom. How comes it about that thou persistest in abiding among the barbarians [Mohammedans], when the barons and nobles of thy realm have returned? The disturbers of thy kingdom have entered into it again, and thou, who shouldst defend it, remainest as if in exile. Thou givest over the sheep to wolves, thy dominions to the ravishers. We conjure thy majesty, we summon thee in the name of the fealty we owe thee, we invoke thy piety, we adjure thy goodness. Tarry not away. Come home, else thou wilt appear in the eyes of God guilty of a breach of that oath which thou didst take at thy coronation."[3]

The First Crusade created an unprecedented demand for ready money which ultimately broke down the "natural economy" of the time. It was utterly impossible, of course, for a would-be Crusader to carry sufficient material resources with him for his support en route. The result was that coin which had been hoarded for years, and even centuries, was brought forth into the light by abbots, bishops, nobles, and even peasants in such volume as to disprove the argument that the absence of currency in the West for so many centuries was due to the flow of it to the East. The truth is that the violence of the times following the rupture of the Frank Empire and the unsettled condition of early feudalism had led people to hide their money.

Preparation for the Crusade involved the possession of ready money, or its acquisition by mortgage, or sale of property. The *Via Sancta* was not for the paupers. Many a noble, many a freeman, fell into hopeless debt thereby. Everyone who aspired to be a Crusader, whether noble or peasant, must obtain equipment and ready money, somewhere, somehow, by sale, by mortgage, by Jew-baiting. Guibert's description of the conditions which preceded the departure of the Crusaders shows marked economic disturbance.

A singular economic phenomenon ensued. Money and movable property which could be used on the way were "high," while immovable and unportable property, notably land, was "cheap." Since the Crusader's

[3] *English Historical Review*, XXVII, 767.

wealth was almost wholly in land, it was upon his real property that he had to realize. The value of real estate dropped much below its customary level. In some places where the enthusiasm was greatest, houses and farms were almost unsalable. Ordinary trade came to a standstill. Landowners who had ready cash, notably the monasteries, snapped up this property under advantageous mortgages. The count of Foix alienated a portion of his lands to meet expenses; Baldwin of Hainaut mortgaged a considerable number of his estates to the bishop of Liège. The transactions of the abbey of Molêsme instructively show how the seignior obtained the funds necessary for the *Iter Hierosilmitanum*. One lord sold his alod to the monks for 27 pounds; two brothers traded their property, one for a mule, the other for 30 shillings; a third pledged his estate for 16 pounds. Incidentally it is interesting to observe that many such changes of property had to do with small holdings, mere alods. "We are not led to the conclusion that religious houses battened extensively upon the needs of the Crusaders, or that the Crusades made land a drug on the market. But it is clear that the Crusades created a new demand for ready money and that the prosperous benefited from the movement owing to their possession of spare capital." Philip I of France bought the county of Bourges from its count for 1500 marks silver; Robert Curthose mortgaged Normandy to his brother, William Rufus of England.

Many peasants profited by the unexampled demand for cash to purchase their freedom from serfdom, or managed to have vexatious and variable manorial dues translated into fixed money payments; whole communities, stirred by the communal spirit, bought charters of privilege from their lords.

While these transactions redounded to the advantage of those who had available currency and were wise enough to stay at home and profit at the expense of their enthusiastic neighbors, the change was adverse to the Jews. Hitherto the Jews had been tolerated, if despised, members of society. Most merchants before the time of the Crusades were probably Jews, and the Jewish community in many towns, notably those situated upon the routes of trade like the Rhine and the Rhone, was rich. As the law forbade Jews to dwell in the country or to be land-owners, they had been wholly dependent upon trade and money-lending for livelihood. Consequently the Jews were the only class in Europe when the Crusades began who were known to have ready money in any volume. The result was that the Jews in western Europe from henceforth became the victims of a widespread economic envy which was fanned to greater heat by the fanaticism of the time. Anti-Semitism was born of the Crusades and was more economic than religious hatred. The Jews everywhere suffered greatly. Mobs beat them up, pogroms were common, and from this time we are to date the ghettos or Jewish quarters of the medieval city.

Urban II had designed that the armies of the First Crusade should be

composed wholly of the armed chivalry of Europe. He failed to foresee the profound awakening of the lower classes in this movement. The ordained and authorized preachers who were sent out to preach the Crusade to the knighthood of Europe were supplemented by self-constituted, ignorant and passionate soap-box orators, like the notorious Peter the Hermit, who traveled everywhere haranguing the peasantry in market-places and at crossroads. The result was the spontaneous apparition of the peasantry in many regions, especially in Flanders and the Rhinelands, who had hitherto stolidly accepted the lot of serfdom. Mobs of thousands and mayhap tens of thousands of these peasants, when the call of the Crusade sounded, broke away from the glebe to which they were bound, shook off their manorial obligations and quitted home for the road of the cross. The crusted surface of feudal society broke under this pressure from below. Guibert de Nogent describes these wretched and infatuated wayfarers who formed the so-called "Peasants' Crusade" in vivid language: "Nothing was more touching," he wrote, "than to see these poor people using their cattle like horses, dragging along the roads in two-wheeled peasant carts, upon which they had piled their sorry belongings and their little children. At every castle, at every town which they passed, the children stretched out their hands and asked if it were not Jerusalem." Strange and ancient folklore, old Germanic heathen practices, in France old Druid superstitions, were given recrudescence in this profound stirring of the lower elements of medieval society. We are told of peasants wandering aimlessly in search of the Holy Land with no other guide than a tethered goat or goose, sacred animals of Teutonic mythology; of peasants who hung lanterns on oak trees to propitiate omens whose root went back to Druid worship of the oak.

It is probable, however, that the disorderliness of these peasant armies has been exaggerated. It must be remembered that almost all chroniclers were clerics or nobles, and with one exception hostile to any peasant manifestation. The hosts which followed Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless certainly had cash with them in the beginning, for the Bulgarians plundered the former's treasure-chest near Nish. Discipline vanished when the host was left without means to purchase provisions and began to raid the farms and villages along the road. None of these peasant "armies" reached Jerusalem. Privation, disease, strife decimated the hosts before they arrived in Constantinople. Most of the remnant of the wretched hordes perished from Turkish attack and starvation in Asia Minor.

When the mailed nobles and knights, who months later got under way, arrived in Constantinople they looked upon the great city with greedy, envious eyes. Western Europe had no city like it for size, for wealth, for sumptuous palaces, churches, piazzas, streets, baths. "What a vast city," exclaims Fulcher of Chartres, "and how beautiful. How

many monasteries there are in it, and palaces of marvelous art. The manufactures in this city are amazing to behold. It would astonish if I were to relate how it abounds with all good things, with gold, silver, and precious stuffs. Every hour ships arrive in its port laden with all things necessary for the use of man." It nettled the Crusaders to think that such a capital was possessed by schismatic Greeks, and they were not slow in manifesting their contempt for these, while the Greeks, on the other hand, regarded the Westerners as formidable but crude barbarians. The loquacity of the French astonished them. Most enviously of all did Bohemond, son of that redoubtable Robert Guiscard who had once planned to capture the city on the Golden Horn, regard the great capital, and six years later he was to make an ineffectual effort to accomplish his father's design.

We need not dwell on the privations of the crusading armies in the march across Asia Minor, nor on the siege of Antioch (Oct. 20, 1097, to June 28, 1098). Here the Crusaders first tasted sugar. "During the siege," writes William of Malmesbury, "distress was increased by the abundance of rain, in consequence of which many poor wretches having no change of garments died from the severity of the cold, never getting under cover for several successive days. There was a deficiency both of tents and wood, but they in some measure appeased their hunger by constantly chewing the sweet reeds which they called cannamel, so-called cane and honey." And Albert of Aix explains: "This kind of herb is annually cultivated with great labor. When ripe they pound it in a mortar, strain off the juice, and put it in vessels until it coagulates and hardens in appearance like snow or white salt. This they use scraped and mixed with bread or dissolved in water. The canes they call *Zucra*."

Syria, Edessa, and Palestine were over-run, and with the capture of Jerusalem in July, 1099, the kingdom of Jerusalem came into being. It was a singular spectacle. History saw for the first time an extension of feudal Europe beyond itself and the creation in the immemorial East of a state based on feudal principles. Bizarre titles like prince of Antioch, count of Tripoli, count of Edessa, half monastic and half military orders like the Templars and Hospitallers, alien political authorities derived from feudalism, alien law, alien custom, alien habits, and alien speech—all these were introduced.

Geographically, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, a string of old historic provinces now dubbed baronies or fiefs, extended in a long, loose line along the Mediterranean coast. Its widest area was in the north, where Edessa touched the upper Euphrates; on the south, a protectorate was extended over the monasteries of Sinai and the tiny port of Alia on the Red Sea. On the east, the Crusaders never were able to take Aleppo, Hamah, and especially Damascus, which lay like a spearhead opposite the thinnest and weakest point in the incoherent agglomeration of ter-

ritories which formed the realm. The principality of Antioch had as an annex the kingdom of Cilicia or Little Armenia. The perilous position of the kingdom was never relieved. On the east lay a hostile Mohammedan world; on the south Egypt continually threatened; on the west the Byzantine Empire was always semi-hostile.

From the point of view of economic and social history the interest and importance of the Crusades lies in the fact that they were the first great expansion of the European nations beyond their own borders, the earliest experiment in colonization abroad in foreign lands and among alien peoples, and a vast and complex commercial enterprise. In these respects they inaugurated a new movement in the history of Europe. The later and greater colonial and commercial expansion of Europe overseas during and after the age of discovery in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries is but the continuation of a movement which began with the Crusades.

Neither the experience of the Normans in Italy, Sicily, and England, nor that of thousands of French adventurers who lent aid to the Christians of Spain and settled there, was of much assistance in furnishing precedents for the Crusaders in solving the problems of colonization in Syria and the Holy Land. For the conditions were very different. The settlement of the Normans and other French in Syria and Palestine differed greatly from the Norman colonization of southern Italy and England, as well as from the Franco-Italian colonization of the Balkan peninsula and Greece in 1204. For in spite of wide variation of race, language, customs, culture, all these conquered populations were yet Christian. In the East, however, Mohammedanism had nothing in common with Christo-European civilization. It was hostile to it. As for the indigenous Christian population found there, chiefly Syrians, while it preserved an outward neutrality toward the Crusaders, actually it was friendly with the Mussulmans.

The establishment of this feudal form of government entailed the expropriation of the former owners of the soil. Neither Mohammedan nor Syrian proprietors were given a place in the feudal hierarchy. The unwisdom and injustice of this practice was destined to become a primary cause of the ruin of the kingdom of Jerusalem in less than a century, for it threw these dispossessed land-owners, many of whom were Christian, into the camp of the Mohammedans and made them deadly enemies of the Crusaders. To intensify this hostility the Crusaders confounded the indigenous Christian population with the "infidel," and massacred both. These atrocities were destined to sow dragon's teeth in Syria. *"Pagana vero gens fugiebat in montes et in valles et dimittebat domos et casales et castella plena omnibus bonis,"* runs a record. It was the rich Syrian proprietors who chiefly so suffered. The lesser ones sank to serfdom on the lands of the new lords, or hid away in the port towns,

where they managed to scrape a precarious living as laborers and artisans until the first fury of the conquest was passed.

The serfs were either Syrians or Arabs, but the greater proportion of them pertained to the former. Conditions of serfdom were more onerous than in the West, where fixation of dues, commutation of services in kind into money payments, villein prescription and emancipation had by 1100 brought the serf up to a tolerable condition of living. He had ceased to be *"taillable à merci."* But in the Orient we find none of these relieving features, a fact which naturally inclined the Syrian servile class to look back upon Byzantine or Arab times as a golden age, and made it a secret friend of the Mohammedan power across the eastern frontier. Nothing indicates that the lot of Syrian serfs on church lands was any better than it was on secular lands. The Church in Europe and in Asia was a hard taskmaster.

The children of the Christian and Arab mixed marriages were known as *pullani,* and were not unlike the Eurasians or half-castes of India. The *lingua franca* was a mongrel speech, composed of French, Italian, Greek, and Arabic words, and like pidgin English in China, was the language of commerce. Of the non-indigenous, non-servile population, the Greeks formed the lowest class. The Crusaders despised them and feared their treachery both with Byzantium and with Baghdad. But their business skill, their command of languages, their suppleness made them useful. The Armenians were in better odor. Little Armenia had preserved its independence, its kings were allies of the Crusaders, the Armenians made clever officials and were exceedingly successful merchants. There were thousands of Armenians throughout the kingdom and the best families were intermarried with those of the Crusaders. The Jews in Syria and the Holy Land were not numerous but were well treated, in marked contrast with what they experienced at this time in the West. They were merchants, artisans, craftsmen—the dyeing industry was almost entirely in their hands—money-changers, tax-collectors, fiscal agents of domains, stewards. They preserved their synagogues and their schools. The Jew may not have been liked, but he was tolerated.

A picturesque element of the population along the eastern border was the Bedouin tribes, who raised immense herds of cattle, horses, sheep, camels, who ceaselessly moved from pasturage to pasturage and made predatory raids upon the Christian territories when they dared or could. A few of these tribes were less nomadic than others, but all were *"gens accerrima et expedita,"* and prone to connive with the enemies of the Christians. Saladin made good use of these bands in the great drive in 1187 when Jerusalem was lost to Christendom.

The constant accessions of population from Europe were of little military advantage to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. For most of them were

pilgrims, tourists, clerics, merchants. There was always a crying need of effective soldiery, and want of this was indubitably the chief reason why the Crusaders failed to conquer inner Syria or to capture Damascus and Aleppo. After the capture of the Holy City many Crusaders regarded themselves as having fulfilled their duty and returned home. Many more left because of disillusionment or for the reason that they were without luck in the grand scramble for lands. In consequence, after a few years hardly more than a handful of available barons was left. If this force had not been occasionally recruited by new detachments of Crusaders the military efficiency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem would have been so impaired that even the conquest of Galilee and Naplouse would have been impossible. Actual Crusaders, except at times of unusual stress, as in 1146–47 and 1187–90, when the peril from Mohammedanism was extreme, contributed little to increase the fixed population. They and the pilgrims came and went. The real immigration into the country and the permanent addition to the population was made by the mercantile class from the Mediterranean seaports. Consequently commerce boomed, but it was the sole evidence of prosperity. The government was weak, politics corrupt. There was another class, however, which swarmed in and was most undesirable. This was that riffraff of the West, wharf rats, beach-combers, land thieves and water thieves, beggars, charlatans, adventurers, ticket-of-leave men, fugitives from justice, ex-criminals, the scum of Europe. Jacques de Vitry has an illuminating chapter upon this gentry.

In order to repeople the devastated country, King Baldwin I sought to attract the fragments of the Christian communities which dwelt beyond Jordan. In 1182 the Maronites abjured their ancient belief before the patriarch of Antioch, although they refused to leave their fastnesses in the Liban. The Armenians, Jacobites, Greeks, and Syrians in the Kingdom of Jerusalem passively accepted the Latin domination, but did not abjure their form of the Christian religion. These populations formed in the towns an active and intelligent middle class having the right to hold property and an autonomous administration under their own magistrates called *reis*.

In spite of their unstable political organization the Christian colonies in Syria in the twelfth century enjoyed a prosperous development and one which redounded to the general civilization of Europe. This was most due to the number and activity of Italian colonists engaged in trade. During the first years of occupation the bourgeois population in the port towns was prohibited from owning land. But this law was soon abrogated. It was impossible to prevent the French, Italian, Flemish, German, English traders who swarmed into Syria and Palestine from acquiring small holdings of land, as gardens, vineyards, and orchards, or domiciles in the towns. The commerce of Tyre, Sidon, Cæsarea, Acre,

Beirut, Jaffa, Ascalon, speedily passed into the hands of this class which formed a burgher society out in the East, addicted to trade and incapable of fighting. Necessity and environment here again compelled abrogation of feudal law, and led to the upgrowth and increase of an unwarlike population. The social pride of the baronage, and especially of the knights of the military orders, forbade them to fight side by side with burgher militia, at a time when in the West burgher armies showed themselves capable of putting up a good fight, as the town militia of the Lombard communes at Legnano in 1176 and at Bouvines in 1214.

Even the despised Syrians, Jews, and Greeks at last, like the European bourgeois, became petty land-holders. This class contained even keener business men than the Italians, for they were native to the country; but their influence was even more unmilitary than that of the Europeans for the reason that they were too suspect of sympathy with the foe to be trusted on the field of battle, even if willing, as they were not, to fight. The strength of this burgher class in the East is very striking. When the Crusaders arrived in Syria and Palestine they found much of the civil law of the Byzantine government still in force, for the Arabs had been wise enough to retain it as the law of the subject Christian population. This law in considerable volume passed into a special code, known as the *Livre des Assises de la cour des bourgeois,* which was compiled between 1173 and 1180. Such a code is worthy of remarking, for it constituted a complete code of burgher law at a time when such law was still a novelty in the West. The few charters of towns then extant were far from being complete instruments of burgher government. The nearest western analogue is the great charter of the Lombard cities of 1183.

The Crusaders having invaded the Holy Land by land, it was necessary for them to acquire the seaboard in order to keep open their communications with Europe. The fleets of the Italian cities aided them in so doing, not because of any pious sentiments, but in order to gain commercial advantages. To Venice, Genoa, Pisa, the Crusades seemed to be the "open door." They grasped the opportunity from the beginning and exacted liberal commercial rewards for the use of their fleets either as vessels of war, as in the assault on Tyre, or as transports from the West. Most effective aid was rendered by the fleets of the Italian cities. On April 25, 1101, Baldwin I concluded a treaty with the Genoese which assured them of the possession of a "quarter" and a third of the booty in every port town which they assisted in overcoming. Operations immediately began against the ports of the Syrian coast, which fell one after another—Arsuf and Cæsarea in 1101, Apamea in 1106, Laodicea in 1109, Tyre in 1124. They had even made a partition of the land before the conquest! Genoa first aided Bohemond, then the king of Jerusalem, then took Tripoli and was given a "quarter" in Antioch, Jeru-

salem, and Tripoli. Pisa aided the king of Jerusalem and obtained a "quarter" in Jaffa. Venice assisted Jerusalem and Tripoli.

Ruskin, in *St. Mark's Rest,* has vividly related how Venice got the lion's share in Tyre under the leadership of the energetic doge Domenicho Michael:

> The doge left his son in charge of the state and sailed for the Holy Land with forty galleys and twenty-eight beaked ships of battle. . . . The beaked ships had each a hundred oars. . . . They drew the Saracen fleet out to sea and so set upon them. . . . After which battle, . . . in the council of war that followed, debate became stern whether to undertake the siege of Tyre or Ascalon. The judgments of men being at pause, the matter was given to the judgment of God. They put the names of the two cities in an urn. . . . The lot fell on Tyre. . . . She was still a glorious city, still queen of the treasures of the sea, chiefly renowned for her work in glass and in purple, set in command of a rich plain, irrigated with plentiful and perfect waters, famous for its sugar cane. . . . For their help in this great siege the Venetians made their conditions: That in every city subject to the king of Jerusalem the Venetians should have a street, a square, a bath, and a bake-house, . . . and due command of water and bread, all free of tax; that they should use their own balances, weights, and measures. . . . And thereupon the French Crusaders by land and the Venetians by sea drew line of siege around Tyre. . . . Meantime his [the doge's] coin for payment of his mariners was spent. He did not care to depend on remittances. He struck a coinage of leather with St. Mark's and his own shield on it, promising his soldiers that for every leathern rag so signed, at Venice there should be given a golden zecchin. . . . So the steady siege went on till the Tyrians lost hope and asked for terms of surrender. They obtained security of person and property, to the indignation of the Christian soldiery who had expected the sack of Tyre. The city was divided into three parts, of which two were given to the king of Jerusalem, the third to the Venetians. . . . The Venetians for their third part appointed a *bailo* to do civil justice, and a *viscount* to answer for military defense. . . . And thus the Venetian state planted stable colonies in Asia, . . . colonies living in friendly relations with the Saracen.

Marseilles seems to have been the only one of the cities of southern France in which, before the Crusade, the spirit of commercial enterprise reigned and which could be in any sense the rival of Italian towns and divert to her port part of the commerce of the early Crusades. History has left no trace of Massilian establishments in the Byzantine Empire and no record of any privileges accorded to any merchant of Marseilles in Constantinople. But there are various evidences of her success in Palestine, and of the part which she took in the Crusades. In 1117 the Massilians were authorized by Baldwin II to form a "quarter" in Jerusalem, to be solely inhabited by them. Fulk, King Baldwin's suc-

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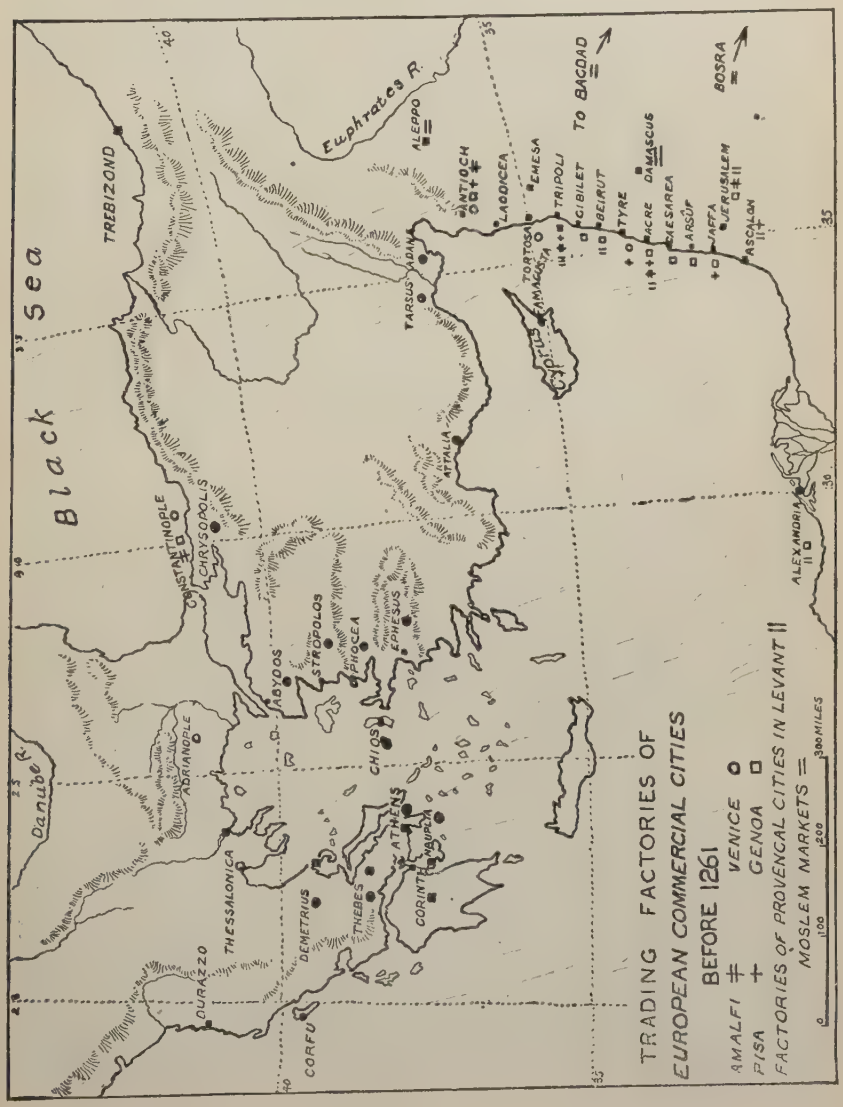
cessor, to whom they rendered important services, exempted them from taxes throughout the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1152 Baldwin III granted them factories in every port of Palestine, with the customary privileges. After the loss of the Holy City, Guy de Lusignan in 1190 renewed these privileges of Marseilles; their ships, great and small, were exempt from every harbor due; they had their own tribunal at St. Jean d'Acre. These acts prove what activity and what interest Marseilles had in the commerce of Asia. Marseilles in 1190 had sufficient maritime power to be able to transport a considerable number of the Crusaders who followed Richard Lion Heart.

In all the ports the Italian cities received liberal concessions in full franchise and free from feudal obligations. These took the form of gift of a "quarter" which constituted an enclave of the mother-state in the Holy Land, being independent of the royal jurisdiction. Each group had its own bailiffs, banlieux, warehouses, baths, churches and used its own weights and measures. Some of these western merchant groups even touched local revenues. The Genoese, for example, collected a third of the harbor dues at Tyre, Acre, Laodicea, and St. Simeon. The Massilians in 1117 were given a quarter in Jerusalem, and later, in 1152, another in Tyre, in both of which they had the right to collect duties and excise taxes. The Italian merchant colonies were too loyal to their home states, too suspicious of the feudal nature of the government of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and too thrifty to permit their rich revenues to be taxed. They demanded entire independence of the government and got it, for the Crusaders were far too dependent upon their fleets to refuse the exemptions. Thus came into being those *fondachi* or independent foreign quarters in the ports of Syria and the Holy Land, whose modern imitation one may see in the foreign compounds of Peking and Shanghai. The word *fondaco* (singular) was derived from the Greek *pandocheion* (meaning a trading post or "factory" in the old sense of that term as used by the East India Company), which the Arabs converted into *funduk* and the Italians into *fondaco*.

A *fondaco* was a community primarily united for commerce, but retaining in its foreign country the social interests and activities its people enjoyed at home. Within the walled enclosure, often of great area and always along the water-front, was a church, a street or a place for the market, a square, baths, bakehouses, breweries, a house for the factor, other dwellings, and finally great warehouses for the storing of goods. It was not uncommon for such an establishment to embrace the entire quarter of a town or a faubourg. The foreign merchants lived there under their own laws. This privilege was always included in the charter; sometimes a clause was added that in case of a process between a native and a foreigner, the affair should be tried in the foreign court according to the law of the foreigner. Fortified by such

prerogatives it was easy for Italian merchants to monopolize the commerce of the Levant. The administration of these colonies, apart from the conduct of trade, was in the hands of officials sent out by the home government called *consoli* (Genoese and Pisan), *baili* (Venetian). These posts were filled by men of the greatest Italian families, and were comparable in dignity and wealth to the governor-generalships of the British provinces of India today.



The "big three"—Venice, Genoa, Pisa—were not all equally represented in the ports of Syria and Palestine, but all had "quarters" in the most important seaports, as Tyre and Acre, the latter being the most important of all. Venetian commercial activity was greater in the Ægean, Constantinople, and the ports of Asia Minor than in the Orient; in Syria and the Holy Land, Genoa ranked first, Pisa second, and Amalfi third until Marseilles surpassed her. These Levantine ports were the termini of the ancient trade routes which from remote times converged upon the Mediterranean littoral from the head of the Persian Gulf, from Mesopotamia, Persia, India, and China. Syria and Palestine together formed a sort of barrier state between Asia and the Mediterranean, by which they maintained touch with Europe. Back from the coast were two parallel ranges of mountains with a deep broad valley between them. At rare intervals this double barrier was cut by transverse passes, notably between Aleppo and Antioch, between Homs and Tripoli, between Damascus and Tyre, through which the trade routes ran. Interior places like Hamah and Bostra profited as halfway stations on these routes from the Mohammedan hinterland. In course of time the ubiquitous Italian merchants penetrated into these inland bazaars and even established branches in Aleppo and Damascus. Certain seasonal fairs must not be omitted also, as those of Medan and Ibelin. The September fair at Jerusalem, so renowned under Byzantine and Arab rule, was continued by the Crusaders. Merchants were to be met with at St. Jean d'Acre, who came from the fairs at Champagne.

The coins in circulation in the East were as varied as the population. When the Crusaders conquered Syria and Palestine they found there not only imperial Byzantine moneys in use, but also Mussulman moneys, whose currency was continued in order that commercial relations might not be interrupted. In addition, the Crusaders themselves brought a great quantity and variety of coin from the West. The king of Jerusalem and the great barons of the kingdom also soon established their own mints. But the most popular coinage was Byzantine and Arabic. The chief gold coins were the Greek *bezant,* worth 180 silver pennies, and the Arabic *dinar.* Silver coins included the Greek *argenteus,* the French *gros tournois,* the *half-gros* of Tripoli, and Antiochian silver pennies. Copper coins were not minted by the crusading states, but the princes superimposed their own devices upon Byzantine and Arabic copper coins. The Assizes of Jerusalem enumerate the *bezant,* the *dinar,* the silver *mark,* the *sou* (or *solidus,* 12 pence), and, of small change, the Arabic *dîrhem* (from the Greek *drachma*), the *kharoub* (Greek *cheration*) and the *rabouin.* The silver mark was not a coin but an estimate of value like the British guinea today. The *bezant,* the *dinar,* and the French *mouton d'or* of St. Louis were nearly equivalent gold coins, whose intrinsic value was about ten shillings or $2.50, but whose purchasing

power in medieval times much exceeded this amount. The silver coins answered to our fifty-cent piece or more nearly, perhaps, to the British half-crown (2 shillings, 6 pence). But again great difference in purchasing power must be allowed for. In the thirteenth century Venetian and Genoese *florin* and the Florentine *florin* appeared in the Levant. For the facilitation of the inland trade a special coin was minted called a *sarracenat,* bearing a Christian emblem and superscription on one side and a Mohammedan emblem and superscription in Arabic on the verso. One of the rarest coins in the world is such a coin issued by Tancred.

The products and wares represented in this oriental trade were both local and imported. Syrian agriculture produced olives, wines, sugar, dates, figs. The cedars of Lebanon furnished a valuable timber. The textiles of Syria in wool and silk were highly prized. Raw silk was produced at Antioch, Tripoli, Tortosa; the brocades of Antioch, the glassware and metal ware of Tyre, lamps, cups, basins, pottery, enamel work, were famous; cloth of gold and tapestry were made at Acre; dye works abounded at Tripoli, Latakia, Sagetta, Hebron, and Jerusalem; Tyre was a centre of sugar manufacture. In the alluvial plain of the lowest course of the Jordan, where the heat is almost tropical, one may still see the ruins of the Crusaders' sugar mills now overgrown with jungle. Soap was made at Antioch, Tortosa, and Acre; cordials, fruit syrups were common everywhere; Jerusalem had a brewery for the manufacture of the beer called *cervoise;* salt was refined along the shore of the Dead Sea.

The Levantine trade was essentially a commerce in luxuries. The tariff lists which have been preserved show it. These articles included cotton and silk goods, stuffs of gold and silver thread, Tyrian glass, porcelain, pearls from Ceylon, precious stones from India, ivory, dye woods, drugs, perfumes from Arabia, spices and aromatic and spiced wines. There were also objects of ornament, perfumes, condiments, etc. These products were not to be found anywhere except in the Levant, and the only country where spices were to be procured, as pepper, cloves, musk, cinnamon, and ginger, was the Archipelago of Sunda. Commerce with the Levant was therefore necessary; the goods transported were small in volume, but of high value, which permitted of enormous profits.

In return the western countries had nothing but raw materials to export: grain, slaves, wool, leather, and furs. There was, therefore, a deficit which was cancelled by constant exportations of gold and silver. It was this condition which in the twelfth century induced the great demand for ready money and so stimulated the circulation of the precious metals, thereby breaking down the natural economy of feudal Europe and inaugurating a *Geldwirtschaft,* or money economy, in its room, and superinducing the whole complex revolution of European life in the twelfth century.

It is easy to perceive what objects were in greatest demand, the motive of which was the appetite of the West for these attractive and luxurious products. But it is not so easy to determine whether this desire was wholly new at the end of the eleventh century, or whether it was created and stimulated by the Crusades. In other words, in considering this important history and endeavoring to equate the relation and the relative value of the forces engaged, the historian is perplexed to say which is cause and which is result. Did the Crusades create the appetite? or did the appetite stimulate the Crusades? There is no clear answer to this baffling question.

It is astonishing to discover that the kings of Jerusalem little profited from all these riches around them. The material resources which they possessed certainly exceeded those of western sovereigns of the time. The tariffs imposed in all the ports and kept by natives who wrote in Arabic, seem to have given them very extensive revenues. There were also *péages* levied upon caravans, and many monopolies applied to industries after the Byzantine precedent. The right to coin money appertained solely to the king, to the prince of Antioch, and to the counts of Tripoli and Edessa. The king could create or abolish taxes; he possessed most lucrative rights of *douane* in the ports (the tariff at Acre included 114 articles); he levied ship dues and caravan dues; he collected the capitation tax from Mussulmans and Jews; the domains of the royal fisc were extensive, including forests, vineyards, orchards, mines, quarries. But the king instead of using this great fortune, squandered it upon the Church, the Military Orders, permitted it to dribble through his fingers into the hands of grafting officials, and even let avaricious bourgeois consume part of it, instead of spending it to hire soldiery for the defense of the kingdom.

The Church in the Orient profited most and gave least to society in return. When the Crusaders entered Palestine the Greek Church was overthrown. The Greek patriarch took refuge at Cyprus. Monasteries were founded and as the result of lavish gifts the clergy in the East, as long since in the West, became great landed proprietors. They even owned enormous holdings in Europe. In 1178 the possessions of the abbey of Mount Zion in Jerusalem comprised Mount Zion and its dependencies, an entire "quarter" in the city with the right to open a gate in the walls; rural proprietorships in Syria, Ascalon, Jaffa, Naplouse, Cæsarea, Acre, Tyre, Antioch; some houses and a church in Tyre; in Cilicia the right to navigate upon the Adana river without taxation; in Europe churches and dwellings in the dioceses of Girgenti and Catania in Sicily, in those of Albano and Pavia in Italy; and in France in the dioceses of Orleans, Bourges, Poitiers, Valence, etc.

Almost all the abbeys in the East, together with the Military Orders, possessed extensive holdings in the West also, endowments which were

showered upon them during the first enthusiasm for the Crusades, notably the abbeys of St. Mary Latin, Mount Zion, and Notre Dame de Josaphat. The Italian order of San Jacopo d'Altopasso, instituted for the protection of pilgrims, owned property in Paris. The enormous extent of such holdings is illustrated by the Hospitallers, whose western possessions were so numerous that Europe was divided into seven provinces called *"langues,"* subdivided into priories. This partition according to vernacular speech is not without interest. The documentary material still surviving in the form of title deeds, rent rolls, tithe rolls, registers, terriers, etc., with regard to the administration of these properties amounts to tens of thousands of documents. Those for the *langue* of Auvergne alone are more than 40,000 pieces. The list of commanderies in these volumes fills columns. How far enthusiasm could go for the Military Orders is shown by the fact that Alfonso I, king of Aragon and Navarre, when he died in 1131 left his whole kingdom to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Templars, and the Hospitallers, a gift which the estates refused to countenance.

The Church, instead of being a tower of strength, was a weakness. Its wealth was so great in lands, vineyards, orchards, market rights, port privileges, that a late law ineffectually strove to check gifts made to it. These riches excited the cupidity of the nobles and the Military Orders, so that the ruling forces in the realm were more than ever divided against one another. Moreover, church fiefs did not owe military service in the Holy Land as in the West. The lands were let on lease to small farmers, gardeners, etc., or worked by servile labor. More and more the domains of the Church grew at the expense of the baronage and the king, who were the natural defenders of the kingdom.

The Military Orders, while redoubtable foes of the Mohammedan enemy without the realm, nevertheless were a source of internal weakness. They were wholly independent of political authority, being responsible only to the pope as though purely monastic orders, and held their lands without requirement of military service—*sine servitio*. Practically, like the Church, the Military Orders constituted a state within a state. Their wealth was enormous—whole territories, vast domains, cities, castles, fortresses, vineyards, orchards, sheep and cattle pastures, mines, quarries, market rights, port exemptions, in addition to which the Military Orders were possessed of similar endowments in every country in Christian Europe. It is to be said of them, however, that their lands were better managed and more carefully cultivated than those of either the clergy or the baronage. Much of their European revenue found its way to the East, where it was employed in building those tremendous châteaux whose ruins on the ancient frontier of the Kingdom of Jerusalem still astonish the traveler.

Meantime, while the things which have been related transpired in the

East, in western Europe the First Crusade produced some curious and unexpected effects. The whole society of feudal Europe was thrown into a state of flux. Old conditions began to pass away rapidly and new things came to pass. A universal restlessness pervaded all classes, partly due to religious excitation, but much of it arising from the new and unfamiliar economic and social conditions. More money was in circulation than Europe had seen since the days of the Roman Empire; thousands of serfs were free, and those who were still servile were discontented and rebellious; knights and nobles continued to mortgage their lands for ready cash to the profit of the monasteries and those shrewd enough to have hoarded money; high interest prevailed; mortgage payments were falling in arrears and creditors were foreclosing and dispossessing; towns were demanding charters; the bourgeoisie was blossoming into a numerous and distinct class; the clergy was waxing so strong that secular princes grew alarmed and looked more askance than formerly upon the "freedom of the Church" which the reformers in the Church so advocated; crusading was becoming a lucrative profession, for gifts of money, horses, armor were often showered by enthusiastic relatives and friends upon a would-be Crusader.

Amid such influences and factors, the so-called "privileges of the Crusaders" introduced a novel and disconcerting condition. Urban II had promised remission of sins and perhaps material inducements. It is certain that material advantages were soon conceded to those going crusading, which had unpopular retroactive effects. They were protected against prosecution for debts during their absence; exempted entirely or for a certain period of time from payment of taxes; they might alienate their lands without the consent of their overlord; they could not be summoned before a secular court, but were given privilege of the clergy in processes of law. The wives, children, property, and possessions of Crusaders were taken under the protection of the bishop in each diocese. This deeply offended the suzerain class, who contended that it was an infringement of their right of wardship, which was profitable to them. Until the return or proved decease of a Crusader no lawsuit could be instituted against his property. The Church declared a moratorium on the collection of Crusaders' debts. Eugene III decreed in 1145 that "if any are in debt, but with pure intention set out on this holy journey, they shall not pay the interest already due, and if they or others are pledged to pay interest we absolve them from their oath or pledge by our apostolic authority. If their relatives or the lords on whose fiefs they live cannot or will not lend them the necessary money, they may pawn their lands and other possessions to churches, to clergy, or to others without the consent of their overlords."

Naturally such high-handed papal legislation angered secular princes, for it was a bold invasion of feudal prerogative of suzerainty; more-

over, such legislation was economically unjust, for it deprived the creditor class of lawfully recognized revenues and incomes, and canceled the obligations of the debtor class without due process of law. It shook the very foundations of feudal government to permit a vassal to dispose of his lands without consent of his suzerain. To add to these grievances, serfs demanded freedom as reward for going the road of the cross and, when refused, ran away.

Philip Augustus, just before leaving on the Third Crusade in 1190, legislated to repress these fiscal abuses by ordaining that prospective Crusaders might have a respite of two years in which completely to discharge their obligations, but with the proviso that one-third of the amount had to be paid before leaving, one-third a year later, and the final payment at the end of the second year. Debtors having land might assign it to their creditors, and overlords might not prevent them from so doing unless they themselves settled with the creditor for the vassal's debt. Clerks and knights not possessed of land or other substantial collateral were required to furnish security before leaving for the East. No creditor might bring action at law against a debtor during the latter's absence unless the suit had been begun before the debtor took the cross. If any Crusader mortgaged or assigned his land for a term of years, the debtor in the first year should receive the produce of the land or the revenues; but the creditor, as a recompense for this year, might hold the property for one year after the completion of the term for which the mortgage or assignment ought to continue. However, if the creditor cultivated the mortgaged land he was to receive one-half the crop that year for his labor.

The papacy, though, continued to adhere to the earlier unjust and disastrous policy of coddling the debtor and injuring the creditor. Innocent III in 1215 ordained that all Crusaders should be free from collections, tallages, and other taxes, and all legal process against the property of a Crusader was threatened with ecclesiastical censure. Future accumulations of interest, and even arrears of interest, were arbitrarily canceled. "If any creditor exact payment of interest, he shall be compelled by ecclesiastical chastisement to pay it back." The Jews naturally came in for adverse church legislation. "We command that the Jews be compelled by the secular power to remit interest, and until they remit it all association with them shall be refused by all faithful Christians under pain of excommunication. For those unable to pay their debts to the Jews, the secular governments shall provide by a useful delay, so that after they begin their journey they shall suffer no inconvenience from interest, until their death or return is known with certainty. The Jews, moreover, shall be compelled, after deducting the necessary expenses, to count the income which they receive in the meantime from the mortgaged property toward the payment of

the principal, since a favor of this kind which defers the payment and does not cancel the debt does not seem to cause much loss."

There can be no doubt that this sort of high-handed and unbusiness-like legislation by the papacy went far toward hardening an adverse sentiment in Europe against the papacy on the part of the rulers, the property-owning class, and the thrifty bourgeoisie. The papal course was part and parcel of that notorious fiscality whose abuses finally became so great that the better and steadier-minded element rebelled. The fall of Boniface VIII in 1303 was the culmination of these abuses. The financial policy of the popes was unjust to the property-owning and creditor class in Europe and disastrous to business, but naturally popular with the poor, the debtor class, and those glad to write off their debts or write them down for half-value. The papacy curried popularity with the masses by this course, but it was ruinous to the stability of business and any firm society, and in the end the papacy reaped the reward of its shortsighted, crafty, and unjust policy.

Meantime, things in the East had been going from bad to worse in the late twelfth century. The loss of Edessa in 1144 precipitated the Second Crusade, which was an utter failure. Only where St. Bernard was, was there great enthusiasm for the Second Crusade. His burning eloquence swept thousands off their feet. When he preached the crowd tore the clothes from his person and fashioned the strips into crosses. "I opened my mouth," he wrote, "I spoke, and the villages and towns became deserts. One sees everywhere only widows whose husbands are alive." Worse still, a new and formidable Mohammedan state had been formed at Damascus, where the emir Nureddin seceded from the Baghdad Khalifate and established himself as an independent ruler, and soon extended his sway over the rival Fatimite state of Egypt. This union of Arabian Syria with Egypt placed the Kingdom of Jerusalem between the jaws of a vise, for as long as Egypt and Baghdad had been hostile, there was a degree of safety vouchsafed the Holy Land, Nureddin's successor was the Kurdish chieftain Saladin, the greatest Mohammedan leader that arose during the epoch of the Crusades, who in 1187 captured Jerusalem and over-ran the Holy Land, but made no effort against Christian Syria. He was a just and noble man.

At the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin the Christians were allowed to carry away all their property and were given forty days in which to make the choice of what they wished to take. The Arab authors give examples of the extent to which advantage was taken of this permission. Ibn el Athir says that "the grand patriarch of the Franks departed from the city carrying with him the treasures of the Church to such a large amount that Allah alone knows its value"; and Emadeddin remonstrated with Saladin when he saw the patriarch carrying away the gold and silver coverings from the tomb of Christ: "There are objects worth more than 200,000 pieces of gold.

You gave the Christians a safe-conduct for their property but not for the ornaments from the Church." "Let them alone," replied Saladin. "Otherwise they will accuse us of bad faith. They do not recognize the real meaning of the treaty. Give them occasion to praise the goodness of our religion."

To understand the reason for this disaster one must look farther afield than the internal weaknesses and dissensions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The protection of the kingdom not only depended upon the Military Orders and the knights and other military vassals, but upon the maintenance and integrity of that sea-power which the Crusades had called into being. But that sea-power, instead of being united, was divided. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were bitter commercial rivals.

Apparently there was not prosperity enough to satisfy all of these greedy trading cities; each wanted a monopoly, and the result was Pisans fighting Venetians (1099); Amalfi pillaged by the Pisans (1135), from which time her commercial power was broken; Genoa and Pisa fighting at Syracuse. St. Bernard, before the Second Crusade, temporarily succeeded in reconciling Genoa and Pisa, but hostilities soon broke out again between them. In 1155 there was a battle at Constantinople between the Pisans and the Genoese; at Acre in 1156–58 between Genoa, Venice, and Pisa. All the other peoples took a hand in these conflicts: the Catalonians and the Knights of St. John were in favor of Genoa; the Provençals, the patriarch, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights were partisans of Venice. The chief rivals were Venice and Genoa. The former enjoyed the lion's share of trade through Constantinople and the ports of the Byzantine Empire, and had almost a monopoly of that with Egypt. William of Tyre said Alexandria was the "market of two worlds." Next to Alexandria in importance was Damietta, also in the delta of the Nile.

Venice could not keep the monopoly she enjoyed for so many years in Egypt. In the last half of the twelfth century Genoa and Pisa crept into Alexandria and Damietta, where they, too, were given *fondachi*. As for individual merchants, they swarmed from everywhere. Benjamin of Tudela (died 1173), the Spanish Jew who traveled all through the Orient, names twenty-eight countries or cities represented in the *fondachi* and bazaars of Alexandria. Hence, owing to commercial rivalry, the maritime powers were divided against themselves, and hence the greater weakness of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. How great treason to the cause of the Crusades a Christian state could commit is illustrated by Venice's secret connivance with Egypt to prevent the capture of Ascalon.

The fall of Jerusalem precipitated the third great expedition of the West against the East. Three kings, Richard I of England, Philip Au-

gustus of France, and Frederick Barbarossa, king of Germany and Holy Roman emperor, were united. Yet without being the fiasco which the Second Crusade was, the Third Crusade was unsuccessful. The emperor was drowned in Cilicia, Philip of France soon returned home, Richard, after performing prodigies of valor, returned a discomfited if not beaten man. All that the Third Crusade actually accomplished was the recovery of Acre.

In the course of its history we get some interesting glimpses of an economic nature. Syria, Little Armenia, Asia Minor, and Constantinople did not share the regret of western Europe in the loss of the Holy Land, for the event somewhat diverted trade to them. Venice had rejoiced in the blow to Genoa in the loss of Acre, for Genoa was stronger there than she, and she was angered when it was recovered. Meantime Venice was more strongly established in Tyre than Genoa. As for the Byzantine emperor, who by this time greatly feared the overbearing ways of Venice on the Golden Horn, in 1189 he entered into negotiation with Saladin. In the Third Crusade it was not upon Jerusalem, but upon the towns along the coast that the efforts of the Crusaders were concentrated, for they were so necessary to the Italian cities. The economic self-interest of the cities was paramount to the religious motive of the Crusades. The recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Land had ceased to be the primary objective.

When Philip Augustus and Richard Lion Heart appeared before St. Jean d'Acre, the siege had already dragged along for two years without result in spite of the immense forces, 600,000 men, according to an Arab chronicler, being assembled before the place. As always, discipline and unity of command were lacking to the Christians. A furious feud had broken out between Guy de Lusignan and the marquis of Montferrat. Each dreamed of persuading the new arrivals to enrol themselves in his fight. On the other hand, the camp of the Crusaders had become along its entire length a great town constructed almost like a permanent one, with churches, markets, and bazaars in which were displayed all the products of the East. The forced inaction was fatal to the discipline of the troops. At the beginning of winter the commissariat supplies which were brought solely by sea were interrupted, and a period of hungering and suffering began for the Crusaders. During the winter of 1190–91 it was necessary to slaughter the chargers for food; some Christians sought refuge in the camp of the Turks and became Mussulmans for the sake of something to eat; shrubs and herbs were gathered for soup. Two sergeants whose whole fortune consisted of one Angevin penny, after long deliberation, spent it for some beans; the merchant gave them thirteen for their penny, and in the number one was found to be wormy; one of the sergeants did not hesitate to make a long trip in order to exchange it. Other plagues were united with the famine; the

winter rains inundated the camp and induced an epidemic. "Every one began to cough and to become hoarse and the legs began to swell and the head. The teeth fell out of their mouths." Finally in the spring some shiploads of provisions arrived, and on the day following wheat fell from 100 *bezants* to 4 *bezants* per measure.

An unexpected result of this long siege was the establishment, in intervals of combat, of almost cordial relations between the Mohammedans and Christians. Each learned to esteem the other and sometimes they chaffed one another. In spite of the horror which the religion of the Saracens inspired in him, the author of the *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* could not refrain from admiration of them. Commercial relations, too, continued; the prized luxuries from which both Mohammedan and Christian derived such profits, passed through the lines by mutual agreement.

During an armistice Saladin contracted with Richard I that contracts and commerce should continue. On July 13, 1191, the besieged Mohammedan garrison in Acre, despairing of any relief, capitulated. The garrison obtained the right to go out freely upon condition that Saladin would pay 20,000 *bezants* ransom, restore the True Cross and set at liberty the Christian prisoners. A respite of forty days was fixed for the execution of the treaty and the besieged delivered up 2000 hostages to guarantee it. The Genoese and the Pisans resumed possession of their former quarters. "Money-dealers and others who followed mercantile pursuits received dwellings within the city in the open market, which the king's servants allotted to them on the understanding that they were to pay yearly the proper rent," records a contemporary historian.

It is manifest that by this time (1190–92) the Crusades had become profoundly modified. It was not upon Jerusalem but upon the port towns, so necessary to the Italian cities, that Christian attack was concentrated. The commercial interests and rivalries of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa had become paramount influences.

New discords which broke out continually between the Crusaders rendered impossible every attempt to march upon Jerusalem. The Pisans and Genoese quarreled for supremacy, while an open war began between the marquis of Montferrat and the duke of Burgundy.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem, now reduced to Acre, at this moment was given new lease of life, and experienced a "sea-change into something rich and strange." Richard I, on his way out, had taken the island of Cyprus, where a renegade Byzantine governor had established his sway and styled himself "emperor." The acquisition seemed a useless one to Richard, who sold the "Copper Queen of the Mediterranean" to the Templars for 100,000 gold *bezants,* of which 40,000 were paid down at once. But the Templars were unable to pay the balance of the sum, whereupon Richard resold the island to Guy de Lusignan, the

exiled king of Jerusalem, upon the same terms. He contracted to pay 60,000 gold *bezants* to the English king and to refund 40,000 gold *bezants* to the order.

In Cyprus, Guy de Lusignan made intelligent efforts to attract colonists to the island, and by lavishly granting gifts of land and franchises of a feudal and commercial nature he succeeded in getting settlers whom Saladin's conquests had deprived of homes. "One beheld poor cobblers, masons, public scriveners, who had had nothing hitherto to live upon except the product of their scribbling, all of a sudden become knights and grand proprietors in the island of Cyprus," says the *Continuator* of William of Tyre. The island was soon covered with French colonists who formed compact groups in the midst of the indigenous population. The French language was spoken throughout the whole island, even by the Greeks of the upper classes, while Greek was reduced to a patois. French architects imported into Cyprus the methods of building of their provincial schools, and covered the island with churches and castles whose ruins yet witness to a western inspiration.

The intense, complex, competitive, commercial life with which Italy throbbed in the twelfth century reached an energy of expression in the century which followed which was the natural but tremendously impressive culmination of all her former enterprises. While the papacy, in the thirteenth century at the height of its power, waved its majestic wand over half the political destinies of Europe, Venice controlled the commercial fate of much of Italy and the Levant.

The loss of the Holy Land in 1187 and the failure of the Third Crusade to recover it, was a heavy blow to the commerce of the maritime republics of Italy; Venice, Genoa, Pisa all suffered. But Venice was too practical to cry over spilled milk and set herself to recoup her fortunes with greater profit than ever before. Her eyes were fixed upon the conquest of the Byzantine Empire, and she was stirred the more thereto because the emperor Henry VI, who in 1190 became King of Sicily also, revived the audacious dream of Robert Guiscard and Roger II of conquering the city on the Golden Horn and narrowly missed so doing (1197).

The Byzantine Empire was fast gravitating toward dissolution under a weak and corrupt government, and rebellious upstarts. The navy was decayed, the trade falling into the hands of Italians and much reduced, apparently, from former times. For the "boom" which Syria, Little Armenia, and the Holy Land had experienced after the First Crusade, diverted commerce from Constantinople. The western merchants preferred to trade through the more privileged ports of the Levant. It has been conjectured that Constantinople's commerce fell off from one-third to one-half in the twelfth century. Significant of this decadence, and something never known before, was the debasement

of the Byzantine coinage, ever since the days of Constantine the most stable money in Europe and the world, and the consequent tendency of Venetian and Genoese ducats, later also Florentine florins, to replace it. The last emperors of the house of Comnenos were weak or bad. The power of this dynasty had rested upon the aristocracy of landed proprietors and the friendship of Venice. But Andronicos (1183–85) changed this policy and turned to the people and merchant class of Constantinople, who resented Venetian commercial preponderance. Worse still, he cruelly decimated the feudal aristocracy and instituted a reign of terror. The good effects of Andronicos' attempts at administrative reform, as suppression of official venality, regularization of the taxes, the introduction of fixed salaries for the governors of the provinces, were canceled by the enemies he made. Even when his fear of the Normans drove him again to seek the Venetian alliance and to grant them new privileges, Venice did not forgive him. The Venetian conquest of Constantinople was on the cards twenty years before it took place.

On the other hand, though the imperial government was weak and corrupt, some of the provincial cities in the Byzantine Empire were still prosperous. Thebes had recovered from the pillage of the Normans and her silk manufacturing was again important. Halmyros was a great emporium. Salonika, in the bay at the mouth of the Vardar River and the terminal point of the Morava-Vardar river route between Belgrade on the Danube and the Ægean, was little less important than Constantinople itself. Larissa grew figs and wine; the plain of Thessaly was a granary for the capital. Corinth and Akrocorinth on the isthmus flourished on the cross-trade, and Corinth was a seat of silk culture and dried currants (indeed, the very word is derived from the name of the city). On the west coast of the Peloponnesus, Patras had considerable commerce and a large Jewish colony; its importance is shown by the fact that the Venetians in their last commercial treaty with the Greek Empire had exacted trading facilities there. The June fair at Vervaina near Sparta drew much of Greece and the Balkan peninsula to it every year. Venice coveted possession of the lucrative trade of the Black Sea and the Ægean. Threatened by the new Bulgarian power which Innocent III fomented against her, exploited by Venetian commerce whose demands continually increased, rent within and beset without, the Byzantine Empire seemed verging toward dissolution. In all the Grecian provinces, in the islands, and in Asia Minor local dominations were rising over which the central authority was powerless.

The pope's design in the projected Fourth Crusade was Egypt, by the conquest of which the western powers hoped to acquire a military base for operation against the Mohammedans in possession of the Holy Land. But Venice had her own secret intentions as to the part she would play. In 1201, six ambassadors, among whom was the future his-

torian of the Fourth Crusade, Villehardouin, came to Venice in order to arrange the conditions of transportation with the doge Henry Dandolo, whom we see, blind and old, yet shrewd, driving hard bargains with the Franks, *"tant con nostre compaignie durra."* He had no need to acquire the "capitalistic spirit" or to take lessons from anyone in "exploitation." According to the treaty concluded in March, 1201, the government of Venice agreed to transport to the East 4500 knights, 9000 *écuyers,* and 20,000 foot soldiers, together with provisions for nine months. The Crusaders undertook to pay four marks for each horse and two marks for each man, in all 85,000 marks, and to surrender to Venice half of all the territories which might be conquered. The number of the Crusaders was much less than anticipated. The sum promised under the contract with the Republic could not be paid. Then the doge made a new proposal. He offered to "remit the payment of the debt of 34,000 marks of silver until such time as it shall please God to allow me to gain the monies by conquest." This meant that the Crusaders would aid Venice in overcoming Zara, a rival of Venice in the Adriatic, on the Dalmatian coast and belonging to the kingdom of Hungary. The pact was concluded and the expedition sailed in November, 1202. Zara was conquered.

With their appetite for conquest whetted by this success the Crusaders were pliable tools of Venetian craft. Venice was anxious to divert the proposed expedition from Egypt, where she had large commercial interests and pacific intercourse with the Mohammedan. Moreover she had, at this moment, a particular anxiety with reference to her position in Constantinople. The recent revolution there had seriously impaired Venetian preponderance in the Byzantine Empire. Alexios III favored the Pisans and, not content with violating established treaty arrangements with Venice, had imposed new taxes upon Venetian merchants. Venice countered by raising a pretender.

The compact between Venice and the Crusaders was not definitely concluded until after Zara. In open defiance of the pope, who had excommunicated them for attacking a Christian people, the intriguers hardened their plan. Boniface of Montferrat, the commander-in-chief, had not taken part in the expedition against Zara, but he soon arrived in the Crusaders' camp there. Venice played her hand deftly. The pretender promised to pay the Crusaders the sum of 200,000 marks silver, to participate in person in a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land and to maintain a body of 500 knights there. This arrangement was clever, for Venice still veiled her project against Constantinople under the guise of a "crusade," although the pope penetrated the design and flatly forbade the crusaders to attack the Greek Empire.

On June 12, 1203, the fleet arrived off the Dardanelles. In a celebrated chapter Villehardouin has recorded the profound impression which the

sight of the imperial city made upon the Westerners. On April 13, 1204, the great city fell a prey to the crusaders. The pillage is one of the blackest chapters in European history. Constantinople was the one city in Christendom which represented an unbroken continuity of higher culture and material civilization from the time of the ancient Greeks. Nearly the whole wondrous heritage was destroyed. We know that most of ancient Greek literature and much of its art survived until then. Without being comparable to the literary and esthetic loss to humanity, the material destruction was appalling. Libraries, palaces, baths, were reduced to heaps of ruins. "The booty gained," wrote Villehardouin, an eyewitness and one of the commanders of the army, "was so great that none could tell you the end of it; gold and silver and vessels and precious stones and samite and cloth of silver and robes and vair and grey and ermine and every choicest thing found upon the earth. . . . Never since the world was created had so much booty been won in any city. . . . Those who had been poor before were now in wealth and luxury."

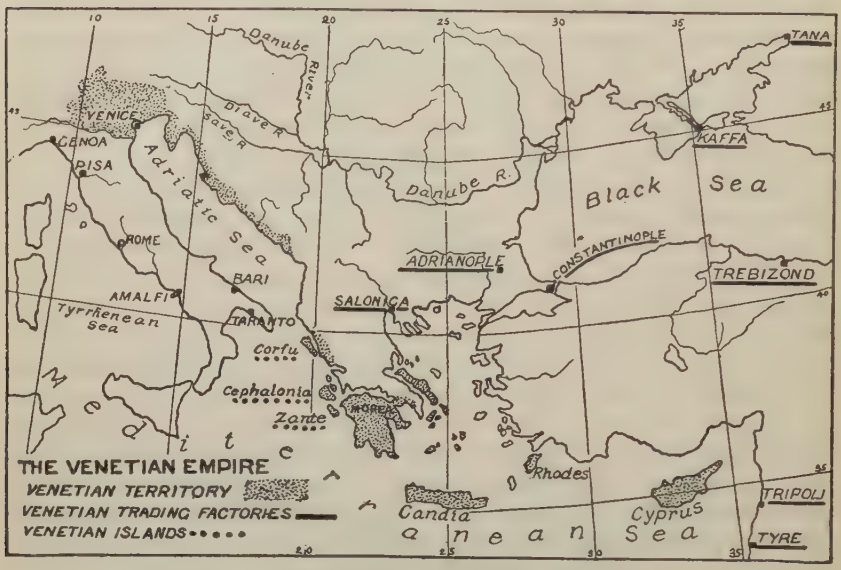
According to a compact signed in March, 1204, just before the second siege, between the Venetians and the barons, it was provided that after the capture the booty was to be equally divided; that an electoral college composed of six Venetians and six French was to choose a new emperor, who was to receive a quarter of the conquest and two palaces in Constantinople. Of the three other quarters of the divided Byzantine Empire, Venice was to get half, and the residue was to be distributed among the army leaders in the form of fiefs, after the western model. The "Latin" emperor received five-eighths of the city of Constantinople, Venice three-eighths, and the church of St. Sophia. Boniface of Montferrat got Thessalonica and Macedonia; Henry of Flanders was made lord of Adramyttion; Louis of Blois became duke of Nicæa;[4] Renier de Trith, duke of Philippopolis; Hugh of St. Pol, lord of Didymoteichon. The lesser fiefs were doled out according to the rank and number of retainers of each commander in portions of 100 knights' fees, 60, 50, 40, etc., down to shares of 10.

Venice cleverly reserved for the Republic parts of territory which assured her preponderant sea-power—in the Morea the ports of Modon and Coron (famous for cochineal), Epirus, Acarnania, the Ionian Islands, the Peloponnesus, the islands in the Ægean, Corfu, the large island now called Negrepont, formerly Eubœa, the ports of Thrace (*i.e.,* Gallipolis and Rodosto), together with Adrianople in the interior. By a secret treaty with Boniface of Montferrat in August, 1204, Venice also acquired title for future occupation of Crete.

The Venetians, with their shrewd commercial instincts and their much

[4] He never acquired possession of it.

more intimate knowledge of the country, had secured in the partition treaty all the best harbors, islands, and markets in the Levant. Scarcely a man of war, scarcely a trading ship on her way to the Archipelago, the Black Sea, or the Sea of Azov failed to be sighted by the Venetian watchmen at Coron and Modon, so appropriately called the eyes of the republic.[5]



As in Palestine a century earlier, a Latin and feudal domination was imposed upon the Peloponnesus. The French language became the language of conversation and of law in the courts. Side by side with Venetian power a "New France," to employ the actual expression of Pope Honorius III in a letter to Queen Blanche, was established in Greece. Otto de la Roche seized Athens; Geoffrey de Villehardouin subdued the Morea. The preponderance of Venice increased. She expelled every commercial competitor from the forbidden waters, Genoa in especial. Her practice of thorough exploitation of the native population required armed assistance and she had recourse to crusaders and soldiers of fortune bound for the East whom she diverted to her own ends. In 1209 she conquered Crete under pretext that the pope had granted crusaders' indulgence for this expedition. Marino Sanudo at his own expense organized a buccaneering expedition for the conquest of the Cyclades, seized Naxos, of which he became duke, and distributed the adjacent islands in fief to his comrades in arms. Eubœa had first been acquired in the name of Boniface of Montferrat; but Venice sent a bailiff to govern the island.

[5] W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant.*

The twelfth century was one of tremendous commercial activity in medieval Greece. Thessalonica, almost a rival of Constantinople, was at its best during the October fair, when its streets were thronged with Bulgarians, Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. It seems probable that they held property in the city. It goes without saying that the harbors of Crete and Rhodes, halfway stations to the Orient, sheltered the ships of all nations.

The Fourth Crusade constitutes the most important revolution in the history of Levantine trade between the decline of the Roman Empire and the discovery of the sea route to the Indies in 1498. For it made Venice the first modern colonial empire. The maritime republics of Italy had shaped the elements of such a system in Syria and the Holy Land, but a commercial empire required deeper and broader foundations.

The new acquisitions of Venice seemed so important for the Republic that the senate even thought of having the Doge live in Constantinople. Pisa, but not Genoa was allowed to retain her old "quarter" and the rights she had had under the Greek emperors; the Amalfitan colony, too, maintained a struggling existence during the Latin Empire. Lombards, Danes, Provençals, Spaniards, Anconitans, also went to make up the population of Constantinople. But all were there by the grace of Venice, whose word now took the place of an imperial decree. She was the controlling power in the city, having absolute freedom of trade and receiving three-eighths of the income derived from these commercial quarters.

The occupation of Gallipolis, which was heavily fortified, the possession of the Bosphorus and of three-eighths of Constantinople assured the Venetians the monopoly of the navigation of the Black Sea. By 1223 they had already established some "factories" in the Crimea.

The countries which bordered the north coast of the Black Sea were the granaries of Constantinople. Moreover, a part of the commerce of India and Asia reached the Euxine. The Venetians well knew the resources of the Black Sea country. Some of their navigators had already penetrated there, for in 1196 Venice sent a fleet to Amisus, and the Republic had some establishments in Crimea. Their flag dominated the mouths of the Danube, the Don and the Phasis. They founded at the mouth of the Don a colony which took the name of Tana from it, and which is the Azof of today. This colony became one of the chief posts of Asiatic commerce. Caravans loaded with the merchandise of India crossed this immense continent from the mouths of the Ganges to the banks of the Oxus, where the goods were shipped by boat to the Caspian Sea and unloaded at Astrakhan—for in the thirteenth century the Oxus flowed into the Caspian and not into the Aral Sea. From Astrakhan the goods were transported on camel-back to Tana, whence they were distributed to the various ports of the Black Sea. Treaties with the

Mongol princes of interior Asia assured the Venetians a lucrative commerce with these nomadic peoples.

But there was one bitter drop in the cup of victory which Venice drank. The possession of Asia Minor escaped her. The ruins of the Byzantine Empire were established in two places—at Nicæa over against Constantinople in Asia, and at Trebizond on the Black Sea. The conquest of the former was indispensable to overland relations with Syria, and Trebizond diverted a large portion of the trans-Asian trade to her port, thus foiling the otherwise complete monopoly of the Republic in the Euxine. In the very year in which the Lateran Council 1215 interdicted Christian commercial relations with the Mohammedans, Venice signed an alliance with the sultan of Iconium against Theodore Lascaris. Another treaty concluded in 1219 with Aladdin, the sultan of Iconium, granted general safe-conduct to Venetian merchants throughout all his provinces and fixed the duties to be collected from certain products, from which it was specified that pearls, gold, and fine feathers should be exempted.

In partial compensation for her inability to capture Trebizond, Venice succeeded in engrossing the commerce of Armenia. There is record of two commercial treaties between the king of Armenia and Venice, one of 1201, the other of 1245. The wine trade of Armenia was considerable. Tauris, the Armenian capital, was a terminal point of a caravan route to the east, which passed through Ispahan, Balkh, and Bokhara, as well as of those roads which turned toward the south along the Tigris River. In 1229 Venice also made a treaty with the sultan of Aleppo by means of which she was enabled to tap the trans-Asian caravan trade. The act granted the right in Aleppo to have a Venetian factory, church, and consular jurisdiction.

The tremendous feat of Venice in acquiring Constantinople and monopolistic control of the Ægean and Black Sea trade, fanned the hatred of Genoa to a fever heat. The struggle between these two maritime states for control of the Levantine trade is the dominant commercial fact of the Mediterranean world in the thirteenth century, and involved the destiny of nearly every state which bordered upon that great sea.

The ambitions of the popes, the Crusade of Louis IX, the success of Charles of Anjou or of the Aragon princes depended upon and centered round the two great sea powers; for they, and they alone, were masters of the Mediterranean. While Venice and Genoa are at war, a Crusade was impossible, and the popes spent endless time and patience and threats in their endeavors to effect a peace. Louis could not sail from Aigues-Mortes but by the aid of one or other rival. The Aragon landing and the clash with Charles depended upon the assistance of Genoa. Yet neither Genoa nor Venice cared for any of these things. Each was intent on checking, if possible on crushing, the other. What really interested them was that their

admirals should bring home, as they did, the stones of the Genoese tower in Acre to Venice, the stones of the Venetian palace in Constantinople to Genoa. The mouth of the Dardanelles was far more precious to them than the Holy Sepulchre.[6]

Genoa hated Venice for shutting her out of the Black Sea. Venice feared nothing so much as the possibility of losing that trade, and she struggled with all her might to maintain it. The rivalry of the two states stirred every port. In this strife Pisa, as the commercial competitor of Genoa on the Ligurian coast, was the ally of Venice, and Genoese wrath was almost as great against one as against the other. But Venice was the more formidable enemy, and against her Genoa forced the fighting.

Matters came to a crisis at St. Jean d'Acre in 1255. The Venetians and the Genoese were rivals for possession of a castle and a church here. The Genoese sunk some Venetian galleys in the conflict which ensued and captured a tower belonging to the Pisans. A Venetian fleet soon appeared before Acre. Thirty-two Genoese vessels were burned. The Genoese were routed and driven to Tyre. The Knights of the Hospital sided with Genoa, the Templars with Venice. It is said that 20,000 men perished in this war. Acre was treated as a conquered town and an enormous quantity of spoil was taken. The intervention of the pope failed. Finally on June 24, 1258, the Genoese fleet was completely destroyed in the roadstead of Acre, and the Genoese who were taken prisoner were compelled to swear not to return to Syria for three years. The Genoese "quarter" in Acre was divided between the Venetians and the Pisans. The bitter war which thereafter continued between these two belligerents killed the Crusades and ultimately entailed the complete loss of the Holy Land.

In January, 1261, Genoa launched a thunderbolt against Venice. The emperor Michael Paleologos, emperor at Nicæa, had joyfully received Genoa's overtures for an alliance against Venice and promised in the treaty of Nymphaion to give the Genoese the rights and privileges which the Venetians had had in the Byzantine Empire before 1204 in event of the overthrow of the Latin Empire. While the Venetian squadron was besieging a town on the Black Sea, Michael's general, Alexios Strategopoulos, entered Constantinople on July 25, 1261. The power of Venice was displaced on the Bosphorus, Michael fulfilled the terms of the treaty; the Genoese were given the church of Notre-Dame, the citadel of the Venetians, and their cemetery at Constantinople. The citadel was triumphantly demolished and the stones of it sent as trophies to Genoa. The victors were also given a quarter at Smyrna (short-lived because of the Turks), at Adramyttion, at Cassandra, at Chios, Lesbos, Crete, and Negrepont. It was not until 1267, after there had been trouble

[6] *English Historical Review,* XII, 322–23 (a review).

between Michael and his allies, that the Genoese were given the Galata quarter, the tower having first been destroyed as a precautionary measure. Additions to this quarter were made after 1303 by Andronicus II Paleologos. Michael gave freedom of commerce through the Dardanelles only to Genoa. From this epoch Genoa dominated at Constantinple, and Venice never recovered the plenitude of power she had formerly possessed. Genoa was heir to the Black Sea trade, though she did not succeed in maintaining the close monopoly which Venice had possessed. From this event the power of Genoa in the Levant is to be dated.

By the help of a statute of 1317 it is still possible to see something of the life which went on within the walls of the Genoese quarter at Galata. The podestà, named at Genoa, had supreme power over all citizens and consuls of Genoa residing in the Greek Empire. He took an oath to the emperor and assisted at court functions as if he had been an ambassador. His administrative duties were shared by a Great Council and a Small Council. Except in rare cases he acted as judge over all Genoese citizens who had gotten into trouble. There were restrictions on trade, for gold and silver could not be exported; the Genoese could not trade in salt or mastic within the Empire, and from 1304 the exportation of wheat was forbidden. They were allowed complete religious freedom. Other cities represented in Constantinople under the Paleologi were Ancona, Bari, Trani, Amalfi, Ragusa, Barcelona, Marseilles, and probably Montpellier and Narbonne.

The chief Genoese base in the Black Sea was in the Crimea near the ancient site of the Roman city of Theodosia where they founded the colony of Kaffa, which became very flourishing. The exact year of its foundation is uncertain, but it is certain that it was not long after the return of the Greeks to Constantinople, and probably in 1266. Kaffa at first was nothing but a town surrounded by a palisade, for the construction of which the special permission of the Tartar khan had to be secured. Later it was surrounded with walls and moats to protect it from the brigandage of these peoples. It was subject to a municipal jurisdiction at the head of which was a consul sent out from Genoa, who was changed every year. From this point the Genoese extended their commerce into the Levant. Kaffa became the trading point for the foreign products. There was held the fur market, there silk and cotton goods manufactured in Persia were sold, and the products of India which had come by way of Astrakhan. The Genoese even extended their factories into the region of the Caucasus, the rich mines of which attracted them. Even today traces of their workings in these mountains are to be seen, which it is claimed were continued for three centuries after 1475, when Kaffa was lost to Mohammed II.

The wild, romantic tales of adventure and exploration and settlement in the Black Sea have a ring like that of the expedition of the Argonauts.

Here Genoa and Venice carried on their quarrel—perhaps, even, they considered this the chief theatre of their quarrel. Here, for the most part, except for the Empire of Trebizond, they were beyond Greek influence, and in contact with the Tartars. The history of few regions of the earth stirs the imagination more than that of these ports upon the north coast of the Black Sea. Once colonies of the ancient Greeks, who called it the Chersonese, then the seat of the Empire of Mithridates, they fell to Rome, then to Byzantium, and under Justinian were important trading places. In the ninth century the Swedes of Kiev and Novgorod occupied them, thence they passed to barbarian Pechenegs and Cumans, and were recovered by the Byzantine Empire, which lost its trade to Venice in 1204, from which Genoa wrested it in 1261. Many of these old-world places in the Crimea survive, although the names have been changed. Thus modern Balaklava was Genoese Cembalo and Greek Palakaion; Inkerman is ancient Theodoro; Russian Feodosyia is ancient Greek Theodosia; modern Kertch is the medieval Vosporo (or Bosphorus), and the Panticapæum of the Greeks. Tana at the mouth of the Dniester and Cerco were of medieval foundation. In or around all of these places today the remains of Genoese walls, castles, and towers may be found.

Almost as soon as Venice lost her preponderance at Constantinople she hastened to conclude a new treaty with the Sultan Malek-el-Adel of Egypt. Many treaties of a like tenor followed, but with various additional articles. All the principal conditions asserted in the former ones were reaffirmed. The first of such treaties dates from 1262, the very year after Venice was expelled from Constantinople. It was composed of twenty-eight articles which granted to the Venetians security of person and property, the right to their own buildings, warehouses, churches, baths, and fixed the taxes which they should pay. A later treaty, in 1303, extended these stipulations. On their side the Venetians undertook not to molest the shipping of the Sultan. The work which throws most light upon the condition and nature of Venetian and Egyptian commerce at this epoch is that of Marino Sanudo, *Secreta fidelium crucis,* a book which was presented to the pope as a project for the recovery of Egypt and the Holy Land. In the first part the author gives, as an eyewitness, details of the commerce of Alexandria and other Egyptian ports. From India came pepper, ginger, canel, and some silk and cotton, though most of the silk came overland. Pearls from the Malabar coast and Ceylon, aromatic woods, etc. Most of the other spices, gerofle, muscat nuts, cubeb, seem to have come by way of Baghdad. Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, was the first trading point for Indian goods. From Arabia came especially a precious gum used for incense. Venetian ships were loaded for Europe with these wares, as well as with grain, dates, sugar, and cotton from fertile Egypt, in re-

turn for which Venice brought iron, building timber from Dalmatia, and furs from northern Germany instead of from Russia, as formerly.

In her restless search for new trade and new trade routes Venice even invaded the ports of the Barbary coast, for centuries the peculiar commercial field of Genoa and Pisa. Moreover, these audacious Venetian merchants were not content with commerce in the ports. They struck into the interior with their caravans, for in 1320 a treaty concluded with Massouth, king of Tunis, gave the right to their caravans to go or come, secured indemnity in case of robbery, granted free pasturage to animals, forbade the arrest or delay of any Venetian courier, and pledged the protection of the Mohammedan government to their caravans when demanded by the consul. We can only form conjectures as to the route of these caravans, of which we know nothing positive. This commerce of the Italian cities with the Barbary coast was at least an indirect result of the Crusades.

We must now return to Syria and the Holy Land, and examine their history during the thirteenth century. All this immense commerce was the death-knell of the Crusades. The papacy thundered in vain its prohibitions and ended by granting dispensations, except for the slave trade, which was absolutely barred. Nevertheless, even this prohibition was a dead letter. The Crusades by this time had degenerated into mere adventuring, or become tragic expeditions like the Children's Crusade, or collapsed in forlorn enterprises like St. Louis's Crusade in Egypt (1245–48). The commercial and naval warfare between Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, in which the last finally allied herself with Venice, paralyzed every military effort to make head against Islam. Tyre was controlled by Venice, Marsilio Giorgo, who in 1240 became Venetian bailiff for all Syria, has left an account of the twenty-four "*casaux*" owned by Venice around the city. These properties stretched from the shore to the heights and displayed an expanse of fields, market gardens, vineyards, olive and fig orchards, and great fields of sugar-cane. The cultivators of this land were Syrians who were paid by two-thirds or three-quarters of the harvest—a very large proportion. In addition one-third of all the port dues of Tyre went to Venice.

But Acre still outrivaled Tyre. Here Ancona appears for the first time in the East with an independent colony including church, warehouses, and palaces. Here, too, are found in the thirteenth century settlements of Florentines, Lucchesi, and Sienese. So great was the business in Acre that branches of the European banks were founded there. Marseilles and Montpellier had each its own quarter and church, and enjoyed freedom from duty in this cosmopolitan city, which also sheltered an English merchant colony. The great influence of Acre may be seen from the fact that her merchants were found at this period from Kiev to Damascus. In Antioch, Genoa and Pisa still kept their "quarters" and

a document of 1264 shows that the Genoese controlled the surrounding region. About 1222 Genoa, furious with Pisa for having burned her quarter at Acre, and unable to secure indemnity, left that city for Beirut, which had been retaken by the Christians in 1197 and was destined to outlast Acre and Tyre. Moreover, Frederick II and his son Manfred gave the Genoese many privileges in Sicily, where they were the most favored nation in the island. Even in Greece, where Venetian influence was so powerful, the Genoese had *fondachi* at Athens and Thebes (1270), where they had a common house, were tried before their own consul, and carried on the manufacture of silk.

The cities of southern France, which had gained a foothold in Syria during the twelfth century, attained much greater importance in the thirteenth. Marseilles, under the counts of Provence, enjoyed great prosperity. The *Livre rouge* (1255?), containing the laws of the city, tells of trade not only with Syria but with Africa. She had no great "quarters" but only warehouses in various cities of the Levant. Though our knowledge of the affairs of Marseilles leaves much to be desired, it seems clear that the city kept its property and privileges in Syria as long as the Christian domination lasted. Of lesser importance were St. Gilles, Narbonne, and Aigues-Mortes.

The Spaniards had taken little part in the Crusades, but merchants from Barcelona appeared in Tyre during the thirteenth century. Of even greater importance than Barcelona, however, was Montpellier, then ruled by the kings of Aragon, whose commerce was large during this period. She had franchises and a consul at Acre and Tripoli, and, though one of the latest comers, could compare with any of her rivals.

Long before the middle of the thirteenth century signs were clear that the Christian Orient was tottering to a fall. Even as early as 1201 the Master of the Hospital in Jerusalem had written to the commanderies in England: "We tremble on account of the infinite resources of the Saracens, and the more so as their wealth is increased by the merchandise that is brought by many merchants, a circumstance that strikes us all with greater alarm than usual."

As the failure of the Crusades became more and more manifest, the shrill propaganda in Europe rose to hysterics, and the wildest tales were circulated of "atrocities." In 1245 even Matthew Paris, one of the best informed of historians, was capable of recording the preposterous charge that "the Saracens poisoned the pepper sent to the West whereby many people in France were killed." Another wild rumor was that the merchants themselves circulated this allegation against the new pepper because their warehouses were heaped with old pepper which they had not sold. The council of Lyons in 1245 continued futilely to anathematize all persons trading with Mohammedans in contraband stores like iron, ship timber, engines of war, or who were serving—as many Christian soldiers

were—in the fleets and armies of the Mohammedan governments. "The bosom of the Church," it was decreed, "shall not be open to such persons unless they shall transmit all their profits from such damnable traffic and as much again of their own property for the assistance of the Holy Land."

The Syrian principalities, by this time practically abandoned to their own resources by the West, steadily became more imperiled. Without western support they were able to last for a half-century longer only because of the fluctuations of Mohammedan politics. The sultan of Damascus was in conflict with the Mamelukes of Egypt. Later, after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad (1258), followed by that of Aleppo and Damascus (1260), the Mongols formed a third element in the struggle. After the capture of Aleppo and Damascus the king of Little Armenia acknowledged the Mongol suzerainty. It would have been well if other Christian princes in the Levant had exhibited the same political discretion, for the Mongols were tolerant of the Christians, as the Mamelukes were not.

In the war between the Mongols and the Mamelukes the port towns of the Holy Land and the cities of Syria were between two fires. Unfortunately for them Hulagu, the Mongol captor of Baghdad, Aleppo, and Damascus, was recalled to the Far East of Asia by word of the death of the Great Khan. His general was beaten and slain by the Egyptian Mameluke commander, Bibars, a Mongol by birth who had been sold as a slave into Egypt, become a fanatical Mohammedan convert and a formidable military leader. Made master of Syria, with Aleppo and Damascus, by the fall of the Mongol general, Bibars dreamed of the complete overthrow of Christendom in the Orient. What Saladin had been too wise and too tolerant to do, this fierce fanatic planned to accomplish. He drew enormous revenues from the exorbitant duties imposed on the trade between the Mediterranean and India, which passed through Alexandria.

Bibars was perfectly acquainted with the weakness of the Christian states and, when hardly master of Egypt, prepared to attack them. In November, 1261, he quitted Aleppo and ravaged the territory of Antioch. The next year the fleet of Bohemond was burned in the port of Seleucia. Thenceforth each year was marked by a new incursion. In 1263 St. Jean d'Acre was assailed. The Genoese wanted to offer assistance to Bibars in order to discomfit Venice, but did not dare to do so. The Christians appealed to Hayton of Little Armenia and to the Mongols for help. Bibars retaliated by capturing Cæsarea and Arsuf in 1265; Hayton tried to strike Egypt by prohibiting the export of wood, iron, and other necessities from Cilicia, with the result that the emir of Hamah invaded the country with fire and sword. In 1267 Tyre paid a tribute to Egypt of 15,000 pieces of gold. In 1268 Jaffa was conquered

and Bibars soon appeared before Antioch, which fell in two days. Tripoli, Sidon, and Acre henceforth were isolated from one another.

Bibars' death in 1277 changed in nothing the peril of the situation. The Mameluke governor of Damascus, whom Bibars had put in, rebelled against the new sultan of Egypt and appealed to the Mongols. In 1281 a decisive battle between the Egyptian army and the Mongols was fought at Emesa on the banks of the Orontes, and the latter were badly beaten. The remnant of Christian holdings in the Holy Land, forsaken by the West, faced the wrath of Egypt. The kingdom of Jerusalem at this time was reduced to Acre, with 73 villages, Sidon with 15 villages, Caïphas and Carmel and 7 villages, the seigniory of Beirut, the castle of Margat, and the county of Tripoli. On May 28, 1291, after an heroic resistance, St. Jean d'Acre was captured by the Mohammedans of Egypt. In July, 1291, Caïphas, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut were taken or abandoned. "Of the kingdom of Jerusalem there remained nothing but a glorious memory."

Yet no one need mourn over the fall of the Christian states in Syria. Even if the Crusades may be justified—which is doubtful—Europe had forfeited whatever rights she claimed in the Orient by her folly, her hypocrisy, her injustice. The actual physical and moral degeneration of the population born of the Crusades is incontestable. The greatest of modern English historians has penned these deliberate words:

> The process of decay and dissolution was hastened by local and incidental circumstances. The original settlers did not live long in their new possessions, and their children born in the land were a degenerate race. There were eleven kings of Jerusalem in the twelfth century. Under the first four, who were all of European birth, the state was acquired and strengthened; under the second four, who were born in Palestine, the effects of the climate and the infection of oriental habits were sadly apparent; of these four three were minors at the time of their accession, and one was a leper. The noble houses which were not recruited, as the royal family was, with fresh members from Europe, fell more early into weakness and corruption. The general character of the native Franks united the faults of their European ancestry with those of the nations among whom they lived. Personally brave, for the heritage of Godfrey and Bohemond was not to be forfeited in a single generation, they were at once ferocious and effeminate, violent and faithless, luxurious and avaricious; far more likely, therefore, by their example to betray the new pilgrims into dishonor and degradation than to lead them to victory or to direct their fresh energies into channels in which their own experience should have taught them that the course of western empire, if it were ever to be a reality, must be made to run. . . . The shortness and precariousness of life was an evil without remedy, and in its effects irreparable. . . . The only sound element in the country was the organization of the Military Orders. These procured a constant succession of fresh and healthy blood

from Europe, they were not liable to the evils of minorities, their selfish interests were bound up with the strength of the kingdom. . . . If their system had been adopted Palestine might have been still in Christian hands, or at least have continued as long as Cyprus. Even the Venetian system, by which the Levantine states were afterwards governed, might have insured a longer measure of life; for it was secured by the infusion of fresh blood, and by the avoidance of the evils of which the history of Palestine was sufficient warning; nor did it fall until Venice was too decrepit to support it. . . . But there was a further reason. . . . The heterogeneous composition of the crusading armies; their want of common or uniform organization and the presence with them of immense crowds of unwarlike pilgrims ready to serve any master for wages, and dependent on very precarious means for subsistence at all. Ill provided and unattached, they were a constant encumbrance, a constant source of famine and disease. . . . [It was] a kingdom divided against itself, under a powerless stranger, filled with feudal nobles who feared and hated the Christians of Europe more than the Moslems themselves; . . . overborne by the general process of decay . . . the native population either annihilated, or, where it existed, in active hostility; . . . the hereditary nobility degenerated and divided, more attached to their own interests than to their nationality or their character as Christians.[7]

Henceforth Little Armenia and Cyprus were the sole Christian points in the East. The former maintained its independence until 1375, when it, too, succumbed to Mohammedan conquest. The kingdom of Cyprus endured until 1489, a prey to the struggle of Venice and Genoa for commercial supremacy and threatened alike by Egypt and the Ottoman Turks. In 1489 Venice acquired complete possession and held it until Cyprus was conquered by the Turks in 1571.

The Cyprian port of Famagusta became the greatest emporium of the West in the Levant after the loss of Syria and Acre. Here the Italian cities had *fondachi,* with churches, warehouses, baths, and ovens exactly as we have seen them in Syria. Genoa at first had greater privileges than Venice. A podestà protected the rights of the Genoese all over the island (from 1329); her bailiff tried even capital cases, and she paid no duties. In 1306 Henry II exempted Venice from all commercial taxes, and allowed her warehouses, churches, etc., in the three principal cities of the island, on condition that she bought the land and built no fortresses. Of the Italian cities Ancona, Pisa, Florence, Messina had trade relations with Famagusta, while France was represented by Narbonne and Montepellier and Spain by Barcelona, Tarragona, and Saragossa.

The causes for the failure of the Crusades were implicit in them from the very beginning. The difficulties attendant upon, and the injustices of the colonization of the East, the divided interests of the ruling classes, the bitter commercial rivalry, the frivolous, mercenary, or cor-

[7] Stubbs, *Introductions to the Rolls Series,* p. 343 ff.

rupt spirit of the European immigrants who flocked in, the depravation of morals of the European population, which lost its customary, traditional inhibitions, these were the primary reasons for failure. Moreover, that fanaticism which had inflamed the Crusades for so long had declined. Only the papacy preserved it.

But conditions in western Europe, whence the Crusades emanated, had their influence. Europe had become disillusioned. The newly born secular literature—not that of troubadour and trouvère, but of the satirist and the fabulist, scathed the motives and the conduct of the Crusaders. An example is the *Debate between a Crusader and a Knight,* by Rutebœuf, a thirteenth century Juvenal of the common people.

By the thirteenth century that double enthusiasm inspired by the *chansons de geste* and the fanaticism of the First Crusade had grown cold. Mere emotional appeals no longer sufficed. The clergy had to convince their hearers. In addition to stirring warlike hymns like *Vexilla regis* and *Salve, crux sancta,* it became necessary to argue with them. Then arose the great advocates, Jacques de Vitry, Étienne de Bourbon, Humbert of Romans, whose discourses are carefully worked out argumentative and polemical tracts. These speakers endeavored especially to refute the excuses and pretexts of those who sought to evade the duty imposed upon them by the Church. Reasons of health, of property, or family ties, of lack of money—for by this time, as noted, the Crusades had become capitalistic enterprises requiring much money to sustain them, and the early enthusiasm which had showered money, horses, equipment upon the Crusader—had waned. These hangers-back even mocked and ridiculed the preachers—*derisiones multimodas faciunt de assumentibus crucem.*

In consequence the Church multiplied indulgences and increased the spiritual and temporal advantages of those who would go, while at the same time it hardened the penalties imposed upon those who refused. Plenary and special indulgence, remission of spiritual penalties, abrogation of excommunications formerly imposed, exemption from property and personal taxes, release from contracts or other bonds, were showered broadcast.

The expense of these expeditions was enormous. Very full statistical documents enable us to calculate approximately the cost to France of St. Louis's Crusade in 1248. In *livres tournois* the king's expenses amounted to 1,537,570, an amount, considering the difference in purchasing power of money then and now, probably equal to $35,000,000. The great nobles and knights who accompanied the king perhaps spent as much as he, so that the Crusade cost France in the neighborhood of $70,000,000. It is easy to understand how an expedition of such a nature impaired the wealth of France and impoverished many. Moreover, these figures do not tell the whole tale. For they do not include the enormous

sum paid for the king's ransom, nor the amount required to ransom the other French prisoners captured in the battle of Mansourah. Berger estimates the aggregate ransoms to have amounted almost to $400,000,000 in modern currency and says that there were 12,000 prisoners in the hands of the Mamelukes. One shipload of money sent by Blanche of Castile was lost at sea. The French clergy were blamed for sending money to Rome which might have been used to help the king. The papacy had urged the Crusade, but was far more eager to crush Frederick II now than to assist Louis IX. Queen Blanche protested against the preaching of a Crusade in France against Conrad IV by Innocent IV while the king was still captive in the East.

There is in Joinville's *Life of St. Louis*—and no one was a more loyal servitor than Joinville—a remarkable passage which reflects this disillusionment and return of reason. He writes:

> The king of France urged me strongly to go crusading [this relates to the king's second Crusade in 1270], and to follow the road of the pilgrimage of the cross. But I answered him that while I was abroad in the king's service before [in 1246–50], the king's own officials had so levied on and oppressed my people that they were impoverished to such a degree that I did not think that either they or I should ever recover from it. I saw clearly that if I went on another pilgrimage of the cross, it would be the total destruction of my poor people, and I have since heard many say that those who advised Crusades did great wrong and committed mortal sin.

Meanwhile old trade routes in Europe had been extended and the roadways improved, as in the Alps, and many new ones, especially in the Mediterranean lands, were opened. Sea-power became important. Travel, for all classes, became general, and more comfortable than formerly. Regular sea lanes were laid out and something like regular sailings established. Ships of various kinds and sizes were built to meet the new necessities. The galley, rowed by oars, was the usual type of vessel. Sails were utilized only when running before the wind. Navigation was much improved, and the smartest ships took the straight course instead of clinging close to the coast and running from cape to cape, and island to island. With fair weather and a smooth sea a galley could go from Marseilles to Acre in fifteen days. "Ship law" established discipline among crew and passengers.

The influence of the Crusades upon commerce and the kind of products borne by that trade have been described. It began as a rivulet and became a mighty river, the stream of commodities flowing over all Europe, even to Iceland. The town records of Southampton, for example, abound with material referring to trade relations with Venice. The effect of imported wares, once luxuries, but become necessities, upon the standard of living, was great. New textiles like cotton and silk, new foods like sugar, spices, pepper, ginger, eastern preserved

fruits, revolutionized the hygiene and the diet of at least the upper classes in Europe and contributed to the material comfort of the population. The use of the bath, an institution in the Orient, if never general, at least became more usual with the better classes.

The Crusades did not found the cities of the West, but they stimulated city life and enlarged and enriched them.

An important creation of the Crusades was the development of business. The Byzantine merchant was a capitalist, as were the merchants and bankers of the Italian cities. So too were the exporters of Venice, Genoa, Marseilles, the Templars and all the religious orders; so were the Jews. It is significant that Alexander III prohibited usury and especially mentioned spices in a Bull addressed in 1176 to the archbishop of Genoa, which was then struggling with Pisa for commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean. The medieval money-changer blossomed into a banker, and banking methods and devices familiar unto this day were introduced. Having established a place of cash deposit, the money-changers developed into true bankers in course of time. At first they performed simple commercial operations, as receipt and payment; then they became warehousemen, made exchanges of account between their clients, recovered effects, etc. The bankers became the intermediaries of exchange; they received goods in bond and transmitted goods to other countries. As early as the twelfth century a business change amounting to revolution was wrought by the substitution of symbolic transfer for actual transfer, by replacing real money with a receipt which became a letter of exchange. The Florentines, and preëminently the Lombards, were addicted to this kind of commerce. The latter were the financiers of the kings of France and England. In the thirteenth century the bankers began to imitate the Jews by taking interest, by making loans, and by discounting unsecured values.

Usury being interdicted, resort was had to an expedient. The lender concealed his identity behind an association. This practice was attended by risks, but it protected the individual. In this way stock companies came into existence. The Bank of St. George at Genoa in the fifteenth century is an example. In brief, the mechanism of modern commercial life under which we live came into being in the commercial towns of Italy during or shortly after the Crusades; consuls, commercial courts, maritime law, letters of exchange, banks, stock companies, and later commercial associations.

The Italian bankers became indispensable financial advisers to the kings and great princes, and the popes. We find such officials in the government of both Philip IV of France and Edward I of England at the end of the thirteenth century. Much history still remains to be worked out in regard to the influence of the "new finance" upon political history. For example:

Edward I on his way back from the Holy Land visited the pope at Orvieto and then going on to Bologna and Florence, annexed in the one place the great jurist who enabled him to make his legal reforms and in the other a sufficient amount of financial support to help him much in his enterprises, and notably in his Scotch wars. The barons, naturally hating anything which made the king independent of their grants, rose against Edward II and sent the Tuscan financiers about their business; while they in their turn, anxious to regain their ascendancy, financed the expedition of Edward III, who came over to France with foreign mercenaries, chiefly raised in Hainault.[8]

At the inception of the Crusades, there was no common law of trade. The Crusades compelled the formulation and codification of commercial law. As in banking and finance, so the Italians were pioneers in this development. They were the first in the West who formulated the usages to govern commercial intercourse. The other nations borrowed from them and imitated them. Commercial courts and commercial law, much of it derived from Byzantine law and the famous Rhodian Code, came into existence.

In order to govern their commercial colonies abroad, the Italian republics appointed officials called consuls, commissioned at the same time to govern their subjects abroad and to represent the state to the sovereign of the country. Consuls today have retained these two attributes, but their importance has been inverted. In the Middle Ages the chief duty of a consul was to govern and to administer justice, for the colony was a sovereign power as far as the authority of the country in which it dwelt was concerned. In modern times the consul has lost this power and the chief rôle of the consul is that of a representative. The first institution, therefore, is that of the consulate. Special consular tribunals were created for commercial affairs with a procedure, a law, different from that of feudal courts; neither the duel nor the trial by ordeal nor compurgation obtained; judgment was on proofs; every town in Italy had its *consules mercatorum,* who possessed a special jurisdiction. This institution was imitated in France, Spain, and elsewhere. To this day there are officials known as consular judges.

Gradually, also, a system of international practices was established in the matter of conflicts on the high seas or between captains, or other officers or sailors or merchants of various countries. Maritime commerce requires laws and regulations somewhat different from those pertaining to land trade, and because seas are essentially international in their nature an important body of international law grew up out of maritime law. Among the earliest of maritime codes to appear were the *Consti-*

[8] *Diary of Mountstuart Grant Duff,* I, 306 (record of a conversation with J. R. Green, the historian).

tutum usus of Pisa (1160) whose predecessor may have been the almost legendary *Tables* of Amalfi, the *Code* of Trani (1183), the *Customs* of Montpellier (1223), the *Customs* of Marseilles and the *Capitulare Nauticum* of Venice (1255). Later and greater than these, but owing much to them, came the far-famed *Consulate of the Sea* of Catalonia (Barcelona), the *Rolls of Oléron,* and later still, in the fourteenth century, the first commerce and navigation codes of the North of Europe, the *Codes* of Lübeck, Bremen, and Wisby.

It is baffling, in the appraisal of the so-called results of the Crusades, to distinguish between those things which seem to have been originated by the Crusades, and those phenomena which happened during the period of the Crusades, which may—or may not—have been motivated by the Crusades. In other words, it is sometimes impossible to determine between alleged cause and alleged result; to establish the priority of forces, to determine the relation. Did the appetite of western Europe for oriental luxuries—this question has been asked before—stimulate eastern commerce? Or did trade relations with the Orient stimulate the appetite?

How far historians disagree in their interpretation may be illustrated by two quotations.

"It would be almost impossible to find a sphere of the political, military, mercantile, industrial, scientific, artistic, and even ecclesiastical life, which had not received some enrichment of some kind from the East." (Kugler)

"Doubtless, the Crusades had some general effect upon the Christian society, but for all these results there have been more active and more effective causes in the peoples of the West themselves." (Seignobos)

The indirect stimulation of the Crusades, by changing the atmosphere, so to speak, of Europe, may have been of greater positive effect than the direct influence of the Crusades. Perhaps it would be nearer truth to use the phrase "the influence of Arabic and Byzantine civilization" rather than to speak of the "results of the Crusades." It is impossible to distinguish between the civilization which sprang *from* the Crusades, and the civilization which developed *during* the Crusades.

There were other, less material reasons of change also, changes which have to do with the imponderabilia of history, in a word, changes in the intellectual and moral outlook of western Europe which gave birth to new social ideals. The contact with the peoples of the Orient, who had a different religion, different manners, different customs, opened the eyes of Westerners to the truth that there might be intelligent and cultured peoples, and a civilization equal to and even superior to that of feudal Europe. The Crusades created a new state of mind.

Apart from the broadening effect of travel and of wider contacts, the Crusades brought tens of thousands of the people of western

Europe into direct touch with heretics and infidels, who, according to orthodox teaching, were equally excluded from the salvation which was to be found only within the pale of the one true Church. But at Constantinople they found a wealth and power and magnificence such as they had not imagined, and a culture and civilization far beyond their own. Even the despised and hated infidels, they found, were in many cases rather attractive children of the devil. In Palestine, too, some at least were strongly reminded of the lives and service of Christ and the apostles, of their poverty and lowliness, which contrasted strangely with the wealth and pretensions of the hierarchy; men wondered how it could be. Islam not only impressed, it converted. For we find complaint of Christian "renegades" who forsook the cross for the crescent, even members of the clergy. A Franciscan missionary sent to Africa turned Mohammedan. The enormous and lucrative commerce between Mohammedan and Christian also influenced this growth of toleration, for international commercial relations require toleration. Fanaticism is prejudicial to the welfare of trade.

One of the most curious things to observe is how the Europeans in the Orient forgot their former religious fanaticism and racial and social prejudices against the Mohammedans. Political enmity survived, but not these sentiments. Urban II would have been dismayed had he but known that within a generation after the capture of the Holy City Mohammedan merchants freely traveled everywhere through the Kingdom of Jerusalem, that mosques were to be found, that the Koran was taught in Islamic schools in Antioch and Tripoli. The second generation of the Crusaders spoke Arabic as fluently as their native tongue, they dressed in eastern costume, they emulated Arabic manners, they furnished their houses and châteaux with oriental furniture, tapestries, rugs, and decorated them with Arabian and Persian art motifs and designs.

This brilliant civilization of the Orient, so new to the Christians, so different from the narrow and monotonous life which they led in the castles of the West, soon overcame them. The oriental costume with its ample draperies seemed to them more appropriate to the climate than their national vestment; around their heads they rolled the Arab *kouffieh,* a sort of turban to protect against the sun; they sought silk garments, adorned with gold or pearl, shoes with curved toes, and they grew accustomed to the refined cooking, to the luxurious furniture and to the sumptuous feasts of the Orientals. The Westerners, in a word, learned to adapt themselves to their new conditions of existence.

Amid this half-orientalization, to which even the clergy yielded, except the monks, the bearded and caped knights of the Military Orders must have struck an austere note: the Templars with white mantle and red cross; the Hospitallers wearing a black mantle with white cross;

the Teutonic Knights, not created until 1190, a white mantle and black cross.

The rough and ready ways of the feudal, fighting West gave way to the *politesse* and address of the East. The man of war, the typical fighting baron, was humanized into a gentleman of culture and good, though not soft, manners. The old sire of Beirut whom that illuminating writer named Jean d'Ibelin calls his "old uncle," was a specimen of these civilized barons of the second generation. Possessor of the fiefs of Ibelin, Arsuf, Jaffa, Ramleh, lord of the port of Beirut, this fine old baron cultivated the arts, was interested in literature, and a great student of the law. Unlike the British in India, these nobles became orientalized, Syrianized, and in the course of time a wholly new and distinct aristocracy arose, native to the land and not foreign, Christian yet tolerant, cultured men of the world, to whom their cousins in far France seemed as strange as they to them.

The intellectual life of the West was quickened by the knowledge and experiences gained by the Crusaders while on their travels. Interest in the East and its articles of commerce led to the sending out of travelers, such as Marco Polo. Science also received a great impulse. A keen interest was awakened in strange plants and animals and led to the establishment of botanical and zoölogical gardens in the West. The Crusades introduced the period of voyage and discovery which led to the finding of a new world. The Crusades increased the knowledge, widened the interests, and quickened the thought of Europe. Without them the Revival of Learning could not have been what it was.

Even the Church had forfeited the respect of Europe, and the fear of its authority was beginning to decline. While the rest of Europe had been gravitating toward a larger tolerance, the Church and the papacy remained the citadel of old fanaticism and the deviser of newer and acuter degrees and forms of intolerance. While the Church multiplied indulgences and promised increased rewards to stimulate further efforts against Islam, even going so far as to grant absolution to those who gave money as to those who volunteered, it paid far more attention to gathering funds than to the promotion of new expeditions. Worse still, the Church turned its fanaticism and the weapon of armed hosts against the Waldensians, the Albigensians and other heretical sects, and utterly debased and prostituted the Crusades. The harrying of Languedoc and the massacres of Toulouse and Béziers, the fanatical preaching of the Dominicans, the adoption of the Inquisition—one and all of these were evil fruit of the Crusades. The irony of history is nowhere more apparent than in these events. The papacy, always the most strenuous advocate of the Crusades, lived to see the movement which it generated recoil upon its head.

CHAPTER XVII

ITALY DURING THE CRUSADES (1100–1300) *

THE central situation of Italy between western Europe and the Byzantine and Mussulman worlds during the Crusades determined the priority and the primacy of Italy in the history of medieval commerce. Venice and Bari in the Adriatic little by little increased their trade with Constantinople, Egypt, Syria, the Barbary Coast. Amalfi, Genoa, and Pisa traded with Corsica, Sardinia, the Barbary Coast and southern France. It was the Italians above all who organized means of transportation by ship, by barges on the rivers, by caravans over the Alpine passes. They were the principal group of merchants at the Champagne Fairs, and the chief improvement in the mechanism of commerce—*i.e.*, the device of the letter of credit—is due to them. In spite of tolls and tariffs, insecurity on the roads and often actual war, Italian commerce was enormously prosperous.

We have seen in a former chapter that difference of political domination and variety of civilization and traditional culture are distinguishing characteristics of the history of medieval Italy. During the period of the Crusades these qualities were intensified and enlarged. More than ever Italy became "a geographical expression." It is impossible to treat Italian history as a unity. Instead, one must follow out the history of several separate spheres, and especially of the cities therein, for Italy was essentially a land of cities and city-states. The peninsular shape of Italy determined the maritime nature of the great merchant republics of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and the wide Mediterranean and Levantine trade of Norman Italy and Sicily. But interior Italy also developed two important commercial and industrial areas, viz., the Lombard plain, the commercial importance of whose clustered cities, notably Milan, early appears, and later, in the thirteenth century, Tuscany, which rises to renown with the two rival cities of Florence and Siena. Rome never was of commercial importance, but on the other hand the highly developed fiscal policy of the Church already in the twelfth century made it an important money centre. Thus we distinguish five separate commercial areas in Italy: (1) Lombardy, (2) Venice and the cities of Zara and Ragusa along the Adriatic's eastern shore, (3) the Ligurian maritime republics, Genoa and Pisa, (4) Lower Italy and Sicily, (5)

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 72.

Tuscany. As trade increased in importance the competition between these rival regions became more and more bitter; and even in the twelfth century war was frequent between them. Until about 1200 it is possible to distinguish the history of each separately; after that all Italy is involved in a maze of political and economic strife.

An important point to be observed with reference to these separate commercial regions of Italy is the influence of geographical environment upon them. By virtue of their situation Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, being without hinterland which they could control, were maritime, and their commerce was dependent upon their sea-power. Lower Italy and Sicily enjoyed a half land-borne, half water-borne commerce, while the Lombard and Tuscan cities, being inland, were entirely engaged in traffic by land.

In Lombardy and Tuscany the bulk of the population were artisans, hard-working orderly people; while above them stood a prosperous middle class engaged mostly in commerce, and having in their system of trade-gilds an organization both firm and flexible. It was by foreign trade that Genoa, Venice, and Pisa became great, as it was the wealth acquired by manufacturing industry that enabled Milan and Florence to overcome and incorporate the territorial aristocracies which surrounded them. Rome possessed neither source of riches. She was ill-placed for trade; having no market she produced no goods to be disposed of, and the unhealthiness which long neglect had brought upon her Campagna made its fertility unavailable. . . . As there was no industry, so there was nothing that deserved to be called a citizen class. The people were a mere rabble. . . . They lived too near sacred things to feel much reverence for them; they ill-treated the pope and fleeced the pilgrims who crowded to their shrines; they were probably the only community in Europe that sent no recruits to the armies of the cross. Priests, monks, and all the nondescript hangers-on of an ecclesiastical court formed a large part of the population, while of the rest many of them were supported in a state of half-mendicancy by the countless religious foundations, themselves enriched by the gifts or the plunder of Latin Christendom. The noble families were numerous, turbulent, ferocious; they were surrounded by bands of unruly retainers and waged a constant war against each other from their castles in the adjoining country or in the streets of the city itself.[1]

Roman merchants were mere shopkeepers. The only industries which really flourished were those of marble-workers, goldsmiths, and mosaic-workers, all of whom fed on the papal court.

Venice was the earliest and the greatest Italian state to profit by the Crusades. Already, as we have seen, from long before that event she possessed a monopolistic control of the Alexandrian trade and had secured a substantial foothold in Constantinople. In 1105, when Bohe-

[1] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire.*

mond endeavored to capture Durazzo as his father had tried to do in 1081, Venice again thwarted the design, and in return compelled the Byzantine emperor to increase Venetian commercial advantages in Constantinople. These concessions were so great that Alexios's successor refused to continue them, in retaliation for which Venice seized the islands of Samos and Chios. Byzantine fear of Norman aggression compelled the Empire to yield more and more to Venetian demands. After aiding the emperor Manuel against the Normans in Corfu (1149) her prospects seemed more brilliant than ever. She was given a new quarter and another quay in Constantinople, and her freedom of trade was extended to Crete and Cyprus. The Venetians began to intermarry with the Greeks and did not always hold strictly to their own quarters. A misunderstanding with Manuel stopped commerce in 1172, but the Venetians were soon replaced on an equality with the Greeks. In the single year 1192 Isaac Angelos granted the Venetians four separate charters of privilege and in 1200 his brother gave freedom of trade to Venice throughout the entire Eastern Roman Empire, which the Westerners patronizingly called the "Romania." The foundation of the Venetian colonial empire is in these events. The Venetian factory at Constantinople was located in the faubourg of Pera, and had such a large population that it often excited the anxiety of the Greek government. We may judge of the multitude of Venetians scattered abroad in the Romania by a treaty of Isaac Angelos, in which it was stipulated that the Venetians, in case the Empire might need assistance should equip 100 galleys, each with 140 rowers, or a total of 14,000 men. Such a stipulation presumes a large population, including women, children, merchants, agents, artisans. In southern Italy, too, William II in 1175 granted the Venetians liberty of commerce throughout his states, and reduced to one-half the duties which they had to pay.

The Greek emperors dreaded the presence of the crusading armies in the East from their first appearance, and the event proved that their fears were only too well founded. To make the best of the situation, the Emperors made friends of the Italian commercial cities, hoping that they might prove useful allies. In 1111 Pisa obtained a quay (*scala*) on the southern shore of the Golden Horn opposite the Venetian quarter, and adjoining its ferry across the harbor, where the Galata bridge now stands. Venice enlarged her rights. Manuel I Comnenos (1143–80) began to realize that a city strong enough to be a serviceable ally might prove a dangerous foe; he was afraid of these compact groups of foreigners in his capital, and exacted from each man a feudal oath of loyalty, so that the Italians owed him rent, subsidies, military service, etc.; the dues he exacted were often heavy. It is estimated that in 1180 there were 60,000 Italians in Constantinople. However, Manuel, who was at war with the Normans and dreamed of reëstablishing the sway of

the Eastern Empire over Italy, to further his end gave the Italians still further concessions. It has already been seen what the share of Venice was. The Pisans, who had been ousted from the city at some unknown date, were allowed to return on condition that the consuls took the oath of fidelity to the emperor (1171). Before this time Genoa had had a quarter in Galata, but it was not until the time of Manuel that her citizens were put on an equal footing with the Pisans. Their quarter had a troublous history; it was destroyed by Venetians or Greeks, and about 1200 confiscated for the piracy of its owners, but the Genoese privileges were restored in 1201 in the last concession made to a commercial city before the Fourth Crusade. At this period, Ragusa with a quarter in Galata may be counted among Italian cities. These quarters all lay along the water-front on the Golden Horn. An essential part of each quarter was the staircase (*scala, eschelle, escalier*) connecting the quays with the vessels. An interesting survival is the modern Turkish use of the word "scala" for all docks and quays.

The Crusades did not give birth to the Lombard cities, but they enormously stimulated their development. The volume and variety of traffic became so great that the maritime cities of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Provençal cities like Marseilles, could not carry it all. The great stream of the Po with its northern affluents leading up to the foothills of the Alps, the concentration of the Alpine passes upon the Lombard plain, the short cut these passes afforded to Germany and France—all these factors conspired together to increase the wealth and the population of Milan, Pavia, Cremona, and almost every other town in the north of Italy.

The immediate cause of the rise of the Lombard cities was the revival of commerce. We may take the history of Cremona in illustration. First traders from Venice and Comacchio visited the city and then local Cremonese merchants began to get the trade into their own hands. Opposition on the part of the bishop and neighboring nobles to the growing importance of the burgher class in Cremona led to frequent clashes between the two classes, in 924, 970, 978, 992, 998, 1031, 1048, 1058, 1066. The increasing frequency of these risings is indicative of the growing importance of trade and the gradual development of political self-consciousness by the inhabitants of Cremona. After 1066 the records are silent. But evidently by 1114 the bishop and the nobles had given up the struggle, for when in that year the emperor Henry V granted a burghal charter to Cremona he spoke as though he were legalizing a long established condition of things.

Milan, owing to its fortunate proximity to most of the important passes and the energy of its citizens, got the lion's share of this trade. Pavia in the extreme west came next, for Pavia played middleman to Genoa. Cremona was probably third. The competition between all the

Lombard cities for the rich profits of trade was keen. Cremona made war upon Crema in 1098, 1116, 1130; upon Brescia and Tortona in 1110; upon Parma in 1120. But the rapacity of Milan surpassed that of every other city. Lothar II in 1136 found Lombardy "a battle-ground of communes, a network of city-leagues divided by the most unrelent-

ing feuds." In the early years of the twelfth century two hostile city-leagues were formed in Lombardy, Milan and Pavia, the leaders of them, struggling for the hegemony. Parma, Modena, Crema, Tortona, and Brescia adhered to Milan; Lodi, Cremona, Piacenza, Reggio, Novara, and Asti to Pavia. In 1111 the Milanese razed Lodi to the ground and deported its inhabitants, settling them in the hamlets round about her. The Pavian League was forced to accept humiliating terms which regis-

tered Milan's commercial supremacy. Tortona was rebuilt, the bridges over the Adda and the Ticino restored, which gave Milan access to the territory of Novara and estates of the margrave of Montferrat.

Milan already at the end of the eleventh century had, it is said, 300,000 inhabitants in the city itself and the zone of villages around her and subject to her, and devised the grandiose project of concentrating all the commerce of the Po valley in her hands, or compelling her competitors to pay tribute to her. Milanese battalions patrolled the roads, intercepting caravans of merchants and forcing them, no matter whither bound, to take their wares to Milan; armed barges on the rivers and canals overhauled the barges of Cremona and other towns. When these coercive measures failed she resorted to war. In 1127, after a long siege in which militia from a dozen subservient towns took part, she reduced Como to ruins. Pisan ship carpenters were employed by Milan in this war to build a fleet on the lake. In self-protection, under the leadership of Pavia. the towns formed a league and besought the support of the emperor Lothar II when he visited Italy in 1130; however, the emperor was called to the far south of Italy and then home to Germany, and nothing was accomplished. But in 1158, when Milan destroyed Lodi for the second time, she discovered that she had gone too far. Lodi appealed to the emperor.

There was no room in Frederick Barbarossa's political or social philosophy, a compound of feudal inheritance and revived Roman law, for a free city, least of all for so bold a burgher community as Milan. When he came over the Alps with his army Lombard Italy must have been a strange and curious sight to him. Otto of Freising, the emperor's uncle and the ablest historical writer of the twelfth century, has left us a description of the country:

> Almost the whole country pertains to the cities, each of which forces the inhabitants of her territory to submit to her sway. One can hardly find, within a wide circuit, a man of rank or importance who does not recognize the authority of his city. . . . They surpass all other cities of the world in riches and power; and the long-continued absence of their ruler across the Alps has further contributed to their independence. . . . Although they boast of living under law, they do not obey the law. . . . Among all these cities Milan has become the leading one. . . . The bishop of Asti and William, marquis of Montferrat, a noble and great man, are almost the only princes in Italy who have kept themselves independent of the cities.

In a socio-economic sense these townsmen had risen out of serfdom and become freemen, burghers, through increase of wealth accumulated by industry and commerce. In a political sense the Lombard cities had become free, self-governing republics. Both the principle asserted by

Milan and the magnitude of municipal independence which Frederick I found in Lombardy shocked him. "The diet at Roncaglia was a chorus of gratulations over the reëstablishment of order by the destruction of the dens of burghers." No less shocking was the frightful anarchy which prevailed. Milan was at war with most of the cities of the plain; Venice with Ravenna; Verona and Vicenza with Padua and Treviso; Pisa and Florence with Lucca and Siena. "The atrociously warring factions deluged Italy with blood and fire and pillage. . . . Castles, villages, fields were devastated," writes the German historian, of whom we might be suspicious were it not for the fact that his evidence is borne out by a Lombard writer who tersely says: "Wilderness and wolves increased more than agriculture." The Lombard cities had yet to learn from long and bitter lessons that freedom and self-goverment are acquired only through experience, and if abused will be lost.

What the German Alpine passes were to central and eastern Lombardy and southern Germany, that the four passes of the western Alps leading into France were to Piedmont and western Lombardy. Some account of these passes now becomes necessary. These were the Great St. Bernard, the only pass lying in a northwestward direction, and of equal advantage to the Rhine valley and the Seine basin; the Little St. Bernard; the Mont Cenis; and the Mont Genèvre. The elevation, steepness, and dangerous weather in these passes made travel difficult, and the ancient Roman improvements had gone to ruin. Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, ruefully comments on the "difficulty" of trans-Alpine crossings. He certainly had close knowledge of it, for he has left us a vivid recital of his hardships in bringing the bodies of two saints of the East over the Alps to Germany. In the depth of the Middle Ages all four of these routes were within the territory of the kingdom of Burgundy, but with the gradual feudal disintegration that "kingdom" became almost a political fiction and the control of these passes fell into the hands of different lords on each side of the Alps. The western ends of most of the passes then came into possession of the dukes of Savoy.

For a long time, however, the Italian ends of these passes were in the hands of Piedmontese princes, as the margraves of Ivrea who controlled the Italian approach to the Great St. Bernard; the count of Aosta, in similar position for the Mont Cenis leading to Lyons and Grenoble, and for the Little St. Bernard; the lords of Susa, who held the approach to Mount Genèvre leading both into Provence and to Grenoble. Merchants from the cities of Lombardy all depended on one or another of these passes, and Pavia, Alessandria, and Modena were virtually clearing-houses for them. In 1027, when the emperor Conrad II and Canute the Great of Denmark and England met in Rome, they succeeded for a time in rendering these routes reasonably free of tolls for

pilgrims and traders; Ardoin of Ivrea had blocked the Italian ends, and conditions were not mended until the emperor Conrad II in 1032 acquired Transalpine Burgundy. By the twelfth century three passes and the Italian end of Mount Genèvre were wholly Savoyard. The only authorities which shared tolls with the duke of Savoy were certain favored monasteries, which, however, returned measure for measure in the relief which they gave to wayfarers. Amadeus III made grants to the famous hospice of the Great St. Bernard in 1124, 1125, 1137, and was equally interested in promoting the comfort of travelers over the Mont Cenis. The Val di Susa enjoyed prosperity under his enlightened sway. Although his interests in Savoy were feudal he was intelligent enough to see that in Piedmont it would pay him to favor the communal spirit. Susa became a pet of his and was toll-free. At the same time he protected his agrarian interests in Savoy, and "forbade his Lombard subjects to buy sheep or fleece in his Burgundian lands, presumably because pasturage and wool-raising were the staple industry of the latter, and the Lombard middlemen were not allowed to enter the trade." The toll over the Mont Cenis was the most lucrative of these Alpine tolls. The dukes shrewdly exempted Italians from paying it when coming from Italy and they paid only half-toll on returning, a provision which both increased traffic and stimulated his subjects on the south side of the Alps.

In Piedmontese Italy the most important city was Asti, whose situation was advantageous for trans-Alpine trade. Its banking firms, the Solari, the Badri, the Barardi, the Bucca, were in close relation with the Champagne Fairs. They also handled much of the political business of the counts of Savoy. Pavia was middleman between Genoa and South Germany.

In spite of war, tyranny, abuse, the march of time was with the cause of the Lombard cities. The very violence was symptomatic of the promise and potency of the new social and economic Europe which was in process of becoming, a Europe of self-governing burghers whom kings and emperors had to recognize, a Europe of free artisans and merchants instead of serfs bound to the glebe lands of a manorial lord, a Europe of new economic condition, new social structure, new social ideas, new political forms.

After years of wasting war whose details we need not enumerate, the Lombard cities won the day. In the peace of Constance (1183) these descendants of serfs and villeins were recognized as citizens of the Empire—as burghers; their cities were free, self-governing communities; the making of law, the administration of justice, the laying of taxes were in their own hands; the free merchant, the free craftsman was recognized; the old feudal laws which the cities had long since abolished gave way to the modern customs of each city, customs in harmony

with the spirit of the age, and not obsolescent or obsolete feudal customs; personal and movable property, almost all of it the product of trade and commerce, was on an equal plane with real property. In Lombard Italy feudalism was but a shell; only desiccated and archaic remnants of medieval antiquity survived, as innocuous as they were curious, like ruined castles on the hilltops.

Milan rose from the ashes to which Frederick I had reduced her, greater than before. She and all the other Lombard cities, in addition to the wares of their own manufacture, bought outright Levantine imported goods and as middlemen distributed them beyond the Alps. The Lombards exchanged wood, pig iron, wrought iron, grain, woolen cloth, salt meat, salt, and corn for cinnamon, pepper, saffron, ginger, indigo, sandal wood, sulphur, velvet, carpets, alum, camphor, logwood, sugar, incense, myrrh, taffeta, ermine, dyes, cloth of gold, perfumes, jewels, and jewelers' work. The Alpine passes by the end of the twelfth century became thoroughly established as routes of commerce, and in the spring and summer were crowded with caravans of merchants.

Important new economic developments in Lombardy were bridge building and canal construction, which followed after the peace of Constance in 1183. But the lower Po was too difficult to span with regular bridges and had only pontoon bridges. The effect of this new engineering both upon trade, by facilitating communication and lowering freight rates, and upon agriculture, by bringing enormous areas of land under regular irrigation, was very great. In the thirteenth century the prosperity of Lombardy was almost as much in its farm products, cattle, and wool as in the trade which it plied.

Canalization and irrigation were not new practices in Lombardy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the revival of ancient Roman practice. Even the modern names of many of these canals have changed but little from the original Roman names. In the universal breakdown of material civilization after the fifth century the Roman Campagna, the Pontine marshes, the Tuscan Maremma became miasmatic and malarial tracts owing to the neglect of dikes and drainage, or the dilapidation of aqueducts. While never such pestilential areas as these, even much of the Lombard plain was gradually converted into swamp. "A great part of the province," writes an Italian historian, "was at this time covered with forests. Tracts now richly cultivated were stagnant marshes or arid wastes. The cultivation of rice or the mulberry was then unknown, and the products of the soil were the common grains required for food, and flax for clothing." Another adds: "Some traces of better times, however, still remained. The existence of water-meadows is adverted to; and the ordinary measures of their produce in grass or hay, which are still in use, are traceable as far back as the beginning of the ninth century. The struggle against the superabundant waters, which

threatened to submerge the plain, did not, however, begin for two centuries later. . . . Before the year 1100, but at what precise date is unknown, the ancient works in the interior of Milan, originally constructed in the time of the Romans, were restored and extended. . . . The destruction of Milan by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1162, and its subsequent reconstruction on a grander scale about 1176, led to the extension of these hydraulic works." [2]

Roman law had viewed the relation of rivers to the public interest in a sane and practical way. Navigable rivers were public. Private right pertained only to the banks and islands in the stream; in event of a change of course the abandoned channel was held to belong to the abutting property owners. But feudal law had reversed all this, and the medieval nobles extended their private proprietorship over the waters of navigable streams, hung chains across or placed weirs to intercept traffic and imposed tolls upon all traffic up and down stream. In other words, feudalism treated rivers, which are moving roads, like the roads themselves. But at the peace of Constance in 1183 (art. 3) Roman law, never dead in Italy, was reasserted, and the Lombard cities recovered all the rights previously usurped by the feudality.[3] From that time the rivers were held to be public property. These rights were vested in the cities of the plain. The same surrender was also made of feudal rights over the road system of Lombardy and the bridges, control of which was restored to the towns.

The canal of the Ticino dates from 1177; the formation of the artificial lakes around Mantua from the construction in 1188 of remarkable works on the Mincio River, whose source is Lago di Garda. In 1191 the Canale della Battaglia, named in commemoration of the victory of Legnano (1176) over the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, was constructed near Padua. At the same time Bologna granted a charter to a local corporation for building a canal from the Reno. In 1257 the great Naviglio Grande was made navigable to the very walls of Milan, but its inception dates from 1177 or 1179. (In 1272 it was made navigable within the city.) In 1220 the Roggia Muzza Canal, the most important artificial tributary of the Adda, was begun. The New Adda Canal, like the Canale della Battaglia, was a memorial of the defeat of the emperor Frederick II in 1239. It effected a junc-

[2] Bruschetti, *Storia dei progretti e delle opere per la navigazione interna Milanese.*

[3] It was not an accident that the study of Roman Law was intensely pursued in the Lombard cities. As Rashdall says:

"In the commercial and political society of the Italian cities there arose a demand for fruitful knowledge, for science applied to the regulation of social life—for *civilization* in the strictest sense of the word. And this demand was met by a revived study of the long-neglected, but never wholly forgotten monuments of Roman Jurisprudence."

tion between the Muzza and the North Lambro by means of the Addetta at Cascino Scanasio. The Fiumo Bova is also among the oldest in Lombardy, having been originally constructed by Berardo Maggi, lord of Brescia, and later bishop, between 1298 and 1308. Fierce competition and even actual war sometimes ensued between cities for control of these canals. Thus Modena and Reggio went to war in 1183 and quarreled for twenty years over the right to the waters of the Secchia.

Modern systems of irrigation have their direct origin in these hydraulic works of the Lombard cities, and there is continuity between what prevails in Lombardy today and what was begun in the twelfth century. The Cistercian monks are to be given generous credit for their part, especially in promoting irrigation. The Lombard historian Landolfo relates that shortly after the departure of St. Bernard (1135) from Milan, a party of monks arrived there, founded the monastery of Chiaravalle near Milan, and by means of irrigating canals connected with the Vettabbia brought a large part of hitherto barren land under cultivation. As in the case of many great medieval cathedrals whose architects are unknown to us, so in the case of these great internal improvements, the names of the engineers are unrecorded.

On the western coast of Italy the cities on the Ligurian Gulf, Genoa, and Pisa broke into the eastern Mediterranean with the Crusades. Genoa was the first maritime power to which Urban II appealed in 1096. In November, 1097, during the siege of Antioch, a Genoese fleet of twelve galleys arrived at the port of St. Simeon. The share of the Genoese in the taking of Antioch must have been important, for they ruled St. Simeon until the port was incorporated with Antioch, and at Antioch its ruler Bohemond granted them a *fondaco*, the Church of St. John, thirty houses, a fountain, and a bazaar. As to Jerusalem, it probably could not have been taken had the Genoese not opportunely arrived at Jaffa with supplies for the besiegers. On April 25, 1101, Baldwin of Jerusalem concluded a treaty with the Genoese which assured them possession of a quarter, together with one-third of the booty in every town which they should aid in reducing. Operations were immediately begun against other coast towns. By the end of that year the Genoese were established at Tortosa, Arsuf, and Cæsarea; in 1104 they acquired a quarter in Acre, in 1106 at Apamea, in 1109 at Laodicea, in 1110 at Beirut; and finally in 1124 they also established a *fondaco* at Tyre, to the wrath of Venice. In order to assure the preservation of these valuable concessions the canny Genoese placed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre behind the high altar a plaque which recorded the list of commercial grants made to them. The precaution was well taken, for after King Amaury (1162–73) caused this document to be destroyed Genoa had difficulty in obtaining other privileges.

In the treaty made with Baldwin of Jerusalem, the Genoese had

TRADE ROUTES
OF
NORTHERN ITALY
CORSICA
Adriatic Sea
GENEVA
LYON
MARSEILLES
Narbonne
Béziers
Toulon
Turin
MILAN
VENICE
GENOA
FLORENCE
ROME
Trieste
Fiume
Pola
Zara
Spalato
Ancona
Rimini
Ravenna
Bologna
Verona
Padua
Brescia
Bergamo
Trento
Bozen
Innsbruck
Lausanne
Basel
Zürich
Chur
Milan
Verona
Venice
Florence
Rome
Genoa
Turin

stipulated that in event of the Christian conquest of Egypt, they were to have a third part of Cairo. The weakness of the kings was such, however, that this enterprise was not undertaken, so that in 1177 Genoa independently negotiated a treaty with the Egyptian sultan giving her commercial rights and privileges in Egypt. For the first time the Venetian monopoly of Egyptian trade was intercepted and a bitter competitor of Venice admitted. From this year we may date the undying hostility between Genoa and Venice. Already Genoese trade galleys had pushed into Greek waters in spite of Venetian opposition, and apparently during the Second Crusade (1147–49) Genoa gained a foothold outside the walls of Constantinople in an unidentified locality called Orcon, for in 1154 we find an enlargement of former privileges. But in 1170 the Genoese *fondaco* was removed to Coparion on the Galata peninsula, not far from the Pisan quarter.

This growth of Genoa excited the anger of Milan, now at the height of her power and endeavoring to monopolize the conduct of trade in North Italy. We have seen how Milan in 1130 struck at Pavia, which acted as middleman to Genoa and transmitted Genoese oriental importations across the Alps. But in 1168 the Lombard League, of which Milan was the head, struck a double blow at both Genoa and Pavia in a single stroke by constructing Alessandria (so named in honor of Pope Alexander III) in Piedmont upon the Tanaro River above its confluence with the Bormida. This fortified outpost literally straddled the road between Genoa and Pavia, with the result that it ruined Pavia as a commercial town and blocked Genoa's northern traffic.

The effect was to throw Genoa into closer commercial relations with southern France. In the end Genoa probably profited by the change compelled by the strife in Lombardy, although she was profoundly disturbed for years. For as early as the first decades of the twelfth century there is record of Genoese merchants in Provence, at Antibes, Fréjus, Marseilles, Arles, Béziers, Carcassonne, Narbonne, Perpignan, Nîmes, St. Gilles, Tarascon, Montpellier, and Toulouse. By the end of the twelfth century Genoese merchants had advanced as far north in France as Burgundy and Champagne. The first notice of their presence at the Champagne Fairs is in 1193. Thence it was only a step to Flanders.

Herein we see the striking difference between Venice and Genoa. For the former, by virtue of her situation, was immune from the civil discord that racked the Italian mainland. Moreover, in Venice, the state was supreme and the government rigidly and minutely regulated all commerce. In Genoa, on the contrary, the commune was coeval with the First Crusade and the government was controlled by the great merchant families, which often were at feud. Thus in 1183 there was civil war between the Venti and the Castelli. Saladin's victories in the Holy

Land were a serious setback from which partial recovery was made during the Third Crusade. But again in 1193–94 civil strife ensued, culminating in the loss of political grasp by the great families and the destruction of their commercial monopoly. The Syrian trade then was thrown open to the people and the colonies placed under direct control of the Republic, now, unlike Venice, a democratic instead of an aristocratic government.

While Genoa established her lucrative trade in Syria and Palestine during the crusading era, she traded also with Sicily, kept up her old trade with the opposite Mohammedan coast of Africa, especially with Bougia and Ceuta, and greatly expanded her commerce with southern France and Spain. In 1147 Genoa helped the king of Castile against the khalif of Cordova and was rewarded with trading privileges in the peninsula, but profited little from them until the Castilian capture of Cadiz in 1262. In 1157 she drove the last Moslems out of Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands.

Bitter competition prevailed between Genoa and Pisa; the two neighbors were intensely hostile to one another, and clashes on the sea were frequent. From 1119 to 1132 and in 1195 actual war existed between them. In 1199 Genoa was at war with Vintimiglia.

Most interesting and important was Genoa's contribution to the conduct of business enterprise in the formation of commercial organizations, veritable commercial corporations, in which shares were sold and the profits and risks distributed. Each ship carried a supercargo or factor who represented the interests of the investors. This company was known as the *Societas mari* to distinguish it from a similar association which traded with inland towns. It was really a joint-stock company. Extended and adopted elsewhere in the later Middle Ages, this form of business association is Genoa's signal contribution to the history of commerce. Of no less significant influence upon later history were the colonial experiments of the Geneose in Syria, which in the thirteenth century enabled them to create a great colonial empire on the Black Sea coast after the restoration of the Greek Empire in 1261.

While enormously expanding her commercial field in the eastern Mediterranean, Pisa, like Genoa, still clung to her old trade with North Africa and the Spanish coast. She conquered Majorca in 1113, and was the first Italian city to establish permanent trading posts in the ports of Mohammedan Africa, at Tunis and Bougia. In 1134 her traders negotiated a commercial treaty with the sultan of Morocco. Six years later they established a coral station on the island of Tabarca. The emir of Tunis in a document of 1157 describes the Pisans as "his truest friends among Christians" (*"veris amicis meis quos pro ceteris mundi Christiani diligo"*). Alum was the chief objective of this Pisan-Tunisian

trade, for its astringent quality was highly prized in the dyeing industry, owing to the capacity it had to "set" colors in textiles and make them lasting.

It was inevitable that Lucca should be drawn into the feud between Genoa and Pisa. For Pisa and Lucca had a commercial quarrel of their own. The former controlled the mouth of the Arno, the natural exit for inland Tuscan wares and for import of commodities brought by sea. Pisa imposed all that the traffic would bear of both import and export dues. Lucca, situated on the Via Francigena, a great pilgrim and commercial highway extending from the Alpine passes to Rome, retaliated by imposing tolls on all travelers who wished to diverge from the main route in order to go to Pisa. The result was war between Pisa and Lucca in 1126–28, 1143–47, and again in 1165–71, in which Genoa aided Lucca. The last conflict, besides being fought out at sea, spread to the south of France where each city had partisans. Narbonne favored Pisa, Raymond of Toulouse favored Genoa. On one occasion the great Fair of St. Gilles was wrecked by a battle fought in its midst. The chief benefit of the struggle accrued to Genoa, for the war drove her lesser neighbors on the Riviera on each side of her—Savona, Noli, Vintimiglia, San Maurizio, and San Remo—to the side of Genoa for protection, and thus created a Greater Genoa. Another gainer, as we shall see later on, was Florence, which adroitly intervened nominally on Pisa's side, in order to get port concessions at the mouth of the Arno.

It is now necessary to turn to southern Italy and Sicily and pick up the thread of the history of the Norman power there.

The conquest of southern Italy by Robert Guiscard and of Sicily by his brother Roger I had created two separate Norman states. But in 1127 the lineage of the redoubtable Robert Guiscard died out and the Sicilian branch of the Norman house in the person of Roger II (died 1154) united the mainland and island Norman possessions into a single kingdom, that of Norman Italy and Sicily, or, as often later described, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, a term of importance, for Sicily was the major member in the union and Palermo was the capital.

No place in the whole Mediterranean world was more advantageously situated for purposes of trade than Sicily. The great island lay like an anchored battleship in the narrow way between East and West, commanding every through route and exacting toll of every vessel. On the south Egypt and Africa, especially Kairwan, paid her tribute; on the north she held the whole European coast west of Italy almost in fee. Palermo was the midmost point, the axis of great horizontal and vertical trade routes which crossed through her. The overflow from Palermo enriched the kingdom's other ports—Amalfi, Messina, Naples, Salerno. Western shipping from Pisa, Genoa, Marseilles, Narbonne, Cadiz, Ceuta, Bougia, Mehdia, and Bona often lay side by side in these har-

bors with galleys from Venice, Constantinople, the ports of Syria and Palestine, and Alexandria. Sicily was a meeting-place of races, tongues, commercial products, religions, civilizations. Here East and West met, here North and South sat down in her courts. Western and Greek and Oriental Christians and Levantine Jews jostled Arabic and negroid Moslems of half a dozen sects in her bazaars. In Sicilian warehouses far eastern luxuries like jewels, and precious stones, Indian ironware, curious dyes, perfumes, Chinese silks, pepper and spices, Egyptian cotton goods, Persian and Turkish rugs, red leather, were stored side by side with colored marbles from the ranges of Atlas, ivory, ostrich feathers, lion and leopard skins from Africa.

The Sicilian monarchs fully capitalized

the unrivaled facilities for trade which were presented by its many harbors and its advantageous location with respect to the great sea routes. . . . The commerce of the Southern Kingdom was passive rather than active, that is to say, it was carried on, not mainly by its own cities such as Bari and Amalfi, which had enjoyed great prosperity in the Byzantine period and lost their local independence under the Normans, but by commercial powers from without—Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. The relative importance of each of these varied with the vicissitudes of Italian politics, but among them they shared the external trade of the kingdom. We find the Venetians on the eastern coast, the Genoese and Pisans at Salerno, and the chief ports of Sicily, where they had special warehouses and often considerable colonies; and the earliest commercial records of Genoa and Pisa, notably the register of the Genoese notary, John the Scribe, enable us to follow their business from merchant to merchant and from port to port. Sicily served not only as a place for the exchange of exports for foreign products, the cloth of northern Italy and France, and the spices and fabrics of the East, but also as a stage in the trade with the Orient by the great highway of the Straits of Messina or with Africa and Spain by way of Palermo and the ports of the western and southern coast. From all this the king took his toll. Without foregoing any of their feudal or domanial revenues or extensive monopolies, Roger and his successors tapped this growing commerce by port dues and by tariffs on exports and imports, thus securing their ready money from that merchant class upon which the future monarchies of western Europe were to build. The income from Palermo alone was said to be greater than that which the king of England derived from his whole kingdom.[4]

Internal development of the resources of the kingdom kept pace with this external prosperity. Iron was worked around Messina and in Calabria; sulphur was mined around Mount Etna; salt was made at Trapani; the pottery of Palermo, showing interesting Arabic influence, was famous; goldsmithing and silversmithing were fine arts; in glassmaking

[4] Haskins, *The Normans in Europe*, 232.

the artisans of Palermo exceeded in skill any workmen in the West, not even excepting the Venetian. In brief, the civilization of Norman Sicily, both material and moral, was a fusion of every culture of the Mediterranean world. All this brilliant civilization has long since perished, leaving only one monument of its grandeur and its beauty—its architecture. The church of Monreale is an epitome of all that was greatest and best in Norman-Sicilian civilization.

The Great Count Roger II is the one prince in western Christendom who refused to yield to the fanaticism of the Crusades. He had no quarrel with Mohammedanism. Far from it, he not only tolerated but admired and imitated much that was found in Islamic civilization. He was thrifty enough to profit by the commercial awakening due to the Crusades, but slow to participate in their folly. It was his father's wise policy before him, a policy to which he rigidly adhered. For when Baldwin of Jerusalem, flushed with the capture of the city in 1100, dreamed of Christian conquest of Kairwan, too, with the wild design of splitting eastern and western Mohammedanism asunder, not knowing, in his ignorance that eastern and western Islam were mortal foes, the hard-headed and unromantic Roger wrote to the king:

> If the other Franks should come here, I should have to supply them with armies and ships for crossing. If they conquered the land and remained there, they would get the trade in the necessaries of life out of Sicilian hands into theirs; and I should lose the receipts from the corn trade to them. Suppose their enterprise failed. They must return here; I should then have to expect hostile attacks in return, and trade and friendship between us and Africa would cease.

He was willing to extend his sway over the African mainland if events were propitious, but too cautious to excite the resentment of the Mohammedans there by any war of intolerance. The issue justified his wisdom and his patience. For when the coast towns rebelled against the sultan of Kairwan and besought Norman aid, Roger II annexed without a war the whole African seaboard from Bona to Tripoli, where his just and benign rule speedily reconciled the native population to the new government. An Arabic historian has written of him: "He restored both the cities of Zawilah and Al Mahdia, furnished capital for the merchants, did good to the poor, confided the administration of justice to a *cadi* acceptable to the people, and ordered well the government of these two cities."

The Norman king was indifferent to Norman aggrandizement in Syria and the Holy Land, but glad to annex Africa under favorable conditions. But the lodestar of Roger II's ambition was the conquest of the Byzantine Empire, a dream he inherited from Robert Guiscard and

Bohemond before him. If achieved, Sicily might control the entire commerce of the Mediterranean, East and West, reduce Venice to tribute and from the Golden Horn dictate alike to Europe and Asia. It was this fear that induced Constantinople to grant large trading privileges to Venice and Pisa; that made even Genoa and Venice dissemble their enmity; that made the German emperors, Lothar and the first Hohenstaufen, apprehensive of the growth of Norman-Sicilian power. In 1147, taking advantage of the Second Crusade, Roger II struck, not directly at Constantinople, but at Corinth and Thebes, two of the most important industrial cities of the Byzantine Empire. The enormous spoil of the former city paid the cost of the expedition, while from Thebes, which was the centre of the Byzantine silk-weaving industry, the Great Count carried away more than two thousand artisans, many of them Jews, and settled them in a permanent colony in Palermo. It was a master stroke. For henceforth the West was emancipated from dependence upon Byzantium, which ever since Justinian's time—the sixth century—had succeeded in maintaining a jealous monopoly of this lucrative industry. From Sicily in the ensuing century the silkworm and the cultivation of the mulberry spread to the mainland towns of Italy and of Provence. Well might the Arabian historian and geographer Edrisi, who dwelt at Roger's court, write of him that: "He accomplished more when sleeping than other men in their waking hours." No sovereign of the first half of the twelfth century equaled him in ability or energy, not even Henry Plantagenet or Frederick Barbarossa.

In law and government Roger II was no less remarkable than in war and diplomacy. Beyond any doubt the Norman-Sicilian monarchy was the most intelligent and efficient state in Christian Europe. In financial administration and taxation methods it particularly excelled. In riches it exceeded all. The whole system of government was just such as to establish cohesion and contented unity out of the diverse elements which entered into its social composition—Norman-Italians, Byzantine Greeks, Arabs, Jews—peoples of four faiths and four different cultures. "The count was faced by the fact that Sicily was a meeting-place of races, civilizations, and tongues. On this fact he built a system of government in which power was based on the toleration and free intermingling of elements which could not be combined by force." Absolute religious toleration prevailed. Jewish synagogues and Mohammedan mosques, churches for Greek Christians and churches for Latin Christians existed in Palermo and every other city of the realm. The Moslems preserved their own laws and had their own judges, or *cadis,* and a large degree of latitude was accorded the Greeks and Jews also. Each people enjoyed perfect freedom of trade. All alike paid the poll tax without distinction of race or religion. It was symbolic of the equal rights of all.

While the classes of society familiar to the feudal world were pre-

served in Sicily—clergy, nobles, bourgeois, and serfs—the mixed variety of these classes enabled the crown always to balance one against another, so that neither clergy nor feudality ever acquired preponderance in the kingdom or had to be feared. While feudal in form, the government was not feudal in spirit. The chancellors of the king were laymen, not ecclesiastics, as elsewhere in medieval Europe. Greek, Arabic, and Latin were regularly employed in the chancellery, although "the legal system of the kingdom as a whole, as distinguished from the local customs and the administrative organization, was fundamentally Norman, and the influence of Roman, Lombard, and canonical jurisprudence essentially secondary in its nature." A highly trained corps of bureaucratic officials drawn from the bourgeois class opposed a powerful administrative body to the baronage and kept the feudality in check. The army and the fleet were recruited from Normans, Greeks, and Saracens. One of Roger II's admirals (and the very word is of Arabic origin) was a Syrian Greek, the other an Arab.

In nothing, however, was the administrative genius of the two Rogers so manifested as in their system of taxation and finance, which presented a clever mixture and adaptation of Byzantine and Arabic precedents and practices to Norman use. The system of land allotment and land survey established by the Arabs was preserved and became the basis of taxation. "Such records were based, as we are expressly told in the records themselves, upon the land registers which were kept in the treasury itself. These registers were an inheritance from the Arabs, as was the treasury itself; they were, at any rate in part, written in Arabic, and the officials of the treasury, or *doana*, were, like the word *doana* itself, Arabic also." These land registers are a valuable and still largely unexplored source of fiscal and statistical information. The acquisition of full and accurate statistics was a passion with the Great Count. When he captured Naples the first thing he ordered was a survey of the city in order to ascertain its area and the extent of its population.

The exchequer of the Norman-Sicilian government beyond doubt was the most efficient and advanced institution of its kind in Europe. Two of its highest officials were Englishmen, Robert of Selby and Thomas Brown, the latter of whom later entered the exchequer service of Henry II of England. Their names curiously occur in Greek and Arabic in the Norman documents. There is more than an analogy between the fiscal and tax administration of England in the latter part of the twelfth century and that of Norman Sicily in the first half of the same century. Both the English and the French kings owed something of their policy to Sicily. Philip Augustus of France, at his accession in 1180, was advised by one of his counsellors to study the Norman-Sicilian government. There is little evidence of commercial relations between Sicily and England and Normandy. Yet, as Professor Haskins has pointed out,

"it is significant that we hear of a merchant of London at Salerno and a merchant of Brindisi at the tomb of Becket, and that the money of Rouen was in common use in the region of Aversa at least as late as 1135."

Roger II's intellectual interests also had a bearing upon economic and social history. He was ardently interested in history and geography and to satisfy his curiosity called to his court the most renowned Arabian geographer of the age, Edrisi. Fifteen years of labor and research were spent upon the task and the work (written in Arabic) was not completed until six weeks before the Great Count's death in 1154.

This book, called *The Book of Roger, or the Delight of Whoso Loves to Make the Circuit of the World,* was based upon the previous labors of twelve geographers, classical and Mussulman. But aiming at greater accuracy than could be obtained by a merely literary compilation, Roger caused pilgrims, travelers, and merchants of all countries to be assembled for conference and examination before him. Their accounts were sifted and collated. Edrisi held the pen while Roger questioned. Measurements and distances were carefully compared; and a vast silver disk was constructed, on which all the seas, islands, continents, plains, rivers, mountain-ranges, cities, roads, and harbors of the known world were delineated. The text supplied an explanatory description of this map, with tables of the products, habits, races, religions, and qualities, both physical and moral, of all climates. The precious metal upon which the map was drawn proved its ruin, and the Geography remained in the libraries of Arab scholars. Yet this was one of the first great essays of practical exploration and methodical statistic, to which the genius of the Norseman and the Arab each contributed a quota.[5]

One other word may conclude this consideration of the influence of the Norman Sicilian kingdom upon economic history. As we have seen in the chapter upon the Crusades, maritime and commercial law, incipient international law, derives its origins from the conflicts and the fusions of the Mediterranean world during the Crusades. One town of lower Italy under Norman rule made a signal contribution to this mixed body of law. This was Trani in Apulia above Bari on the coast, whose commercial prosperity, owing to its convenience as a port of debarkation or arrival, greatly increased during the period of the Crusades. It rivaled Brindisi and Bari in this advantage. Here the Templars early erected a hospital for pilgrims; Pisa, Genoa, and Florence had merchant and banking houses here; Venice maintained a resident consul; the Amalfitans had a special quarter; the annual fair of St. Nicholas drew tens of thousands. In consequence of all this commerce the maritime laws of Trani acquired recognition in the Mediterranean and contributed

[5] Symonds, *Sketches in Italy* (Palermo).

to the stream of law derived from Greek, Arab, Italian, Provençal, and Catalan sources, which all together came to form the body of international law which we find on record in the thirteenth century. The date of the formation of this code of Trani is uncertain. Formerly it was thought to be 1063, but that year seems too early, and scholars now attribute the code to the date 1183. The original Latin text has not been preserved; the surviving form is an Italian translation probably made in 1363 under the Angevin kings of Naples.

Genoa, Pisa and Venice all feared and envied Sicily. With all three, politics, trade, and religion were inextricably interlaced. In 1135 when there was a schism in the papacy and Roger II of Sicily backed the antipope, Pisa seized upon it as a pretext to sack Amalfi. In the next year, when Innocent II triumphed, he set about to form a league to destroy the Norman power, and invited Genoa, Pisa, and Venice to participate. Genoa would have nothing to do with an enterprise in which Pisa and Venice were engaged, and Roger detached the Venetians by giving them commercial advantages in Sicily, advantages which were renewed in 1175. The league fell to pieces leaving the members of it holding an empty bag.

Matters became more serious later in the century with the entrance of Frederick I Barbarossa into Italian affairs. Not content with the ambition to destroy the Lombard cities, Frederick also dreamed of extending his imperial sway over southern Italy and Sicily. To this end in 1162, after the subjugation of Milan, he went so far as to ally himself with the emperor Manuel Comnenos of Constantinople, allowing the Greeks to occupy Ancona and Bari in order to cut off Venice from support of the Normans, (a policy only too welcome to Manuel, who was chafing under Venice's highhanded ways in Constantinople) and made extravagant promises to Pisa, pledging her possession of all the coast from Civita Vecchia almost to Genoa, freedom of trade in Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia, half of Naples, Salerno, Messina, and Palermo, the whole of Gaeta, Mazzara, and Irapani. At the same time Frederick tempted Genoa with similar promises: possession of Syracuse, 250 fiefs in the centre of the island, "and in every city a street and a *fondaco,* together with complete exemption from imposts. Provençal merchants were to be excluded from Sicily and Calabria and the Venetians also. . . . Finally Genoese dominion of the seacoast from Monaco to Porto Venere was recognized."

It is difficult not to suppress a smile at the gullibility of Genoa and Pisa in seriously believing in the sincerity of these promises, even if Frederick I had ever had the power to achieve the conquest of Sicily. The Ligurian cities, if they had not been blinded by cupidity, ought to have known better. For Frederick I had already given them serious cause for alarm by claiming Sardinia and Corsica as imperial fiefs, in

the exploitation of which Pisa and Genoa had for many years been engaged. Nothing came of all these grandiose promises. Frederick I was recalled beyond the Alps and the colonies of Genoa and Pisa in Constantinople fell to fighting.

The politics of the three great maritime republics of Italy by the latter half of the twelfth century were clearly defined: Pisa was strongly imperial or Ghibelline; Genoa and Venice were anti-imperial, pro-papal, and Guelf. Yet the situation was not so simple as this. For Genoa and Venice, although both opposed the emperor, were deeply hostile to one another, a circumstance which gradually drew Pisa and Venice into alliance in spite of the fact that one was friendly to the emperor and the other hostile. Finally, Genoa courted Norman favor and Venice envied the Normans little less than she envied the Byzantines. Matters political and commercial rapidly approached a climax after the death of Frederick I (1190) and the accession of his son Henry VI, who consummated the Hohenstaufen dream by acquiring the kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily. Seated on the throne of the dynasty which Robert Guiscard had established—that Guiscard who had twice attempted and twice failed to capture Constantinople and unite the Balkan peninsula, Greece, the Adriatic lands, southern Italy, and Sicily into a great and formidable political and commercial empire—Henry VI revived the scheme. Pisa was elated with expectations, Genoa sullen and suspicious, while as for Venice her fury at the prospect was terrible. Suddenly in 1197 the emperor died while on his march overland to Constantinople. The grandiose design of the Hohenstaufen to rule all Central Europe from the Baltic to Sicily, to unite the Holy Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire into a super-empire, to make the Mediterranean and the Black Sea German-Norman lakes, went to pieces like a broken cloud. It left Venice master of the future. That history has been told in the story of the Fourth Crusade.

The brilliant culture of Sicily which Roger II had done so much to create, continued even more brilliantly under his grandson Frederick II (died 1250). Palermo was the most cultivated and the most varied capital in Europe.

Frederick II's court cannot be regarded as an isolated or merely personal phenomenon. Lying between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, it must be seen against the cosmopolitan background of Norman Sicily, the meeting-point of Greek, Arabic, and Latin culture, central in the history as in the geography of the Mediterranean lands. . . . At the court of Frederick II the Greek element is of little significance. Greek versions of his laws were issued, and Italian poets sang his praises in Greek verse, but the influence of Byzantium had declined with the fall of the Greek Empire, and we hear little of Greek scholars or Greek translations in this period in the South. On the other hand, Arabic influence was if anything stronger

under Frederick, especially after his visit to the East, and was maintained by the political and commercial relations with Mohammedan countries, while his imperial interests fostered intercourse with northern Italy, Germany, and Provence. . . . His Crusade led to political and commercial relations with the sultan of Egypt which lasted throughout his reign, while the commercial treaty of 1231 with the ruler of Tunis was followed by the establishment of a Sicilian consulate at Tunis.[6]

But the long and terrible war waged between the Emperor and the Popes caught all Italy and Sicily in coils of ruination. Fra Salimbene, a Franciscan, who traveled much through Italy at this time, paints a terrible picture:

In the neighborhood of Parma and Reggio and Modena and Cremona, men could neither plow nor sow nor reap nor till vineyards nor gather the vintage nor dwell in the villages. Nevertheless, hard by the town walls men tilled the fields under guard of the city militia, who were mustered quarter by quarter according to the number of the gates. Armed soldiers thus guarded the peasants at their work all day long; for so it must needs be, by reason of the ruffians and bandits and robbers who were multiplied beyond measure. For they would take men and lead them to their dungeons to be ransomed for money, and the oxen they drove off to devour or to sell.

Here follows an appalling enumeration of cruelties:

And all evils were multiplied on the earth, and the wild beasts and fowls increased beyond all measure, pheasants and partridges and quails and hares, and roebucks, fallow deer and buffaloes and wild swine and ravening wolves. For they found no beasts in the villages to devour according to their wont; neither sheep nor lambs, for the villages were burned with fire. Wherefore the wolves gathered together in mighty packs around the city moats, howling dismally for exceeding anguish of hunger; and they crept into the cities by night and devoured men and women and children who slept under the porticoes or in wagons. . . . This curse of war invaded the whole of the Romagna in the days when I dwelt there.[7]

The once prosperous realm of Naples and Sicily passed, after the fall of Frederick II, into the hands of Charles of Anjou, a French prince (1268). Charles of Anjou was dominated by an ambition to conquer Constantinople and to reëstablish to his own advantage the fallen Latin Empire in the Balkan peninsula, and although he failed in this design he got a footing in the Ionian and Ægean islands. In Tunis, in spite of the disastrous Crusade of his brother there, he negotiated a profitable commercial treaty; his agents were busy on the borders of the Danube,

[6] Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Science*, 244, 253.
[7] Quoted by Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*.

in Tartary, in Georgia. Thanks to his efforts and to the favorable situation, the kingdom of Naples remained the emporium of trade between East and West.

At the same time the Angevin dynasty gained a preponderant position in Italy. It became the leader of the Church party and the Guelfs, so that southern Italy emerged out of that isolation and hostility of the rest of the peninsula which the policy of the Hohenstaufen had imposed upon her. The internal policy of the Angevins was as practical as their external policy. They were keen to increase the resources of their realm and to establish an effective machinery of taxation. Their fiscal interest determined their policy toward agriculture, industry, commerce, and actuated the establishment of monopolies, maritime enterprise, and the vast speculative ventures they indulged in. These last activities proved unsuccessful, even disastrous, and drove the government to burdensome taxation, manipulation of the coinage and alteration of weights and measures. Evils like these were not compensated for by the peace and security which prevailed on the roads, the suppression of brigandage, harbor works, and bridges. The long, indented coast of the kingdom with many ports promoted coast trade and seaborne commerce alike and regular shipping plied between southern Italy and Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Constantinople, southern France, Spain, Tunis, Bona, Bougia, Zara, Ragusa, Famagusta, Acre, Alexandria, Rhodes. The fairs of Tarentum, Bari, Trani were famous.

Almost every commercial nation in Europe was represented in the ports of the kingdom of Naples except the Germans and the English. But certain of these played a preponderant part, like the Provençals and Catalans among outsiders, and of Italians, the Sienese, the Lucchesi, the Pisans, the Florentines, the Genoese, the Venetians, the last being most important. The Florentines enjoyed the financial preponderance, notably the great banking houses of the Bardi, Peruzzi, and Acciajuoli. The realm of Naples survived the disaster of the loss of Sicily to Aragon in 1282, but the bankruptcy of the Bardi and almost all other banking houses in Florence in 1345 owing to English repudiation of the great loan Edward III had made in 1337 to carry on the war with France, involved the kingdom of Naples in their collapse.

Venice after 1261, by dogged persistence, indemnified herself for the loss of the Ægean and Black Sea trade, and in spite of all that Genoa did to injure her, continued to prosper. But her Ligurian ally and Genoa's rival, Pisa, was not so fortunate. In 1242 and again in 1251 there was war between them. After 1261 Venice was too engrossed in protecting her own commerce against Genoa to be able to protect Pisa also. Genoa, so near to Provence, had developed, as we have seen, important commercial relations in the Rhone valley and with the Champagne Fairs. Accordingly when Charles of Anjou and Provence, the

brother of Louis IX of France, became king of Naples and Sicily in 1268, the Genoese were given liberal terms in his ports. Pisa countered by supporting Aragonese ambition in Sicily.

Almost all the threads of intrigue spun by the Mediterranean powers culminated in the Sicilian Vespers (1282), another revolutionary event, comparable to those in 1204 and 1261. When the ambitious Charles of Anjou conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily in 1268, he dreamed of doing what his Hohenstaufen predecessor Henry VI on that former Norman throne had dreamed of accomplishing, to wit: to conquer the Byzantine Empire. Naturally the fallen emperor Baldwin II and all the exiled French nobles looked to Charles. To Venice the prospect was as dangerous as the same project had been before. For it was impossible for Venice to permit both sides of the straits of entrance into the Adriatic to be ruled by one prince. But even in her fear Venice skilfully worked upon the greater trepidation of the emperor to recover some of her former trade privileges in the Aegean and again established a *fondaco* at Salonika. This was in 1277. But Michael VIII would take no chances. He was by no means certain of Venetian ability when there was possibility of the power of France in the person of Charles of Anjou's brother Louis IX being thrown into the scale against him. He provided another string for his bow by conniving with Peter III of Aragon, the deadly foe of Charles of Anjou. The Sicilian Vespers (1282) were devised in Barcelona and Constantinople. That tocsin sounded the knell of French ambition in Greece. Aragon received her reward in possession of Sicily. But Genoa made easy and rich profit out of the event. Charles of Anjou, in return for aid of the Genoese fleet in the contemplated attack upon Constantinople, stood ready to enlarge the already great commercial privileges of Genoa in the Greek Empire. But Genoa preferred to use Greek terror of the Angevin instead. The merchant-prince brothers of Genoa, Manuele and Benedetto Zaccaria, had long coveted possession of the great alum mines at Phokaia in Asia Minor, and the emperor granted them the concession. Michael VIII probably felt himself sufficiently rewarded in having effected the overthrow of the Angevin power. It was a good political stroke for the emperor. It was no less a capital commercial move for the Zaccaria brothers. For

the annual rent paid to the emperor was covered many times over by the profits of the mines. Alum was indispensable for dyeing and western ships homeward bound were therefore accustomed to take a cargo of this useful product at Phokaia. The only serious competition with the trade was that of the alum which came from the coasts of the Black Sea and which was exported to Europe in Genoese bottoms. A man of business first and a patriot afterwards, Manuele persuaded the emperor to ensure him a mo-

nopoly of the market by prohibiting this branch of the Euxine trade—a protective measure which led to difficulties with Genoa.[8]

When the French in Sicily were massacred in 1282 Pisa was rewarded for her support of Aragon by grant of advantageous trading rights at Palermo and elsewhere in the island. The fight between the rivals was now to a finish. Morally supported by Charles of Anjou and France, which hated Aragon, the Genoese plotted and accomplished the ruin of Pisa. In 1284 the city was taken, plundered of all that was movable within it, and the harbor destroyed by a diabolically ingenious feat of engineering. The Arno is a swift stream, so swift that the current had always kept the harbor clear of the detritus which the river washed down from the Tuscan hills. But the Genoese built a great mole obliquely across the mouth of the harbor, which slackened the current and compelled it to drop its burden of silt. By this means the port of Pisa was slowly filled and became no longer navigable. The merchants and the bankers removed to Lucca or Florence and Pisa's day of glory was past.

Shut out more and more from the eastern ports by the implacable hostility of Venice, Genoa more and more developed her commerce in western Europe, especially with France and Flanders. At some time, either very late in the thirteenth century or very early in the fourteenth, she audaciously inaugurated a galley service between Genoa and Bruges (and London) destined to be of revolutionary influence upon the history of trade and trade routes in the Middle Ages. In spite of the peril of pirates, storms, shoals, and rocks, the new venture prospered, for freight rates were reduced and tolls avoided. The effect of this new route can be perceived in the corresponding decline of the Champagne Fairs—although there were also other reasons for their decay—and in the shrinkage of the volume of trade and revenue from tolls in the Alpine passes upon the Rhine.

Venice soon followed suit, ever vigilant for trade opportunities and watchful of her rival. In 1317 the first Venetian fleet was sent through the straits of Gibraltar to Bruges and London. Thereafter until well down into modern times the Venetian galley fleet was a fixed institution of western European trade and soon far surpassed that of Genoa in importance.

By 1300 Genoa had ceased to be a formidable competitor of Venice. The reasons for Genoa's ultimate decline, as for Venice's great success, were political, and these in turn largely those which geography imposed.

The constant internal revolutions in the former city, three serious revolutions in the course of fourteen years, with all the unrest which preceded

[8] W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant.*

them, must have placed her at a disadvantage in the conflict with her more stable rival. It was impossible for Genoa to avoid this disadvantage; she was not an island city surrounded by impregnable lagoons; her seat was on the mainland, and she possessed territory along the shore to east and west. The mountains afforded a fairly defensible frontier, but that frontier was weakest just where the city of Genoa lay. The valleys of the Servia, the Stara, the Orba, and the Bormida all ran up dangerously near to her borders. . . . Genoa could not avoid being drawn into the whirlpool of Guelph and Ghibelline politics which tore her neighbors to shreds. Moreover, the possession of this territory exercised a distinct influence on the quality of the Genoese population. Her great nobles were not merely merchant princes, they were large landed proprietors as well, with valleys to hold and castles to hold them by, and with mutual rivalries and common greed of acquisition. Italian politics affected the life of Genoa, and the feuds of great nobles broke the city into factions. Far different was the position of Venice. Isolated by her lagoons; hardly, indeed, a part of Italy at all; with interests turned eastward, the wind of Guelph and Ghibelline contention hardly rippled the surface of her placid estuary; no feudal system, with its arbitrary divisions of society, broke the solid body of the Venetian people; no powerful landed aristocracy presented a mark for popular jealousy. Venice was singularly united. The merchant noble, the clerks in her counting house, the captains of her ships, the men who worked them, were all coöperators and share-holders in a joint-stock concern. The secret of Venetian success lay there. The struggle with Genoa was terrible in its long-drawn drain upon the resources of either combatant, but the issue could never have been doubtful.[9]

While Venice and Genoa lorded it over the sea and fought as mortal foes each against the other for markets and for products abroad, in the interior of Italy—in Lombardy and in Tuscany—much the same sort of fierce commercial competition went on. Milan and Florence were the centres of the strife. Each struggled for the mastery of the territory of which it was the natural capital againt local feudal barons and rival towns. The feuds of smaller towns with their near neighbors were no less ferocious than the wars of Florence with Pisa and Siena. Moreover, the towns themselves were often torn within by factional strife.

The explanation of this condition lies in the widening cleavage between the wealthier bourgeois who controlled both the gilds, now become merchant or industrial corporations, and the local town government, and the lower commonalty composed of the working classes and the casual labor element of the population. It was a conflict of wealth against poverty, of employer against employé, of capital against labor. Finally, pervading and obsessing all this confusion and anarchy, was the gigantic struggle between the papal and the imperial authority, in the thirteenth century at

[9] *English Historical Review, XII,* 348 (a review of Caro).

grips in the last throes of that historic struggle. In every Italian town was a Ghibelline or imperial party advocating the cause of Frederick II and a Guelf or papal party. A superficial observation of this partisan strife shows only a political issue, local or general. But if we penetrate below the surface of these factions we discover a deep and significant economic and social cleavage between them. It was a conflict between the towns and the rural areas around them; between burghers and feudal nobles; between landed property on which feudalism rested and the new forms of wealth born of commerce and industry; between feudal conservatism, which clung to the past and the new urban material life lusty with the strength of youth and wholly modern in its viewpoint and sympathies. The conservative feudal interests were aligned with the emperors; the new interests with the popes. The papacy, the oldest institution in the world, identified its authority and its interests with the newest economic and social forces in Europe, and thereby made its victory certain. For the triumph of the towns over feudalism necessarily entailed the triumph of the papacy over the imperial representative of the rights and interests of the feudal classes.

In terms of economic and social interpretation of history the new economic and social changes which Europe had developed in the twelfth century were at the root of the struggle between Frederick II and the popes. The Italian scholars Loria and Villari have clearly seen this important historical fact. I quote from the former:

> After every trace of manufacturing industry had been obliterated by the destruction of the Roman Empire, landed property played a great rôle and the seigniors were the only actors in the economic drama. . . . But upon the appearance of the free towns . . . the revenues of independent artisans . . . ranged themselves in opposition to the landed revenues that were shut up in the châteaux. This gave rise to a struggle between the holders of landed revenues and the holders of industrial revenues. . . . At Legnano, at Campaldino, at Monteperti, both armed factions believed they were fighting for an ideal cause, the triumph of the pope or the emperor. . . . But whatever the ideal in whose cause they threw themselves into the fray, the unknown and invisible genius that animated the struggle did not descend from the heights of idealism, but proceeded rather from the lower regions of economic utilitarianism. . . . As soon as the Italian cities reached a condition of stability and established autonomous governments, the now predominant industrial revenue instituted a formidable revolt against the feudal revenue. A sanguinary war then broke out against the châteaux as the result of this new contest between the industrialists and the feudatories, the former constituting the Guelf party and the latter the Ghibellines. . . . As soon as the conflict broke out between the towns and the fiefs, the serfs fled from the estates of their lords and found freedom under the shelter of the city walls. And after the feudatories had been transformed into citizens and the struggle between the Guelfs and the

Ghibellines was continued within the walls of the towns, at every triumph of the Guelfs the privileges of the arts [gilds] were extended to new classes of the population; and whenever the Ghibellines were triumphant they rehabilitated the meanest employments and raised the condition of the common people, whom they used as an arm against the bourgeoisie. Finally when the feudatories were rendered powerless and excluded from all share in the government of the towns, and when the bourgeois supremacy remained uncontested, it too split apart into two hostile factions, one composed of the well-to-do industrialists and the other made up of the common people, the small artisans, and apprentices.[10]

The Tuscan city of Florence in the thirteenth century is the typical and most characteristic example in inland Italy of this economic and social development just described, even as Milan is the typical inland Italian city of the twelfth. Economically backward and of only rudimentary material civilization in the eleventh century, when Tuscany was seized as a forfeited fief by the emperor (1115), the firm German rule established there, combined with the awakening of Italy to new commercial and industrial energy during the Crusades, gave Florence new impulse and opened the door of new opportunity to her. The German authority might be seated at San Miniato "al Tedesco" and find sympathetic support from Tuscan feudatories like the Aldobrandeschi family, which was said to own more castles than there are days in the year. But the steady invasion of the rural districts by urban capital slowly undermined their proprietorships. While emperor and pope fought over the reversion of the great heritage of the countess Matilda, Florence held aloof from either and was strictly attentive to business. Her policy was much like that to Milan in the preceding century—to crush her competitors. In consequence there was frequent war between Florence and Siena.

Siena stood isolated in southern Tuscany with no near allies. Lucca, ambitious to reach the sea, and involved in war with Pisa because of it, was cleverly used as a cat's-paw by the Florentines with the aim of acquiring the port for themselves and letting Lucca bear the cost of acquisition. That port was Pisa itself, which had enjoyed a practical monopoly of the maritime trade of Tuscany for years. Backed by Genoa, the Lucchese aggressively pushed their claims for a port. The emperor had too many irons in the fire to be able to come to her support. Siena was too far inland. In a panic of fear lest Genoa and Lucca together fall upon her, Pisa made the fatal blunder of appealing to Florence for assistance, and sealed her fate in the treaty of July 4, 1171.

In return for Florentine assistance the Pisans promised to "save and guard" the men of the Florentine state on land and on sea; to furnish a

[10] Loria, *Economic Foundations of Society*, pp. 192–194.

contingent of 400 knights whenever the Florentines should be engaged in war, . . . not to make peace or truce with Lucca without the consent of the Florentine consuls; to transport the goods and the persons of the Florentines by sea on the same terms as the wares of the Pisans themselves; to grant special exemptions with regard to riparian dues within the territories of Pisa; to provide a *domus* for the accommodation of Florentine merchants "in Forisporta," and two shops upon the bridge over the Arno.[11]

Without the loss of a single citizen or the expenditure of a penny Florence reached the sea and made Pisa her vassal.

Henceforth Florence's slow ascendancy in Tuscany became more rapid. In 1197, when Henry VI's designs alarmed all Italy, she formed the Guelf League, similar to the Lombard League in 1167, which facilitated her "peaceful penetration." The years 1209–14 saw the complete breakdown of German-imperial organization in Tuscany. The conflict between the papacy and Frederick II, who was hostile toward municipal development, drove Florence into the camp of the Guelfs and the arms of the pope. Urban IV rewarded her services by making Florence the fiscal seat of papal financial policy and opened the way for Florence to become a powerful banking centre. From 1215 onward for years the Guelf party, composed of rich merchants, the great gilds, and the money-lenders, controlled Florence. The heavy taxation upon Tuscany by the emperor's vicar in Tuscany and his own son-in-law, Frederick of Antioch, combined with papal intrigue and the agitation of the Franciscan friars, strengthened this alliance. It was a period of great commercial and industrial prosperity, but characterized also by "graft," administrative corruption, jobbery, financial confusion, and land-grabbing. Two examples at this season of constructive financial administration are the coinage of the gold florin (1252) and the institution of an income tax in Florence.

Florence's economic fame rested first upon her industries and later upon her commerce and her banking. Her major activity was industrial, not commercial. She could not get into the oriental commerce and the carrying trade, for she was not on the sea. The Crusades were of no direct help to her, though by the general revival of commerce Florence profited. Florence was not a middleman but a producer. Her problem was to find some ware of general or universal demand and to manufacture that ware. She seized upon the making of woolen cloth and developed it into a specialty. The Tuscan hills were admirably adapted to sheep-raising when agriculture was difficult and unremunerative. Sardinia provided an abundant supply of wool, other supplies came from Algarve, the southernmost province of Castille, from Languedoc

[11] Heywood, *Pisa*, 193.

in France, and from England.[12] The villages and monasteries round about Florence became sheepfolds and ranches.

The most famous of these establishments were the houses of the Humiliati, a monastic order in Lombard and Tuscan Italy—in Lombardy alone it had 150 houses—which were wholly given over to wool-growing. Tradition relates that the original group was formed of certain Milanese nobles whom Henry III deported to Germany and "humiliated" by long imprisonment, and that when released they returned home and founded a monastery. Another version attributes the origin of the Humiliati to the passionate preaching of St. Bernard at Milan in 1135. Neither tale is true. The origin of the Humiliati is to be found in a union of religious sentiment and economic distress. In the late eleventh century the Catharist heresy and its near analogue in Lombardy, the Pataria, were vehicles for the expression at once of religious zealotry and economic and social discontent, and were joined by thousands of poor artisans, especially wool-workers, who formed the proletariat of the Lombard towns. The old names disappeared in time but the condition and the group persisted, and in the middle of the twelfth century there sprang forth from this soil of misery and religious fervor the Order of the Humiliati, designed to provide regular and steady employment for these distressed workers in the towns. The members dwelt in austere and democratic simplicity, and devoted themselves to manual labor, in particular to weaving woolen cloth. This institution, half lay, half religious, at first was looked upon askance by the Church. Indeed, there is a certain resemblance between the ideals and the practices of the Humiliati and those of the Waldensians, the Joachimists, and the Franciscans. Pope Innocent III formally recognized the new order in 1201, imposed the monastic rule upon it and enjoined upon it the special duty of combating the Pataria and the Vaudois heretic movements.

But the Humiliati were more interested in practical charity relief than in preaching, and much preferred to devote themselves to sheep-raising and looking after the welfare of the lower laboring classes in the towns. The order has been aptly characterized as "a cross between a monastic order and an industrial gild."

In various places children were entrusted to the care of the Humiliati to be vocationally educated much as apprentices were trained up in the gilds. But the municipal authorities in the Lombard cities saw in the

[12] The English records show that in 1273 Italian merchants took 37% of the product; northern French merchants, 24%; those of Brabant, 17%; those of South France, 8%; German merchants, 6%; Flemings, 3%; and Spaniards, 1%. But it is to be said that trade relations between England and Flanders were suspended in 1273. Of Italian capital invested in the English wool trade, the Scotti of Piacenza had 21,400 marks, the Ricciardi of Lucca, 10,800, the Frescobaldi of Florence 8800, which shows that Florence was young in the business. See *English Hist. Rev.*, XXIV, pp. 399 ff.

growing wealth of the Humiliati a source of city revenue and on the ground that they were a semi-laic association, subjected them to taxation and forced loans, so that their houses gradually sold out in Lombardy and removed to friendlier Tuscany. Florence, busy, industrial Florence, always alert to good business, in 1239 invited the order to settle in her territory and to establish what we would call a manual training school for the education of wool-workers in the city.

Even before this date the Florentine woolen trade had developed seven industrial gilds (*arti*) which represented differentiated crafts of the single industry, as carders, fullers, and dyers. But two gilds were supreme, the *Lana* and the *Calimala*. The former made cloth from raw wool, both native and imported; the latter bought rough and inferior woolen goods in foreign markets, principally Flanders, and worked them over into fine, high-class goods. That this practice was profitable not only shows Florentine ingenuity, but also proves that the Florentine working classes possessed a high degree of technical skill. Indeed, in carding, combing, trimming, and especially in dyeing, Florence soon led all Europe. The fastest and most beautiful dyes known were Florentine colors. She searched the world for curious plants and minerals for this purpose. Many of the dyeing processes were secret ones, the formulas being known to only one or two members of a firm so engaged. How prodigiously Florence prospered may be indicated by the statement of Davidsohn, who has devoted a life of research to the history of medieval Florence, that in 1281 the city had a population of 45,000. We know that in 1331 it had 90,000, and her own native historian Villani says that in 1308 there were 30,000 engaged in the woolen industry in all its branches; two hundred shops turned out annually 80,000 bolts of cloth valued at 200,000 gold florins. Yet strangely enough in the thirteenth century Florence was indifferent to silk production and left that industry to Lucca, which as we have seen got its start from Palermo. From Lucca the mulberry and the silkworm spread all along the Riviera and into Provence. Only in the fourteenth century, in 1314, and then by violence, did Florence add silk manufacturing to her industries. In that year she made war on Lucca, ruined her trade, and deported most of the workmen of Lucca to Florence.

Florence played her cards with consummate skill in the bitter conflict between the popes and the emperor Frederick II—as consummately as the popes themselves, especially Innocent IV and Urban IV. The popes, it has been pointed out, espoused the communal movement in Italy and from the wealth of the cities drew their support, while the emperor leaned upon the old feudal aristocracy. Most of the cities, although not all, backed the pope, and the pope took good care to make it pay for them so to do.

Innocent III liberated the Romagna and Tuscany from German dom-

ination, and restored the patrimonies of the Church within the limits of Pepin's ancient donation. Gregory IX continued his predecessor's labors. The long war between the popes and Frederick II, which involved all Italy in its mazes, bankrupted many of the cities and ruined many of the nobles. The popes astutely used a portion of their enormous revenues to secure the adherence of the communes and the nobles by paying their debts and giving them back their lands as fiefs of the Holy See.

Yet it would be a wrong historical conclusion to think that the papacy was actuated wholly by self-interest in this protracted feud. "The germ of the future," it has been well said, "lay in the communes; they, and not the Empire, contained the principle of civilization. . . . The Church, as in the twelfth century, immediately made herself protectress of the burgher class and its liberties, and from these—the sources of the power of the age—drew forces to reinvigorate herself." For all its imperial ambition and imperious ways, the papacy in this policy was on the side of a broadening democracy. Unfortunately the new civic spirit was not proof against the brutality and licentiousness born of the bitter war, and when the issue of the freedom of the cities was won, they quarreled with each other and with the popes and the nobles, and thus sank into anarchy, and finally passed under the sway of hereditary local despots.

This is not the place to enter into the history of the rise and development of the enormous fiscal activities of the papacy. It is sufficient merely to say that in the thirteenth century that power became as great in Europe, whether for peace or for war, as the power of the great international banking houses of today. Since the pontificate of Gregory IX (1227–41) the important banking firms of the Italian cities had agencies in Rome and abroad, in France, Flanders, and England. Their chief function was to collect and transmit the Peter's Pence and other ecclesiastical revenues to Rome. But these papal clients united papal authority with their own fiscal influence to promote and protect their business operations. If an Italian merchant from Florence or Milan was robbed in France or England, or outrageously imposed upon by some feudal noble, or could not collect a foreign debt, the pope intervened in his behalf, and usually the pressure was successful. A close and profitable mutual self-interest drew the Italian mercantile class and the papacy together.

No Italian city was so successful as Florence in its relations with the Holy See. It is in the thirteenth century that the foundations of the great banking houses of Florence were laid—the Albertini, Albizzi, Ardiccioni, Bardi, Bellicozzi, Ildobrandini, Borgo, Filippi, Gualfredi, Scala, Cerchi, Deomidiedi, Rimbertini, Frescobaldi, Acquerelli, Leoni, Monaldi, Rocci, Scotti, Marcoaldi, Tedaldi, Spigliati.

These banking houses steadfastly supported the popes in their struggle with Frederick II and got their reward. In like manner in 1268

they looked upon the expedition of Charles of Anjou for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily as a profitable speculation and liberally financed it. The success of Aragon in promoting the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, whereby the rich island of Sicily was lost to the Angevin dynasty, was a severe blow to the Florentine bankers, but a worse for Charles II of Naples, whose whole realm was practically in pawn to them and he himself a Florentine pensioner. For *portoria,* mines, salt pans, forests, etc. were in their hands as security for loans to him and his father. They controlled the corn and silk trade of southern Italy.

All this material prosperity had the effect of creating a Guelf plutocracy in Florence, which manipulated the government, imposed taxes, directed foreign policy. The result was a fierce political and class struggle within the city after 1280, in which the old party names Guelf and Ghibelline still figured but had lost their former significance and acquired a new meaning. "To the artisan a rich banker was as obnoxious as a feudal noble." In June, 1282, when news of the Sicilian Vespers reached Florence, a revolution of the artisans and the proletariat took place, which was essentially a revolt of the Florentine democracy and industrial classes against the Guelf plutocracy.

> The struggle was in its essence economic; hence the fight against the magnates was fiercest inside the gilds themselves, the heads of which had been looked on rather as opponents than as colleagues. In the years which followed . . . one measure after another was aimed at the rich. The manumission of the serfs and the creation of the Council of the Hundred, a definitely middle-class assembly, are instances of this process. Yet the dissatisfaction on the part of the *populo minuto* was still rampant. Many of the officials were practically tools of the Guelf magnates, corruption and bribery were rife. Finally in December, 1292, the four gilds of the Butchers, shoemakers, smiths, and masons took the lead and presented formal demands for reform.[13]

The movement in 1293 was

> a decisive step towards the subjection of the plutocracy and feudal nobility, which had already for more than a decade formed the purport of the internal struggles; it was a natural consequence of the circumstances which led to the creation of the office of the priors, and it decided the question whether an oligarchy of old families and *nouveaux riches* should rule on the Arno, or whether the people should decide the fate of their native city.

In the conflict between the greater gilds (*arti maggiori*) and the lesser gilds, and the party struggle between the aristocracy and the democracy

[13] *English Historical Review,* XXVI, 372–373 (review of Davidsohn's Geschichte von Florenz).

in Florence, the bankers again played an important part. There are economic or rather monetary influences in the origin of the Bianchi and the Neri. The big employers astutely paid wages in depreciated silver currency and kept their gold. As silver fell to one-sixth its former value in 1296 this practice caused riots.

In the energetic struggle of Florence for the economic hegemony of Tuscany, her greatest rival was Siena. But Siena, despite the brave fight which she made for greatness, was fore-doomed from the beginning to failure. Like Florence she suffered the disadvantage of being situated inland and was without a port. Unlike Florence she never was able to reach the sea. Moreover, she was a hill town, not like Florence set in a rich bowl, and the country round about was far less rich than that around Florence. Finally Siena even suffered from lack of water supply. The two tiny streams which she possessed, the Elsa and the Ombrone, were mere brooks liable to dry up in summer. Accordingly Siena never was able to develop those staple industries, cloth-making and tanning. Her one important economic advantage was that she lay on the Via Francigena, the great road runing along the coast from Provence to Rome, a road crowded with pilgrims and merchants from the earliest days of the revival of trade. This highway pointed the way to Sienese prosperity—it was the Champagne Fairs, where the first record of their appearance is 1216. That the profits of Sienese merchants in this trade were huge is shown by the fact that ere long we find Siena blossoming out as a banking centre also. This development, in turn, drew her into the lucrative orbit of papal finance. There still stands a medieval house in Siena built in 1234 by one of the earliest of Siena's capitalists, Angelieri Solafica, on the front of which may be read the inscription: *Campsor Domini papæ Gregorii IX.* The greatest banking house was that of the Buonsignori, called the Magna Tavola or "Grand Table," the name being derived from the table of the money-changer. In 1289 its capital amounted to the then huge sum of 35,000 gold florins. It loaned money to emperors, popes, princes, cities.

It was not long before all this prosperity excited the implacable hostility of Florence. War and border conflict between the two rivals for Tuscan hegemony were almost chronic in the thirteenth century. But in spite of the smashing victory which Siena gained over Florence in the battle of Montaperti (1260), neither Siena's resources nor her political acumen were comparable to the wealth and diplomacy of Florence. It may be a tribute to her loyalty and her sentiment that in the protracted struggle between the emperors and the popes, Siena remained Ghibelline, but it was fatal political judgment. The inexorable popes left no stone unturned to discomfit their foes. In November, 1260, less than six months after Montaperti, the pope smote Siena with the interdict. The effect was calamitous. Many of the Sienese banking houses went

to the wall. Sienese merchants in France at the fairs of St. Gilles, Beaucaire, and Champagne were ruined because they could not collect the bills owing to them. When, however, Siena obdurately struggled yet, the pope menaced them with the final and formidable weapon of destruction—the accusation of Catharist heresy and a crusade. Monstrous as the allegation was, the fanaticism and cupidity which had characterized the terrible Albigensian Crusades in southern France earlier in the century was sufficient to awaken fear of a repetition of them. Florence, which boasted of her "orthodoxy" and catholic zeal, gloated over the discomfiture of her rival. If Manfred and Conradin, the romantic successors of Frederick II, had succeeded in restoring imperial sway in Italy, Siena would have won through. But the failure of the Hohenstaufen cause in all Italy, followed by the triumph of Charles of Anjou, the papal choice for king of Naples and Sicily, broke Siena's hopes. The bankruptcy of the Gran Tavola ruined the city—a failure in which Pope Nicholas IV lost 80,000 florins, but was nevertheless satisfied because this strongly Ghibelline place at last was broken. An interesting result of this ruin of other Tuscan cities was that many of the broken families there drifted into Florence. Dante resented this immigration and saw in this infiltration a sign of decadence. Beatrice's family was one of these refugees, from Fiesole. She married Simon de' Bardi of the great banking house of that name. The popes, however, were astute enough to use their victory clemently. They had no mind to get themselves wholly in the financial clutches of the bankers of Florence, and so renewed their fiscal relations with what banking houses survived in Siena. But numbers of houses had failed; others had removed to Provence, still others settled in Florence, where they lived upon the crumbs the rich bankers there were willing to feed them. Siena continued to live, but much of her territory, much of her banking, had passed to the city on the Arno. In her distress she nobly sought compensation in spiritual things and in the fourteenth century Sienese art rose to the height of its achievement.

Something remains to be said before we conclude this survey of the economic and social history of Italy during the period of the Crusades, in regard to the general culture features which characterize the epoch.

The fascination which the Italian Renaissance has had for the minds of men has somewhat blinded us to the darker and baser features of that movement, which were coeval with and contemporary with the birth of Italian literature and art. Most of the abuses and licentiousness of great and sudden wealth, whose phenomena the world in these later years has had the unfortunate opportunity of observing, are to be found in Italian society in the thirteenth century. The rise of a capitalistic system created a peculiarly obnoxious class of *nouveaux riches,* fond of ostentation and display, given to vulgar luxury, loud in manners, un-

scrupulous, and uncharitable. They were the *nuova gente* whom Dante held up to scorn. Of them it may be said, as Dr. Johnson said of a similar class of nabobs in England in the eighteenth century: "They had lost the civility of tradesmen without acquiring the manners of gentlemen." Their business practices were as avaricious and unscrupulous as their manners were bad. Mortgage broking and usury were universal. The fortune of the Gianfigliazzi family was made by a merciless practice of mortgage and foreclosure. The father of Beatrice, Dante's ideal of womanhood, Folso Portinari, owed his wealth to money-lending at enormous rates of interest. It is told of Francesco d'Accorso, a professor in the university (who must have been better paid than university professors today), that "he found his most profitable victims in his own pupils."

The chronic and constant warfare on land between rival cities, the piracy on sea in violence and destruction must have far exceeded the destruction of ancient feudal warfare. Those inclined to arraign the feudal age as an age of iron have reason to pause to think before expressing judgment. But Europe in the thirteenth century could bear such terrific losses because her wealth was far greater than before, and the profits of trade were so great that they canceled all losses, however disastrous, and still left a balance of profit.

With the destruction of the abuses of feudalism Italy in the thirteenth century had also destroyed its virtues: its deep personal sense of duty and of honor, its recognition of law, its aristocratic and clean pride, its respect for class, its idea of the nobility of service, its reverence for holy church. The feudal baron was usually more callous to suffering than actually cruel. But the man of the thirteenth century, especially in defeudalized and sophisticated Italy, was frequently deliberately and maliciously cruel. His wars instead of being petty family feuds or struggles to assert his "rights" (which at bottom are ideas and not primarily motivated by desire of material aggrandizement) were wars for territory or for markets or to destroy a competitor, in short for sheer selfish material advancement. The newborn bourgeoisie was gross in manners, carnal in morals, gluttonous in eating, avaricious for gain, and totally without the refinement, the culture, the love of the finer amenities which centuries of breeding had created in the old feudal aristocracy. One has only to contrast gentlemen like William Marshal in England, Joinville, St. Louis, and ladies like Marguerite of Provence or Blanche of Castile in France, with the brutal soldiers of fortune and *nouveaux riches* boors in Italian towns to feel the difference. The so-called private wars of the feudal age—or even the depredations of robber barons—pale into insignificance when compared with the inter-urban wars and party strife that prevailed in every Italian city. The *Autobiography* of Fra Salimbene, an Italian Franciscan who lived in

the thirteenth century and saw much of the country in his travels, is a record few can read without a shudder. The cruelties of an Ezzelino da Romano, if practised in the twelfth century, would have staggered Europe. The cruelest man the feudal age perhaps produced, Thomas de Marne, in the reign of Louis VI of France, was merely brutal when his deeds are compared with the refined and monstrous tortures inflicted by Ezzelino. Yet Ezzelino is not an isolated example. He is a type whereof Italy produced many later on in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is one of the singular marvels of Italy in the thirteenth century that with so much avarice, lust, brutality, infamy in her composition she also could produce so much that was beautiful and true and worthy of good report.

Dante, born in Florence in 1265, and moralist and patriot as well as poet, felt deeply this moral degradation and decay of social standards in his country and knew that the source of it was in its immense and rapidly acquired wealth, a wealth without the tradition of responsibility and service which attached to feudal property in the best days of feudalism. Looking backward to those "good old times," he sees Florence "without necklace or coronal, nor dames with ornamented shoes nor girdle which was gazed at more than her person." Marriages then were not made for fortunes and rich dowries. Luxury had not come in. Houses were built for comfortable dwelling, not for ostentation. Ladies did not paint their faces. Emigration from the fields into the towns to the injury of the latter, had not come in. "The confusion of persons has ever been the beginning of the harm of the city." The simple life was then. "The costly clove"—an allusion to the extravagant indulgence in rich spices—had not yet corrupted. "The new people and sudden gain have produced pride and arrogance and excess."

Of course we must discount the excess of this indictment. It is the utterance of an exile and a bitterly disillusioned dreamer. Yet the basic charge must stand that Italy in the thirteenth and succeeding centuries was intensely materialistic, a seeker after gain, fleshly.

CHAPTER XVIII

FRANCE DURING THE CRUSADES (1095–1270) *

LIKE Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "France" was a geographical expression, not a united political entity. The history of the country must be studied in the various feudal provinces, each of which preserved strong local attachments and local traditions. According as these provinces were inland or faced some sea, whether the English Channel, the Atlantic, or the Mediterranean, according to river flow or accessibility to Alpine passes, according to nature of the soil and agricultural condition, according to difference of blood and language, the provinces of France widely differed, one from another.

Even before the political expansion of the French monarchy under Philip II Augustus (1180–1223) and St. Louis IX (1226–70), the great feudatories had measurably succeeded in establishing a settled form of government in their provinces. By 1150 the most turbulent period of feudalism was past, thanks to the firmer government of the great nobles, among whom must be included bishops and abbots. The grand historic provinces were rounding and settling into new form. Such were Flanders, Champagne, Burgundy, Normandy, Anjou, Poitou, Guienne, Gascony, Toulouse, Provence. This condition of improving peace and order facilitated trade and protected industry, and both of these economic activities advanced in the twelfth century. The peasantry experienced material improvement in their lot. The progress of agriculture, commerce, industry reflects the growing life of France. In conversation one day with Walter Map, Louis VII contrasted the resources of Henry II of England with his own in France. "The king of England," he said, "lacks nothing: men, horses, gold and silk, jewels, fruits, harvests, game. We in France have nothing except bread and wine and gladness." In a nutshell, I think, this sums up the economic and social life of the people—not of France in the larger sense of the whole kingdom, but of the Ile-de-France, the basin of the Seine, the king's own domains.

In the twelfth century all the great zone of provinces round about it pertained to feudatories, many of whom were stronger than the king himself. Except for Paris and Orleans, what were his little towns in comparison with the capitals of his vassals?

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 69; *cf.* 76.

In the second half of the twelfth century Paris was still but one among the great cities of France. Even in the limited Francia of that period, Paris, Étampes, and Orleans, could be mentioned in the same breath, and beyond its borders Rouen, Tours, Bordeaux, Toulouse were the centres of districts which were independent in a social and economic as well as in a political sense.[1]

To this Ile-de-France the kings gave sedulous attention. Small as it was, it was a goodly heritage. The Seine flowed straight across it from the centre of the kingdom to the Channel. The Loire touched it on the south. Of the two eastern affluents of the Seine, the Oise led to the growing cities of Flanders, the Marne into the Rhinelands. The soil was famous for its fertility, and wheat and wine grew in profusion. A poet of the eleventh century celebrates the fertility of the fields of Brie and compares the site of Meaux to the Elysian Fields. He boasts of the plums, the pears, the vegetables of the region; he praises the herds of cattle, the cheese, the crops. "If you love Ceres," he ecstatically exclaims, "you will see the richest harvests at Meaux. You will find there cellars to receive the gifts of Bacchus. It is a rich and fertile country."

The development and improvement of Paris was naturally one of the most immediate interests of the French kings. The growing material improvement of Paris is reflected in the great amount of river-borne trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The twelfth century was the era of gild origin and spread, and some of the earliest of such organizations were *marchands de l'eau,* or associations of watermen who combined transportation with merchandising. The hanse of Paris appears in 1121, and is the first one of record. It controlled navigation on the middle Seine. The lower Seine was monopolized by a similar organization at Rouen; the upper Seine and the Yonne, by a third hanse of Burgundian merchants, whose base was at Auxerre. The origin of this and other gilds of watermen is obscure. Is it possible that they were descended from the old Roman *nautæ,* of whom there were many associations upon nearly every river of Roman Gaul? Or is the source of these riverain hanses to be found in the *ministeriales* (occupational serfs) of the monasteries, who plied the barges of the abbeys in the peaceful time of Charlemagne, and who shook themselves free from feudal control in the ninth and tenth centuries? However much we may wish to connect these watermen of the Seine at Paris in the twelfth century with the ancient Roman *nautæ Parisiaci,* it must frankly be admitted that historical affiliation between the two organizations cannot be proved. We have already seen in a former chapter that there was a colony of *marchands de l'eau* at Paris in 861, and other writers have conjectured that this group survived through the early feudal age and

[1] Powicke, *Loss of Normandy,* 10.

issued into the light and received royal recognition from King Louis VI. But this hypothesis, too, has been declared to be "too devoid of proof." A third theory and one which has received most acceptance is that the Parisian hanse was formed by the merchants of Paris plying up and down the Seine after the Norman Conquest of England in order to protect themselves against the competition of Rouen, whose commerce was powerfully stimulated by the union of Normandy and England. Whatever the answer be, there is no doubt that the appearance of these gilds of bargemen and merchants upon the Seine in the twelfth century betokens an awakening commerce.

Under Philip Augustus the hanse of Paris became the corporation of the city, being at once a trading company and the government of Paris. Paris never was a commune as some other cities of France. The city was corporately represented by the Parisian hanse, a merchant group at the head of which was a *prévôt des marchands*. His under officials were known as the *échevins de la marchandise*. Louis VII in 1170 confirmed their ancient customs. It controlled the wine and salt trade, licensed dealers and peddlers, granted *criages*, or the right to cry wares in the streets, regulated weights and measures, fixed octrois and other taxes. The hanse had a quay in Paris, another at the confluence of the Yonne with the Seine, a third at Mantes. The king endeavored in vain to combine the three companies operating on the Seine into one company. The spirit of the times was against it. Even after Normandy was conquered from England in 1204 it was impossible, although in the matter of wine the king forbade merchants of Rouen the privilege to bring Spanish and Portuguese wines and wines from the Gironde through the port of Rouen to Paris, while at the same time wines of Burgundy and the Ile-de-France were brought downstream to Rouen. Merchants at Rouen whose ancient practice was to import salt from the Bay of Biscay could not sell salt in Paris on any part of the Ile-de-France without a patent from the *marchands de l'eau* of Paris.

Before the Capetian revolution in 987 the city of Paris was technically limited to the Ile-de-la-Cité. The faubourgs on either bank, especially the left, were without the walls. The early Capetians began the process of expansion. Louis VI was the first to stretch his protecting arm over the population in the faubourgs and the scattered people round about on both banks. He built the château of St. Germain, on a curve of the Seine, as an advanced fortress to defend Paris to the northwest and protected the city on the north and south by the erection of the Grand and the Petit Châtelet, and walled the faubourgs in. The lines of circumvallation may still be traced in many places by the streets of the actual city. In course of time this girdle became too narrow for the growing capital. In 1188, just before leaving on the Third Crusade Philip Augustus recognized the necessity of extending the city limits

and ordered the construction of a new wall, which may also yet be traced by the streets. Its erection took twenty-one years. On the right bank of the river where the attacks of the Northmen in the ninth century had shown a weak point, the king erected the famous donjon of the Louvre some paces outside of the walls.

At his accession in 1180 Philip II paved two streets which crossed Paris from north to south and from east to west, intersecting at the Tour St. Jacques. But the paving of the Cité was not completed for a hundred years yet. He also was the first to give Paris an aqueduct and erected two fountains, one in the market-place, the other by the cemetery of the Innocents. Both of these places were situated in a marshy tract known as the Champeaux, which Louis VI had partly drained and where he founded a market. Philip walled in the burial ground, and in the market square erected porticoes (*halles*) for merchandise. These *halles* had their origin in the galleries which surrounded the ancient Roman forum, underneath which were stores. Another famous French example of this arcade form of market was that at Saumur, which Henry II erected and which is described by Joinville, who compared it to a Cistercian cloister. The comparision was an apt one, for the monastic cloister was architecturally an ancient Roman atrium, flanked by arcades. This type became a common form of market-place in many late medieval towns, as at Bruges. Examples even yet survive. The type lasted until as late as the sixteenth century. They were sometimes the property of a noble, lay or clerical; sometimes they were municipal market-places. At Paris in the time of Louis IX there were two cloth *halles;* later each corporation had its own quarters. The Flemish cities erected magnificent edifices such as the cloth halls at Bruges, Arras, Ypres, Ghent; the provision markets at Ghent, Ypres, and later Antwerp. The finest examples were the cloth hall of Ypres begun in 1201 and finished in 1304, and that at Bruges. Alphonse de Poitiers, brother of Louis IX, erected similar establishments at La Rochelle and Niort, as did Louis VIII at Pont-Audemer. The French kings were generous in building market halls in the towns of conquered English provinces. It was part of their policy of conciliation.

The boast of a French historian writing in the first years of the reign of Philip II that Paris was *regni caput et sedes regia* (the head of the realm and the royal seat) is true. Bartholomew of England praises the building stone and cement around Paris and extols the architecture of the city. Philip II was the first French king who manifested a clear perception of the value of trade and sought to promote it. While doubt may be cast on Louis VII's alleged permission to keelmen of Rouen to come upstream as far as Mantes in order to promote traffic on the Seine, there is no doubt of Philip II's determined desire to acquire free port rights on the Channel.

The conquest by Philip Augustus in 1204–1205 of the English fiefs of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou had both important economic motives and economic results. Beyond doubt in the twelfth century Normandy was the most prosperous region of northern France, and except for Flanders probably the most densely populated. The early disappearance of serfdom in Normandy undoubtedly was due in part to the increase of Norman commerce and industry, for there is everywhere observable in medieval Europe a close connection between active trade and a free peasantry. Perhaps some of this great prosperity was due to inheritance of that commercial precocity of the early vikings, but much of it was certainly owing to the intelligent and efficient rule of the English kings as dukes of Normandy. Professor Powicke has declared that in the twelfth century Normandy was "the most advanced and self-sufficient country in Europe." The gild of Rouennese merchants "enjoyed in London and all the ports of England the same privileges enjoyed by the English merchants, and they paid only the royal tax." There was so much of commerce in both directions "that no page of the merchants' books but was full, and the merchants of Rouen were as powerful as the lords of Normandy." In the period between 1150, when the city's charter was granted, and 1204, "Rouen reached the height of its power and its ports became a vast emporium for the merchants of the north and the south." Its tanneries were famous. Its ships and traders must have been familiar with the principal markets of Europe, and her imports and exports must have been varied and many. The fisheries of Caen were profitable. Dieppe and Barfleur plied an active cross-Channel traffic. But Calais remained a small fishing place until in 1190 Henry of Louvain, duke of Brabant, constructed a harbor there with breastworks against the sea. Within ten years its commercial importance grew so that Richard I granted its merchants special royal letters of safeguard and exempted them from tonlieux. In 1196 a gildhall was erected. Calais's fishing boats were many in the Channel and the North Sea, and its herring and cod trade large. Spanish and Portuguese wine ships also put in at Calais.

Interlocked both politically and commercially with Normandy were the other Plantagenet fiefs.

Western Normandy is found to have peculiar affinities with the counties of the Loire. . . . The old cities of Poitiers and Tours held the lower valley of the Loire and the roads to the north from Poitiers; indeed the strip of road which passes through a geological gap from Tours to Poitiers commanded throughout the Middle Ages the whole of northwestern France and was the key to north and south. . . . Tours dominated the passage from north to south. From this great city roads radiated towards Blois and Orleans, Dreux and Rouen, Le Mans and Caen, Angers and Nantes, Poitiers and Bordeaux. . . . The Plantagenets shared in the benefit which the

merchants from Flanders and Navarre who passed each other in the great south road, or the pilgrims bound for Compostella who crowded the streets by the noble abbey of St. Martin, brought to the citizens of Tours.[2]

Angevin wines competed with those of Médoc and the Côte d'Or in Burgundy; Nantes and La Rochelle were harbors whose shipping plied to England, Ireland, Portugal, and Spain; Touraine was a pearl among provinces and its capital city, Tours, on the straight highway from the north to the southwest of France, was perhaps the busiest midland city in the realm. At the beginning of the thirteenth century Poitou was prosperous. In the interior Niort, St. Jean d'Angely were populous and rich towns, rich especially in vineyards and wine, in which there was a considerable export trade. Niort, situated on the Sèvre, which at that time was navigable, shipped not only wines, but also the grain and wool of the region to Flanders and to Spain. The white wines of St. Jean d'Angely were famous.

The complex of rivers in the western provinces of France—Vienne, Clain, Cher, Lot, Dordogne—is quite as remarkable as that of the northeast, watering the plains for vineyards and pasturage, and affording easy communication. No one can understand the economy of France without perceiving the value of these rivers in the making of Poitiers, Angoulême, Limoges, Périgueux, Agen, and above all Bordeaux, the queen city of the southwest on the estuary of the Garonne. Tucked into the corner where the Pyrenees thrust their western promontory into the sea lay Bayonne, with the plain of Gascony, famous for its horses and cattle, as a hinterland, and every part of it accessible by the Adour and its affluents. Guienne and Gascony, English fiefs, were in commercial connection both by land and by sea with Normandy, Flanders, and England. The marriage of Richard I with Berengaria of Navarre stimulated trade between Plantagenet Gascony and Castille.

The swift and complete conquest of the great fiefs of the English empire in France is usually attributed to the might and craft of the French monarch and the folly of his rival, John. But we lose sight of an economic reason unless we find the principal cause in the exhaustive taxation of the Plantagenets. The history of the public revenues of Normandy as revealed by the master historian of medieval Normandy, Leopold Delisle, tells the story. The glory of the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion cost his subjects dear. When he went upon the Third Crusade he alienated all his domain, says William of Newburgh. But this ruinous preliminary act was nothing in comparison with the results of the expedition.

The ransom of the king exhausted his states. It amounted to 150,000 marks, equivalent to $500,000 today, and the burden fell most heavily

[2] Powicke, *op. cit.* 11–13.

upon the English provinces in France, on Normandy most heavily of all, which alone paid almost one-third more than the realm of England. When Richard was released and returned to Normandy heavy additional taxation was imposed upon Normandy for the erection of Château Gaillard on the Seine above Rouen in order to guard the duchy against French invasion. This famous castle cost over $150,000, all of which was imposed in a single year. The distress increased under the misgovernment of King John. Normandy approached financial exhaustion; the treasury at Caen was empty and England was heavily drawn upon to satisfy the Norman deficit. The treasury rolls of the fifth year of John's reign show that large sums of English money were sent across sea to Normandy. These conditions are enough to explain the ease of Philip Augustus' conquests. Under Richard the prestige of glory still sustained the zeal of the Normans; under John Lackland there was not even this consolation. No opposition was made to the French conquest and "the Normans were glad to forget a domination which had ended by plunging them into misery. Only the bishops and those nobles who forfeited their lands in England regretted the change." John's levy of a fifteenth on all French merchants in Normandy in 1204 was his own ruin and Philip II's opportunity.

Philip II was shrewd enough to conciliate his new subjects by generous treatment. Rouen's communal privileges were confirmed and he gave the city the monopoly of the trade with Ireland, a trade already centuries old, for it went back to the time of the viking kingdom in Dublin and the period when commercial intercourse prevailed between all the colonies founded by the Norsemen. He abolished the abuses which John had introduced and gave burgher privileges to Caen, Pont-Audemer, and lesser towns, He liberated markets and fairs from the more onerous tolls which the ambition of Richard and the avarice of John had imposed. South of the Loire he adopted the same adroit means of conciliation. Poitiers, Niort, St. Jean d'Angely, and Limoges were granted burgher franchises. Foreign merchants coming to the fair of Poitiers were exempted from dues. "It is in the acts of the king," continues the historian already quoted, "that one may study the measures taken in the conquered provinces. He confiscated the possessions of the nobles who refused to forsake their former allegiance; he introduced new families; he conceded new privileges or confirmed old privileges to towns and abbeys."

The numerous little ports along the Channel coast were hard hit, however, by the French conquest of Normandy, and in them deep resentment against the French long persisted. The Channel swarmed with English privateers and even pirates who carried on a war of retaliation for many years after all English hope of recovery of the "lost provinces" had vanished. The documents of the English chancery prove that the

English government had a very real hope of recovering Normandy (Henry III's lenient course toward Norman merchants and sailors is an indication), which ought to have been dissipated when, in 1244, Louis IX declared that all nobles of England who had possessions in France had to relinquish their property in one country or the other. Naturally the French crown attempted to stop the growth of a pro-English feeling in Normandy and therefore seized English merchants and their goods found in French ports. Henry III rarely resorted to reprisal, at least so far as Norman shipping was concerned. French fishing boats were especially well treated. The strained relations with England, until the peace of 1259, vexed the Channel and Biscayan trade for many years, and border war sometimes devastated the frontier in the west between the English provinces there and France proper. "The English king," records Matthew Paris, "when he heard of the French king's successes, sent orders to the wardens of the Cinque Ports to injure in every possible way the traders and others belonging to the French kingdom who should be traveling by sea."

The war of 1224–27 was in part a commercial war. When the conflict first broke out both kings freely permitted merchants to travel in their respective lands until July 9, 1224. After that date Henry III granted individual safe-conducts to certain merchants of Rouen and Dieppe and other places in Normandy. When La Rochelle fell into the hands of the French the port was closed to English shipping, and several cargoes of wine from Aunis, which a captain of Rye had at Rochelle, were confiscated. In retaliation French merchants in English ports and at English fairs were seized and French ships in the Channel were taken into English ports or else to the island of Guernsey. Cross-Channel commerce was wholly interrupted. La Rochelle thus saw itself deprived of its former lucrative English market to the profit of Bordeaux, henceforth without a rival in the English trade. In retaliation for the losses the French and English port towns sustained, they all resorted to privateering and to piracy. Every harbor was guarded by a huge chain slung across its entrance. At night after the gates were closed huge Irish mastiff dogs were loosed to roam the streets. The dogs of St. Malo in Brittany were very famous and the oldest "dog watch" known, for it was established in 1155—and singularly enough, not abolished until 1770!

In 1226 Henry III ordered the seizure of all French merchants in the ports of London, Sandwich, and Southampton and the sequestration of their goods. The measure was extended in December to Hartlepool, in January, 1227, to French merchants at the fairs of Stamford, St. Ives, and St. Botolph. The interdiction, however, was raised during the year in favor of vessels laden with grain, wines, and provisions. The proceedings were very arbitrary, for even subjects of Henry III, vessel

owners from Bordeaux and Bayonne, suffered, since they were alternately held in port or compelled to set sail without apparent reason. We do not know whether the government of France treated English merchants with the same rigor. But in 1227 there is record of the seizure of a ship of Bordeaux by a merchant privateer out of Barfleur. The severity of the English government was, however, relaxed in certain circumstances in consideration of commercial interest. The Normans especially were spared, perhaps because the king of England still hoped to regain the loyalty of the people. In 1224 when French ships and French merchandise were sequestrated throughout all England, a Norman ship from Dieppe, which had been seized at Newcastle, was released and allowed to return home. A ship from Rouen was released at King's Lynn; a Dieppe vessel at Shoreham. In 1227 eight vessels from Barfleur were set free.

The French acquisition of the English fiefs in northern France, while the greatest, was not the sole territorial acquisition of the French monarchy in the time of Philip Augustus. For the king almost put his foot in French Flanders by acquiring Amiens, St. Quentin, Péronne, and Vermandois, and made the Somme a French river. In extending his sway over Artois and Vermandois (Picardy) Philip II showed that he had a quick eye for trade and the revenues derived from commercial intercourse. For situated at the crossing of the ancient Roman road from Cambrai to Amiens with that from Arras to Rheims was Bapaume. As far back as the ninth or tenth century a *castrum* had guarded this intersection, for the forest of Argonne near by was a dangerous haunt of robbers. Around this castle in course of time a group of houses had been built where wayfarers, pilgrims, and wandering merchants found lodgment. The locality belonged to the counts of Flanders, who in the eleventh century established a toll-gate at Bapaume where four roads met. When the French king acquired Artois, Bapaume fell to him. Practically all the merchandise between Flanders and the Champagne Fairs was compelled to pass through Bapaume. It was the key to the route through middle Europe from Flanders to Provence, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. In 1202 the king ordained that "all goods whatsoever coming from Flanders, whether bound for France (meaning the Ile-de-France), or Burgundy, or Champagne, or Provence, or the Pyreneean countries, shall pay toll at Bapaume." Secondary bureaux at Compiègne, Péronne and Crépy-en-Valois intercepted lesser routes of trade. In these bureaux French officials inspected all goods, examined all papers. From 1202 to 1442 we have an almost complete record of the tolls of Bapaume which tells us the rates imposed, the countries whence the merchants came, the wares they brought. In addition to natural products of the provinces round about, immense quantities of dried or smoked fish, herring especially, from the North Sea, and Flem-

ish cloth passed through, meeting en route the luxuries imported from the Orient like silk and pepper, Toledo steel, Italian manufactures, Arabic leather, ivory, dyes, feathers, alum from Tunis. The bearers of this intricate trade were a motley derived from all nations—Levantine Jews, Italians, Provençals, Spaniards, French, Flemish, English, Germans.

The policy of Philip Augustus marks a new attitude of medieval government toward commerce and merchants. Feudal practice hitherto had made it lawful in time of war to seize the goods of foreign merchants in payment of debts owed by their compatriots. But in 1185, when Philip II was at war with the count of Flanders, he proclaimed that merchants of Flanders, Vermandois, and Ponthieu, enemy territories, might come to the Fairs of Champagne without fear for forty days. In 1193 similar immunity was again declared for Flemish merchants. In 1199 navigation on the Somme from Corbie to the sea was allowed them, subject only to the customary tolls. In 1209 foreign merchants coming to the Champagne Fairs were taken under royal protection. The king was energetic, too, in protecting French merchants abroad. One may still read one of his letters preserved in the London archives, addressed to the chief justiciar of England, in which in peremptory language Philip II demands settlement of an account of certain merchants of Amiens who had sold some wheat in England for which they could not collect.

From this survey of the economic history of the provinces of northern France we may now turn to a consideration of those in the south. It is a striking fact that though John's weakness and Henry III's incompetency relaxed the hold of England on its provinces in northern France, England kept possession of Gascony and Guienne. This is explained on economic grounds in part. By allying with the wine merchants in the towns of Gascony against the nobles and the French king, John and later Henry III were able to hold these districts. Bordeaux, Bayonne, Dax, and other cities—many of which were given charters—remained loyal to English rule through the disorder and warfare. The wine trade of Bordeaux with England was very large and the city had many privileges.

In the Midi spread the broad plain of the Languedoc, composed of the great county of Toulouse and its satellite fiefs. Its ports upon the Mediterranean—Marseilles, Agde, Montpellier, Narbonne—waxed fat during the first century of the Crusades and were the exits for export of the vast agricultural supplies the plain behind them produced. In no province of France save Flanders was industry—and again especially cloth-making—so advanced as in the towns of the Midi. Millions of sheep were raised in the half-arid and broken hill country of the Cevennes; the slopes of the Pyrenees raised nearly as many more, and

the fleeces from both regions found their way to the looms of Albi (then as now the most important wool-manufacturing city of the south of France), Montauban, Nimes, Toulouse, Cahors—the last, however, more famous for the making of canvas called "cahorsian cloth," and much sought by Mediterranean sailors. The transportation of pilgrims, soldiery, and merchandise to the Holy Land gave an impulse to the maritime cities of southern France only less great than the stimulus felt by Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. By the end of the twelfth century Marseilles and Montpellier possessed *fondachi* at St. Jean d'Acre, Constantinople, Tyre, Beirut, and Alexandria. Narbonne had established trade with Egypt. The Fair of St. Gilles was frequented by Flemings, Germans, English, Normans, French, Gascons, Spaniards, Genoese, Pisans, Sicilians, Mohammedan traders from southern Spain, the African emirates (Tunis and Kairwan). Count Charles the Good of Flanders (died 1127) purchased a gold and jeweled trick drinking cup at St. Gilles, which was the pride of his treasure.

Agriculture and industry everywhere in the Midi were subordinated to commerce. The fortunate location of the country, facing the Mediterranean and forming as it were a bridge between northern and western Europe and the Mediterranean markets, was a potent factor in encouraging commerce and trade. It was the natural highway over which the commerce of the North and West, and that of the South and East, passed. Everything on the trade lists of Orient and Occident was on the commercial records of the Languedocian towns. Wines, oils, spices, silks, linens, furs, shoes, skins, lumber, iron, steel, copper, brass, coal-tar, licorice, sugar, rice, fruits, and meats of every variety were the principal commercial commodities.

Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, wrote that Montpellier was happily situated for commerce, and that it was visited by the merchants of all countries, Christian and also Mohammedan. According to his account there were traders from Egypt, Greece, Italy, Africa, Spain, and England. Montpellier belonged to Aragon in the thirteenth century and was the greatest commercial port of the Midi, surpassing Marseilles. It was the gateway of the bulk of French trade into the Mediterranean. So acute was the commercial spirit of the town that when the monks of Cluny applied for admission they were required first to establish a public market and admit merchants and merchandise, and then they were allowed to build their necessary dwellings and fortresses. The commerce of the town was world-wide. She traded with Spain, with whom she bore a natural affinity in language and custom, with Italy and Sicily, with the north of France and of Europe, and naturally a network of trade routes joined her to the neighboring towns of the Midi—Albi, Nimes, Carcassonne, Béziers, Agde, and others. Narbonne was also a

celebrated commercial city. Her markets were less numerous than those of Montpellier, but touched as many countries.

In 1236 Raymond de Conchis, in company with Gerard Oliver, the consul for Marseilles in Acre, came as ambassador from Montpellier to the Court of King Henry I of Cyprus and negotiated a treaty granting commercial privileges in Famagusta to merchants of Marseilles, Montpellier, and other towns of southern France. In Acre and Beirut each of the Provençal cities had its own quarters, churches, and consuls. The merchants from Montpellier entered and departed free from the restrictions of taxes and tolls, and those who remained permanently were under the authority of the mother state. Bohemond V of Tripoli in 1243 granted the merchant colony from Montpellier a quarter in the city, and a house for the consul. He did not exempt them from the levies on purchases and sales, and on the transit of goods through his lands, but exacted only one-third of the usual sum. These privileges he granted on condition that Montpellier should send to Tripoli every year a ship with forty mariners and at least eight hundred tons of goods. Petrus de Terico, who in 1250 had been sent by James I of Aragon to effect more favorable conditions for his people in Antioch, visited Tripoli the following year and acquired new privileges for Aragonese merchants. Before the middle of the thirteenth century, Montpellier had a merchant colony in Alexandria, and the same Raymond de Conchis, mentioned above, was entrusted with a mission to that city also. Consuls were maintained in Alexandria who administered affairs in the name of the king of Aragon.

Like Montpellier, Marseilles was an important beneficiary of the Crusades. In the year 1200 Etienne Manduel was established there, and a large number of his business documents have been preserved. In the early years of the century he traded chiefly with Sicily; but he was in banking relations with Syria, Egypt, and several of the cities of the Barbary Coast, among them, Ceuta, Bougia, Tunis, Oran, and Tlemcen. In 1230 Etienne disappeared from business, and his son Bernard continued it. Bernard went on with the banking business, sending his agents to Barbary and to Syria; he enlarged the business by engaging in trade in varied commodities, natural and manufactured products. Some of the articles of exchange were wine, coral, grain, flour, linen, cotton, silk, sheep-skins, and flax. The two volumes of his accounts contain a mass of details as to the nature and amount of this trade, in documentary form. Especially interesting is the fact that such a large part of the trade was in oriental products, showing that Marseilles was enjoying a considerable part of the carrying trade in these valuable commodities.

By the middle of the thirteenth century the trade of Marseilles had increased until there was statutory regulation for the appointment of

consuls from the city to countries over the sea. In 1270 a treaty of peace and commerce for fifteen years was signed between the king of Tunis and Philip III of France, Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, and Thibaut, king of Navarre. This treaty provided that Saracen merchants who visited the Christian states should enjoy special protection, and that Christian merchants of the states mentioned should have special protection in the kingdom of the Mohammedan ruler. In case a Saracen vessel was wrecked on the shores of one of the Christian states, or a Christian vessel on the shore of Tunis, the cargo, if possible, was to be preserved for the owner. Monks and Christian priests were to be given a place to dwell in the states of the emir, and churches and cemeteries were also allowed to the Christians living there.

Narbonne also enjoyed a profitable trade with Bougia. Wheat, leather, and wool were carried to Bougia, and there exchanged for cloths and dyes; at Tunis horses and fowls were exchanged for almonds, figs, citrons, and other fruits, and vases "admirable for their whiteness and their delicacy, and such as no other country of the world offered the equal in beauty." In 1271 the Pope issued an appeal to the commune, exhorting it to detach by force every man of Narbonne from this abominable commerce with the infidels. The threats were in vain. The merchants continued their trade, feeling sure that they knew how they could gain absolution for their sin, after having amassed their fortunes.

Such extensive commercial enterprise naturally had a retroactive effect upon the country which engaged in it. Its principal effect upon the Midi, excluding the prosperity that it naturally produced, was to accelerate the influx of foreign population. Attracted by the commercial advantages, not only great numbers of foreign Jews, but Genoese, Lombards, Florentines, Pisans, and other peoples of Italy crowded into the Languedoc and fixed permanent establishments in the principal cities, as at Montpellier, Narbonne, Nîmes, and Béziers. Jews especially were attracted to southern France by the great prospect of trade. When they made their advent insults and outrages were heaped upon them. They enjoyed only the right to live. In Nîmes, Montpellier, Béziers, Narbonne, and Toulouse they were given special quarters in which to dwell. This resentful feeling toward them gradually declined, however, and from suffering indignities there came a time when they enjoyed numerous privileges. They were first permitted to engage in commerce and trade, and then they were admitted to public functions. They secured the protection of the lords, and in a few cases of the prelates of the Church themselves.

The envy and resentment felt by Genoa and Pisa toward the cities of the Midi was pronounced. It early became evident that the Genoese in particular proposed to reduce the Provençal cities to complete de-

pendence upon themselves in matters of trade and navigation. In 1109 the Genoese merchants exacted from Count Bertram of Toulouse the promise that he would permit none but Genoese ships to enter the harbor of St. Gilles. Before 1121 they had established their factory at Montpellier. To further their own interests they seconded the counts of Toulouse in their attempts to divest Montpellier and Marseilles of their liberties. In 1143 they assisted William VI, the count of Montpellier, to quell an uprising in the city, in return for which they exacted a heavy compensation in commercial privileges. According to the treaty the Genoese were permitted to unload their cargoes in the harbor without paying the usual tolls. Only such ships, however, as belonged to the people of Montpellier and engaged in intercourse with the various ports of Spain or were used for the transportation of crusaders and supplies were to enter or leave port. Eastward, except in the case of crusaders' ships, navigation was restricted to the coastal sailing to Genoa. In a later compact signed in 1155, the Genoese still insisted that the navy of Montpellier be restricted to coastal sailing westward to Spain and eastward to Genoa.

Again in 1174 the Genoese and Count Raymond of Toulouse jointly projected an attack upon Marseilles and Montpellier, aiming especially at the former city with the expectation of demolishing its harbor. Fortunately, the plans did not materialize. According to the agreement all the harbors in the territory of the count were to be open only to the Genoese and to those nations of whom they would approve, while the citizens of the count were to send no commercial ships upon the high seas without the permission of the consuls and the majority of the senate of Genoa.

Genoa not only plotted to thwart all commercial relations between the Provençal cities and the Orient, but also endeavored to prevent such connections with Sicily, which was an important station for Levantine trade. When the envoys of the city visited William I, the Norman king of Sicily, in 1157 to adjust their legal affairs, they forced him to promise among other things that he would neither permit the merchant ships of the Provençals to enter the ports of his kingdom, nor send ships to southern France for commercial purposes. Frederick Barbarossa, who had been aided by the Genoese fleet in his effort to sever Sicily from the Normans, granted the consuls and the commune of Genoa full power to intercept all commercial intercourse between the Provençals and Sicily and lower Italy. The emperor Henry VI in a diploma of the year 1191 renewed this privilege. Gradually, however, the Genoese realized that they could not shackle the Provençal trade permanently. Both the Genoese and the Pisans maintained permanent trading posts in Montpellier and in other cities of Provence in the thirteenth century. Their goods were on display in the warehouses the year around,

and from these sources the fairs and expositions, so famous at that time, derived their chief source of supply.

Languedoc at the beginning of the thirteenth century enjoyed a state of economic prosperity unknown to the rest of Europe of that day, excelling Lombardy and Flanders. The returns from agriculture, however, were limited because of the hilly and mountainous nature of nearly two-thirds of the land of the Midi. On the other hand the richness of the soils that lay in the valleys of the Rhone and in the plain bordering the Mediterranean was proverbial. The marl lands around Toulouse have not failed during the centuries that they have been cultivated to produce ample harvests.

As for the variety of agricultural produce, it was practically the same as that of today. Vines and cereals were extensively grown; the wine industry in the latter part of the thirteenth century gradually got a monopoly of the land. At vintage time all other work ceased. The *Bastaille des vins* speaks of the

> Vins de Espagne, vin de Provence,
> de Montpellier, et de Nerbone,
> de Beziers, et de Quarquessone
> de Mossac, . . .

A certain sacredness was attached to olive culture. It was protected by a law which "made it a crime for Christians to destroy or damage the tree which in the deluge had been the symbol of peace returning to earth, which furnished the holy oil, and the light of the sacred lamps."

The people were naturally also engaged in the animal husbandry common to the agrarian life of the temperate zone. The raising of hogs, sheep, and cattle was an important industry; much of the meat was exported, partly because the Albigensian element of the population was vegetarian and considered all flesh and animal products to be dominated by evil spirits. Slaughterhouses dotted the land quite as much as mills or wine-presses, many of them being the property of the Church, which realized very lucrative returns from the meat industry.

Industry, encouraged by the commercial activity of the Midi, attained a development equal and in some respects superior to that of other parts of France. In certain towns, as at Narbonne, the trades were organized into corporations, each having an elected chief. These formed a board of arbitration and in general supervised the trades, and always promoted their best interests. Represented in the corporation were butchers, tailors, grain merchants, bakers, dyers, barbers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, cloth-makers, weavers, and masons. This list of tradesmen indicates the types of industry. Cloth-making and dyeing in the thirteenth century were carried on more extensively and

a greater variety of cloth was produced than today. Montpellier was the chief textile centre of Languedoc. Much of the cloth was exported to the Orient where the demand for cloth was great. Montpellier was the Paris of the feudal world, determining the styles of dress.

The culture of the Midi was far more Latin and less German or feudal than that of northern France, and the strains of Greek and Arabic influence found in it gave it an almost exotic brilliance. The south was refined without being soft, strong without being rough. In the north feudalism was violent, oppressive, brutal; intellectual culture was confined to the monasteries. The southern provinces for centuries had been stranger to—even hostile to—those north of the Loire. This was not merely the effect of racial antipathy: it was inherent in their different historical development.

The south had a deeper and broader, an older civilization, the roots of which were steeped in the ancient Roman culture. Commerce and trade was a more active force. Enriched by trade, the bourgeois of the towns had almost wholly broken with the feudal ties which still obtained in the north. The richest of them dwelt in palatial houses often flanked with towers like the châteaux of the feudality. They held themselves to be the equal of the nobility, and the bourgeois of Toulouse actually styled themselves barons. North of the Loire heavy penalties prohibited the man of low birth from entering the order of chivalry. In the south the son of an artisan might reach this honor through the attainment of wealth or grace as a troubadour. Social life was more active and fluid in the south, intellectual culture greater, manners softer, taste better.

Upon this rich and favored land and these thriving cities the Albigensian Crusades descended with fire and sword. The fanaticism, the intolerance, the covetousness, the political ambition which had actuated the Crusades against the Moslem in the twelfth century were turned in the thirteenth century upon the south of France, the motive and pretext being the prevalence of the Catharist heresy in these provinces. The most important and impressive event of the reign of Louis IX was the extension of the power of the French monarchy over the provinces of the south, the incorporation of the territory of Languedoc, including the great county of Toulouse and its vassal fiefs into the royal domain, as the result of the Albigensian Crusades. Philip Augustus had conquered with his own arms the northern provinces of the kingdom and reached blue water on the Channel. St. Louis profited by the conquest of the rich southern provinces gradually to annex one by one the cluster of provinces in the Midi.

The Albigensian Crusade was a cumulative movement. In the first period (1208–1209) religious fanaticism was the ascendant influence. In 1209, with Simon de Montfort and his followers, material

conquest was the reigning motive. If Simon was the champion of the papacy, he was at the same time an ambitious self-seeker, interested primarily in his own aggrandizement. His conduct in the Midi supports no other interpretation of his character. For example, was it in the interest of religion or for the increase of his own domains that he obliged Agnes of Montpellier and Raymond Trencavel to cede to him the viscounties of Béziers, Carcassonne, Albi, Razes, and Agde? Innocent III declared that "the count of Montfort had caused the death, without right or reason, of the young viscount of Béziers in order to have his lands." Simon made no distinction between the property and lands of heretics and good churchmen; he seized everything of value within his power. He fought for the faith, men said, but he conquered for himself. In 1215 Simon refused to burn Toulouse, not on humanitarian grounds, but because "it would not be to his advantage since he wished that all the gold and spoil of the city be his." His ambition undoubtedly was to create a great principality for himself in the south, an ambition which the strong will of Philip Augustus frustrated. If he was "a defender of the faith," he was so only as far as that title aided him in the promotion of his own personal ambition. Selfish and economic interests were primary; religious pretensions were convenient aids in the realization of his purposes. The lure of fertile lands, of the lucrative commerce of Béziers, Toulouse, and Carcassonne, the desire for the vast accumulations of wealth in property and precious metals, were more appealing to him than the ambition to convert or to destroy the heretic.

The Albigensian Crusades, like the Crusades in the Orient, rapidly degenerated into a series of gigantic buccaneering expeditions. "Among the numerous adventurers who flocked to the standard of Simon de Montfort there was a class of persons of rank whose occupation was war, and who were anxious to take advantage of the forfeitures of the heretics to settle in the charming regions of the south." To the credit of Innocent III, he was "startled by the details of naked spoliation and robbery. . . . He intimated his displeasure. . . . They had, he said, laid hands upon territories that had never been polluted with heresy." Mingled with these hordes of Christian Vandals were bands of *routiers,* ruffians, and cutthroats who battened on war and pillage and plunder. Swarms of Brabantines, Flemings, Lorrainers, Catalans harried the land. Disease followed in the wake of pillage. In the siege of Avignon, where Louis VIII died (1226), the stench of dead bodies nearly raised the siege. When Béziers was taken by storm, the number of massacred population is variously given as from 15,000 to 60,000. When sword, fire, plague had passed, the most brilliant civilization, the most cultivated and industrious population in western Europe was all but destroyed. Languedoc was a black and barren land, its cities ruined

heaps. The outskirts of Carcassonne were destroyed in 1209, the city itself in 1240. For seven years the site was utterly deserted and the fields around the town lay fallow. Brambles and briars sprang up where once had been gardens and vineyards. Some survivors fled to Italy, to Spain, and even to countries of the north, but the bulk of the inhabitants had been destroyed. Descriptions of the desolation almost baffle imagination—vineyards, orchards, fields cut down or fired; mills, warehouses, breweries, olive and wine-presses destroyed; wells poisoned. Marseilles, of course, had remained untouched; Narbonne and Montpellier suffered little. But nearly every other city in the Languedoc had been sacked. Local and international commerce had vanished, the gilds had been dissolved. The Gascon towns to the west broke off trade relations with the Languedocian cities and turned to England for wool, although previously they had bought of Albi. The energetic Italian pushed into the ruined towns and established himself, capturing much of the trade when it began to revive.

Of all the territorial annexations made by the French crown, none was so important as that of Languedoc. The political and territorial unity of France was thereby assured. Without that acquisition the south would have developed into an independent nation and a separate state. What the War of the Southern Confederacy was to the formation of a more perfect union in the United States, that the Albigensian Crusade was to France. The analogy is an apt one. As in the United States, so in the south of France, the conquest was followed by a period of restoration and reconstruction destined, when the hate and heat of war had become but a memory, to make a greater south than before. The perished or exiled population was replaced by immigrants from the northern provinces of the kingdom. Some of the best blood of the Ile-de-France, Normandy, Artois was transfused with the blood of the Midi. The ruined noblesse was supplanted by families from the north. Merchants and artisans from the northern provinces drifted southward bringing capital into the exhausted regions. The royal government everywhere manifested its control of the land and regulated the administration intelligently and energetically. The ruined cities were rebuilt. The destruction of the old, cramped, unhygienic towns with crooked and narrow streets proved a blessing in disguise. For the new *bastides,* as they were called, were laid out in geometrical form, usually in the shape of a square or parallelogram, but sometimes hexagonal or octagonal in shape, with straight streets crossing each other at right angles, and a broad plaza in the middle of the town. New Carcassonne outside the old city is a striking example. "The Midi," in the words of Luchaire, "was made one with France." Monstrous cruelty was practised in performance of the process of union, but in spite of everything, a just judgment must approve the ultimate result.

Perhaps nothing contributed more to the consolidation of the royal supremacy in the south of France than the change of ownership which threw into new hands so large a proportion of the property of Languedoc. In the domains of the crown the forfeited lands were granted to favorites or sold at moderate prices to those who thus became interested in the new order of things arising from the fall of the house of Toulouse. The royal officials grasped everything on which they could lay their hands, whether on the excuse of treason or of heresy; and although the right-mindedness of Louis IX caused an inquest to be held in 1262 which restored a vast amount of property illegally held, this was but a small fraction of the whole.[3]

The problem of how the provinces of northern France could reach the Mediterranean and establish direct trade connections with the Orient was solved by the conquest of the Midi. Marseilles, the greatest port of the south, belonged to Provence and the county of Provence was not yet a portion of the French realm. Montpellier, not on but near the sea, and the other most advantageous port, pertained to the Spanish island kingdom of Majorca and was not acquired by the French crown until 1349. Maguelonne, on an islet surrounded by salt-water lagoons (*in pelago insula*), like a tiny Venice, belonged to the bishop, who was jealous to preserve his commercial advantages.

In these circumstances, at the time of his Crusade to Egypt, Louis IX erected an artificial port at Aigues Mortes ("Dead Waters") in the midst of the sea marshes at the only spot where the royal arm, though long, was able to reach the coast. It was connected with the mainland by a causeway across the fens and approachable from the sea through a network of sluggish canals. The situation was dismal and malarial. Desperate efforts were made to make Aigues Mortes pay. A coast patrol tried to prevent vessels from putting in to Maguelonne or Marseilles. Coast shipping even sailed at night, a thing contrary to all navigation in the Mediterranean, in order to avoid such compulsion. But in spite of royal protection and government stimulation, Aigues Mortes was a failure. When the French monarchy acquired Marseilles in 1257 and Montpellier in 1349 Aigues Mortes lost whatever little use it ever had possessed. Its enormous walls today rise out of the slime of the lagoons —the skeleton of a dead city by the sea.

By reaching the Mediterranean the French king made the northern provinces of France share in the commerce of the Crusades and the East. In the thirteenth century Marseilles had factories along the African coast from Ceuta and Bougia to Alexandria. The cities of the Midi were thronged with Italian merchants, notably Genoese and Florentines, who frequented the fair at Beaucaire and thence traveled on to the Fairs of Champagne. In Nîmes was a permanent Italian colony

[3] H. C. Lea, in *English Historical Review*, II, 249.

which called itself the "University of Lombard and Tuscan Merchants." (The word *universitas* in this sense is equivalent to hanse or gild.) It was chartered by Philip III in 1270 under much the same conditions as the Parisian hanse. It acted as agent for merchants in Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Piacenza, Lucca, Bologna, Pistoia, Milan. The services of these Italian merchants in southern France to French commercial aggrandizement were very great. The relations were a close connecting link with the growth of French political interest in Italy in the next two centuries. An example cited from a contemporary historian will suffice to illustrate the keenness of the Provençals for trade in the thirteenth century:

> When Richard of Cornwall went to the East in 1240 he took boats at Vienne intending to sail down the Rhone to Arles. The citizens of Vienne and other neighboring cities asked him to sell them his passage-boats, for which they would give him three times their value. And on the earl's refusing to do so, saying that he was not a merchant, they seized and retained them by force.

The reign of Louis IX constitutes a landmark in the history of the gilds of Paris and the organization of industry. To this king's benign and efficient rule we are indebted for the valuable *Livre des Métiers,* or *Book of the Trades of Paris,* compiled by Etienne Boileau, who was provost of the merchants, an office which, it has been explained, also involved the administration of police, justice, and finance in the capital. Etienne Boileau had accompanied Louis IX on the ill-starred Crusade to Egypt in 1248 where he was captured and ransomed for 2000 pieces of gold. He became provost of Paris at some time between 1254 and 1258. With his accession the office ceased to be a venal one and became a public trust. His administration of it has immortalized him. The rules and regulations of 101 gilds of Paris are in this book, and they give us a close and intimate view of the workaday world of the time. The advanced nature and highly complicated internal organization of industry is striking. The former simple group of artisans and craftsmen of the preceding century has become differentiated into primary and secondary, or major and minor, gilds, the latter being kindred crafts auxiliary to the main industry. Division of labor was pushed to the extreme. Thus in the leather trade one finds skinners, tanners, tawyers, cobblers, harness-makers, saddlers, and fine leather workers; among masons, stone-cutters, plasterers, mortarers. The weavers' gild had under its control subordinate gilds of carders, fullers, dyers. The carpenters' gild included chest- and door-makers, cabinetmakers, boat-builders, wheelwrights, turners, coopers, etc. The cloth gilds were almost as many as the kinds of cloth. Even old-clothes dealers had a gild. Minute regulation prevailed in regard to the number of apprentices

whom a master might employ, hours of labor, wages to be paid, terms of service of apprentices, which differed widely in the various crafts. A double motive usually accounts for these regulations; the altruistic motive was that a master should not have more apprentices than he could teach well; the economic motive was to prevent competition and lowering of prices. All industries were domestic—that is to say, the master-workman's house was also his shop, and his apprentices lived as members of his family. But for selling his handiwork he might take his wares to the weekly Saturday market where each gild had its place, and where he haggled with buyers, chaffered with other traders from neighboring towns like Poissy, Pontoise, Beauvais, Amiens. June was the great merchant month at Paris, for then the triple fair of St. Germain, St. Ladre (Lazare), and especially of Lendit befell, when outside buyers and merchants from Flanders, the Rhinelands, Italy, Provence might be present.

Weights and measures were regulated by government and police vigilance, alert in order to prevent fraud or sale of stolen or inferior goods. There is social as well as economic history in the following regulations governing brewers and old-clothes dealers:

No brewer either shall or ought to make beer except from water and grain, that is to say, of barley, of barley and wheat mixed, and of malt, and if he adds anything to strengthen it, as juniper, pimento, or pea-grapes, he shall pay a fine to the king of twenty sous of Paris for each offense, and the entire brew which is made of these things shall be dedicated to charity. The prud'hommes of the trade say that not all things are good and proper to put into beer, since they are unwholesome and injurious for the head and for the body, for the strong and for the sick.

No one shall or ought to sell beer except in the brewery itself; for the beer sold by the hawkers is not so good and pure as that sold in the breweries, but sour and stale, since they do not understand how to keep it fresh. And those who do not brew themselves, but who send it to sell in two or three different parts of Paris, do not sell it themselves, nor their wives, but send their little daughters, even into the foreign quarters where rude and fallen company gathers. For these reasons, the prud'hommes of the trade have agreed to these rules, if it please the king; and whoever shall act contrary thereto shall pay to the king twenty sous of Paris, for every offense; and the beer which is found in such other places shall be dedicated to charity.

No one shall be old-clothes man in the banlieu of Paris until he swears by the Saints in the presence of the master and two prud'hommes of the trade that he will follow the trade honestly and honorably according to the usages and customs of the trade; that is to say, that he will not knowingly buy of a thief, if he does not know where the things come from, nor anything moist or bloody, unless he knows what the moisture or blood comes from, nor of lepers in the banlieu of Paris; nor any religious vest-

ment, unless it has been worn out by legitimate use; and if anyone violates any one of these rules, he shall forfeit his trade for each and every offense, and neither ought nor shall undertake the said trade either to sell or to buy anything until he has purchased the said trade all over again, and taken the oath in the manner provided above.

No old-clothes man ought or shall full cloths, nor buy or sell fulled clothes nor cloths of false dye.

The things aforesaid may be seized by him who administers the trade in the name of the master chamberlain of the king in whatever place he finds them, and caused to be burned in full market in the presence and by the consent of the prud'hommes of the trade.

Privilege pervaded the industrial world as the feudal world. Supervision of "royal" crafts, i.e., those whose products the court was a large purchaser of, was a perquisite granted by the crown to high domestics of the palace. The king's cupbearer dispensed licenses to wine merchants, brewers, and tavern-keepers; the pantler controlled the bakers, the marshal the metal trades, except goldsmithing and silversmithing, which were under jurisdiction of the chamberlain, who also licensed drapers, mercers, furriers, and fine-cloth makers.

It is evident that a great development of commerce and industry, and a corresponding change in social structure, had taken place in France between 1150 and 1250. The nobles preserved their social prestige but had lost political power to the crown and economic power to the bourgeoisie. The new wealth created by commerce and industry not only made the urban population rich, it made the land-owning class poorer, for land lost its old-time capitalistic character as the only important form of wealth. A slow yet active leveling process in the course of the thirteenth century leveled down the nobility and leveled up the town classes through economic change and social transformation. Old-fashioned society slowly was decomposed. The *nouveaux riches* began to displace the nobles in offices of state and even to purchase patents of petty nobility. The town houses of rich merchants outshone the châteaux in splendor and luxury as wealth increased with better communications and the spread of a better police system.

It is certain that France was very prosperous under the reign of St. Louis. The moderate rate of taxation, the good quality of the money, the measures taken to encourage commerce, such as the creation of ports and markets, combine to explain it. The unanimous assertions of contemporary historians prove it. The bourgeoisie already displayed that unheard-of luxury of which one sees the exaggeration in the fourteenth century. The sumptuary laws of the time denounce their luxurious manners. "It decreed that the bourgeois shall not wear fur or vair unless possessed of a fortune of at least one thousand *livres tournois;* that they shall not use bearing-reins or wear spurs." Legislation fixed

the number of costumes which their wives might have, according to their fortune. But in spite of appearances, this ordinance was not instituted so much to maintain the hierarchy of the social classes by distinctions of dress as out of a false economic theory, that the enforcement of private economy enriched the treasury.

All in all, the France of the thirteenth century represents an improvement and refinement of the France of the twelfth. When the cultured Florentine Brunetto Latini visited it, he admired the open seigniorial manor-houses of the Ile-de-France, flanked by gardens and surrounded by the farms of a peaceful peasantry. The great castles by then were almost all royal strongholds, citadels of the royal authority, and had ceased to be the abodes of robber barons. In cases where they still remained in possession of the feudatories, they were like dragons whose teeth had been drawn. The legists of succeeding centuries idealized Louis IX as an enemy of feudalism and a founder of absolute monarchy, in their eyes a synonym for law and order. The view is utterly unhistorical. The king was a feudal noble himself, the highest in the realm. He never attacked feudalism, but he never permitted its excesses. His concept of government was a strictly regulated feudal form of administration. In putting this into practice he cut to the roots two of the gravest social abuses of the age—private war and judicial duels. He made the royal authority prevail over feudal authority.

One of the sagest ordinances of St. Louis, which traversed the particularistic interests of the feudal régime, was a regulation providing for free trade in grain, wine, and comestibles. The crown made many efforts to keep foodstuffs cheap. It multiplied the number of markets and fairs; it policed the roads. In order to protect the small vineyard owner, in 1265 it was ordered that the peasant marketing *his own* wine should be exempt from tolls. In 1247 the king ordered the bailiffs to find any who had complaint of having been unlawfully deprived of money or produce, promising to make redress on the spot. Another ordinance made local land-owners responsible for upkeep of roads and protection of travelers. In 1254 he forbade bailiffs to seize laboring animals unless for public service. An intelligent forest administration was established. One interesting provision of the king was an instruction to the royal *enquesteurs* to search out the old and poor in each province and to have them provided for at the public expense.

The towns also felt the weight of the crown. By 1250 the heroic period of the towns had passed. The rich families among the bourgeoisie had gained hereditary control of the municipal offices, and become a political oligarchy and a social aristocracy. Inexperience, local ambition, corruption, in a century had reduced many of the former "good" towns to bankruptcy. Everywhere municipal finances were ruined. The king stepped in with his regulative and tax power, "as a court appoints

a guardian for a minor heir," said one of the jurisconsults of the time. All this increase of royal power in fief and town made for the benefit of trade, which profited by peace, by king's coinage, by regulation of weights and measures. The *grand ordonance* of 1256 required every town mayor, with four prud'hommes (aldermen), to come to Paris on the day before St. Martin's Day (November 11) and to bring with him the municipal accounts of receipts and expenditures for royal audit.

In 1254, finding the police administration of Paris inadequate—it consisted of twenty mounted sergeants and forty patrolmen—the king supplemented it by the *guet des métiers,* a municipal police force derived from the gilds, which served in terms of three weeks each. Both branches of this police force were under the provost of Paris.

It is true that right through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries one finds much evidence of warfare in France, yet the growth of her commerce gives rebuttal to the anarchic picture presented by some writers. These conflicts were over inheritance between relatives and partook of the nature of mere family feuds in which the greatest sufferers were the participants themselves. The spread of the law of primogeniture by which the younger sons were either left without inheritance or made dependents upon the bounty of the eldest son gave rise to prodigious family strife. Often a son or sons would rebel against the father in order to compel him to settle his property upon them long before his death. Feudal litigation frequently culminated in war, for the logic of feudalism in extreme cases justified rebellion of the vassal or forcible coercion of the vassal by the suzerain.

But we must qualify if not discount the effects of these feuds. There were pitched battles between the principals and their supporters, but the havoc ended with the issue of the engagement, or terminated when a series of these petty battles had exhausted the participants. They were personal conflicts, group duels. The day was past when the farmsteads, stock, and crops of the peasantry of the contestants were wantonly destroyed and the peasantry themselves liable to be slaughtered. The strong hand of the great feudatories and the king put a restraint upon such practices. The angry belligerents might fight it out among themselves, but they could not victimize society in general and destroy other people's property in the fight. When an accomplished French historian writes of the reign of Philip Augustus that *"la guerre était alors, sur presque tous les points du territoire, un fléau à peu près permanent,"* he forgets this personal nature of the conflicts of the time. The evidence of Philip II's reign proves that in the main not only the provinces of France under the immediate rule of the king, but many other fiefs also, enjoyed peace and prosperity, and that these feudal broils did not seriously disarrange the routine life of the people.

There is other evidence, too, of the decay of private war. In the latter half of the twelfth century and all through the next century we find a great vogue for the tournament. This warlike pastime was the solace of the bellicose noble who found peace hanging heavy on his hands and endeavored to while away the dull hours by an exciting imitation of real war. The author of the long narrative poem, *Guillaume le Mareschal,* expends several thousand lines relating the achievements of his hero in tournaments and adds: "I cannot begin to enumerate all these tournaments, for almost every fortnight there is a tournament in some place or other." The Church frowned upon these violent amusements less because of the brutality and profanity in them than because of the high betting and gambling that was inseparable from them. But the king and the great feudatories looked upon them as a species of military training school and favored them. Perhaps they were shrewd enough to see that if the fighting spirit of feudalism were not given vent in this form, it would manifest itself in worse forms of warfare. Thus the tournaments really were in the interest of the maintenance of peace. Moreover, in these two centuries of the high feudal age we find many nobles who developed a taste for peaceful pursuits. They became gentlemen farmers, or took to book-learning and collected a library and patronized troubadours and chroniclers.

The material improvement and prosperity of rural France in the thirteenth century was no less than that of the towns. Serfdom steadily declined. As we have seen, it disappeared in Normandy even in the eleventh century. By the middle of the thirteenth century it was obsolete in most of Poitou and Languedoc. The Church still largely and conservatively clung to servile exploitation—and paid a price in popular antagonism toward it as a result—but freehold or tenant farming (*métayage*) obtained in many regions. Forest clearing, swamp redemption, new villages, the granges of the monasteries, the use of marl as a fertilizer, improved practices of hedging, ditching, draining, the extension of the three-field system—if we may so understand a difficult passage in Albertus Magnus—all attest the improvement of agriculture and the condition of the rural peasantry. The marquis of Montferrat brought back a new species of wheat from the East called *sarrazin.* Windmills also were introduced from the East. The earliest mention is in 1105. For a while the peasants hailed the new device with joy as an emancipation from the mill-ban of the manorial lords. But when the serfs on church lands evaded the mill tax by putting up windmills Celestine III in 1195 ordered windmills also to be tithed.

CHAPTER XIX

HOHENSTAUFEN GERMANY (1125–1273)

FLANDERS AND THE LOW COUNTRIES

In common with the rest of western Europe during the epoch of the Crusades, Germany under the Hohenstaufen (1125–1250) greatly advanced in material civilization. Part of this advancement was due to the stimulation of trade owing to the eastern movement, but much of the progress was organic and potent within Germany itself and independent of the influence of the Crusades.

The chief evidences of it are: (1) the increase of population; (2) the growth of the older towns in Rhenish and Danubian Germany, and the multiplication of new towns; (3) the multiplication of markets, fairs, and tolls; (4) the growth of a money economy beyond anything known before; (5) the development of industry and the spread of gild organization; (6) a great increase of German trade relations with Italy; (7) the establishment of permanent trade connections abroad with the Champagne Fairs, with Flanders, England, Scandinavia, and Livonia; (8) the rise in the value of land in the older provinces of Germany; (9) the steady reduction of the area of forest and swamp lands; (10) the aggressive expansion on the eastern frontier and the occupation and colonization of the "new east" by the reduction or expulsion of the native Slavonic peoples found there.

All these things are indicative of the enormous physical activity and tireless application of the German people.

The chief evidences of the increase of population are found in the growing activity of urban life and the constant drift of the surplus population in old, western Germany into the new lands in the east without apparent impairment of the productivity of the older provinces. The population of Germany probably increased from between five and six millions in the eleventh century to between seven and eight millions in the twelfth century.

Cologne passed Mainz in the twelfth century and became the largest city in Germany. In the south, Regensburg was the greatest town, although rivaled by Augsburg and Nuremberg. Nearly everywhere in old Germany the ancient town walls which had been built in the Saxon or Salian epochs became too confining for the population, were torn down, and new walls of wider circuit were erected. Almost every

city in the Rhine-Danube provinces was thus twice enlarged, once in the twelfth century, and again in the thirteenth. In 1281 Cologne's wall had sixty-five towers and thirteen gates. This expansion was one of urban agglomeration; that is to say, the towns incorporated the faubourgs which had grown up around the earlier wall and then the villages in the environs around them. Even yet street names and local terminology in many German cities preserve traces of this medieval expansion in the "ring" formation of certain inner streets (for example, in Vienna and Munich) which have been laid out upon the site of former walls, and in the preservation of ancient names like Wallstrasse, Thurmstrasse, Alte Markt. Now and then even the remains of an old medieval tower have been spared from demolition and still stand as mute witnesses to the old order of things. Another evidence of the growth of the towns is the general movement toward parish reorganization manifest in these two centuries. Not only were new parishes incorporated into the cities by the process of urban expansion and enclosure, but within the old town the growth of the population often necessitated partition of old parishes and the erection of new churches. Indeed, the number of churches in the towns whose foundations go back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is of itself a striking historical evidence of the growth of the German cities at this time.

No corporate body of citizens appears in the German cities before the thirteenth century. Indeed, the words *cives* and *burgenses* only came into usage in the twelfth century. The distinction was between the inhabitants of the *civitas* and the walled *burg*. All the inhabitants who were merchants, artisans, or *ministeriales* were included in the names *cives* or *burgenses*. When the city walls were enlarged the difference between *cives* and *burgenses* was obliterated.

The multiplication of market dues within the towns and an increase of tolls along road and river routes naturally attended this economic growth. The former were more legitimate assessments than the latter. Theoretically the emperor was the suzerain of rivers and the lord of the roads, and was supposed to be the supreme protector of merchants and travelers. But in practice the imperial prerogative was universally usurped by the great feudalized bishops and the high nobles. As a result a widespread feud was engendered between the towns and the feudal princes of every degree and status, which was detrimental to trade and often culminated in local warfare. The emperor Lothar II is the last German ruler who made a serious endeavor to suppress these usurpations. In 1132 he restored the ancient tariff on the lower Rhine in favor of Utrecht; in 1136 he lowered the tolls on the Elbe. But he was not always able to protect commerce from feudal extortion. The revenues of the Rhenish bishops were largely derived from

the river and towpath tolls they imposed. The same is true of the archbishop of Trèves, to whom pertained the tolls exacted at Coblenz; on the Elbe the archbishop of Magdeburg possessed three toll stations. Again, the increased use of money (*Geldwirtschaft*) attests this prosperity. We find local taxes and rents more and more defrayed with money instead of with produce or service, and larger and more frequent employment of the cash nexus in trade. The town archives abound with evidences of a growing money economy. Even the chronicles reflect the change, notably that of Otto of St. Blasien, which is rich in mention of gold and silver and currency.

In industrial history the formation and rapid spread of gild organization (*confederationes sive juramenta*) demonstrates a similar change. The oldest example is the weavers' gild in Cologne, which appears in 1112 and by 1149 had become a compact association. A gild of cobblers appears at Halle in 1157. By the thirteenth century practically the whole world of industry in the German cities had become organized upon the gild basis. The development is indicative of the breakdown of industry in the manors, of the drift of the working population from country to town, of the potency of the new industrialism. It is significant that, from their earliest appearance, the German gilds were intimately associated with the new sense of burgher liberty abroad in the towns. The gild of Cologne in 1112 is described by the annalist as "formed for liberty" (*facta est pro libertate*). Weaving of linen was the most important industry of Augsburg and Ulm, weaving of woolen cloth the most essential occupation of Nuremberg. Workmen of the same or allied industries lived in certain sections of the city devoted to that trade. Industrial differentiation makes its appearance in the twelfth century. Thus the weavers' gild was subdivided into wool-combers, cloth-shearers, fullers, cloth-binders, cloth-stretchers, dyers, etc.

If now we turn from the internal economic development of Germany under the Hohenstaufen to its external economic history, there, too, we find the same energy. The expansion of German commerce beyond the national borders of the country was very great. The beginnings of this expansion, except in the case of contact with the Champagne Fairs, may be found in the Salian and even in the Saxon period, but during the Hohenstaufen age this commerce acquired a magnitude, not known before, in Lombardy, Flanders, England, the Baltic and the Slavonic borderlands.

Not long after the Crusades began the Venetians obtained commercial privileges from the German emperors, notably Lothar II (1125–37). But these privileges related to the kingdom of Italy and not to Germany. Not until the commercial effect of the Crusades was fully felt did the cities of Italy begin to reach actively beyond the Alps. When that began the German cities like Augsburg and Nuremberg became flourishing.

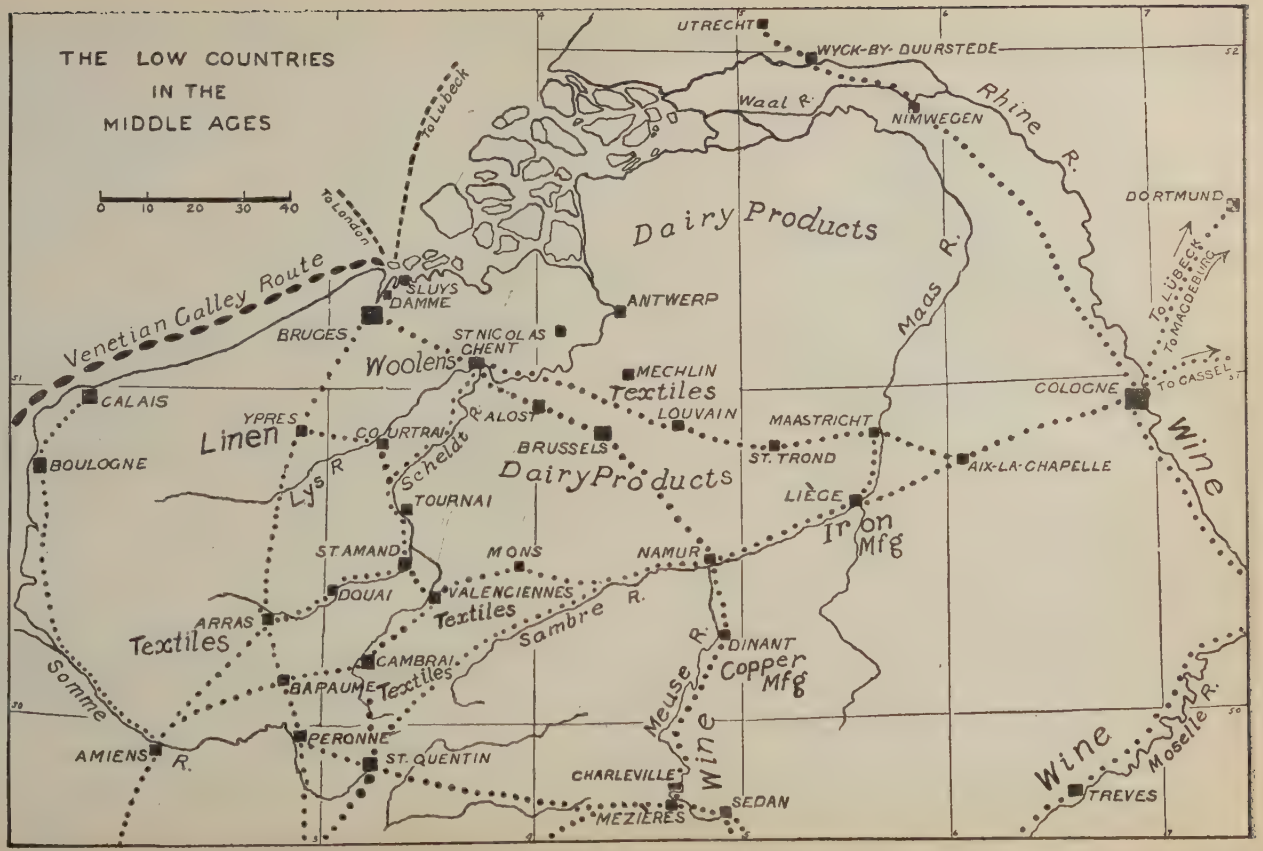
While the long war of Frederick I with Milan and the cities of the Lombard League must have seriously deranged and impaired trans-Alpine commerce, there is nevertheless evidence that the commercial relations betwen Germany and Italy still continued. Italian merchants were certainly in Flanders by 1127, who must have traveled over the Alps and down the Rhine, and may have extended their operations into the cities of lower Germany, unless the "foreign merchants" reported as frequenting Goslar, Hildesheim, Brunswick, etc., were Flemings and not Italians. As for the southern German cities, the presence of Italian merchants in them must have been a familiar one after the middle of the twelfth century. The merchants of Lodi who appealed to Frederick I at Constance in 1153 to solicit his protection against Milan's commercial tyranny, presented their cause in the German language. Regensburg seems to have had a permanent colony of Italian merchants before 1200.

Of even greater significance, or at least of greater novelty, is the evidence that German merchants found their way into Italy during the twelfth century. In a toll record of Genoa for the year 1128, trans-Alpine merchants with balls of wool and linen are mentioned. These probably came from the Rhinelands or Flanders, where the weaving industry was developing. In a contract of 1168 signed by Como and Milan, each promised that it would not prevent German merchants from visiting the markets of the other. An agreement of 1193 between Lombard towns hostile to Milan mentions trans-Alpine merchants who doubtless were from Germany. A municipal statute of 1209 shows that citizens of Como often went security for trans-Alpine merchants. In 1220 a German merchant was plundered between Cremona and Ferrara, and two years later two merchants from Lille were robbed of their merchandise, consisting of cloth from Lille, Bruges, and Beauvais, and breeches from Bruges. The latter deed occurred near Como and the city paid an indemnity of ninety-seven pounds to the merchants. A toll register of 1228 mentions German merchants along with those of France and many Italian cities. Important to observe is the establishment of a German commercial connection with Venice in the twelfth century. But whether this development was due to the partial diversion of Lombard trade with Germany during the war in Lombardy, or due to the fact that Venice was a convenient port of debarkation for Germans on their way to the Holy Land as well as an important place of importation of Levantine wares, cannot be determined. Although no records remain to bear out the statement, German merchants had doubtless early visited Venice. The first authentic mention of the famous Fondaco dei Tedeschi is for the year 1228, but German merchants had shared similar quarters with German pilgrims in Venice before 1200. The

Brenner Pass was the route used commonly by the Augsburger and other merchants from southern Germany.

While North Italy was and remained through the whole medieval period *the* supreme region of commerce in western Europe, the increasing economic development of the countries of northern Europe is a fact to observe. What the Mediterranean was to the Greek and Romance lands of the south that the North Sea and the Baltic were to North Europe. And as the south had its focal point in Lombardy and Venetia, so the north found a focal point for the concentration and dissemination of commerce in Flanders and adjacent fiefs, roughly the Belgium of today. These "Low Countries" formed an agglomeration of feudal provinces wedged in between France, Germany, and the North Sea. The Flemish part of the county of Flanders, together with Brabant and Hainaut, pertained to Germany and the Empire. But they early inclined toward a large measure of independence, and culturally were a quite distinct entity. Broadly speaking, the provinces south of the lowest course of the Rhine were Walloon (French) or Flemish, while those north of the river were Dutch. The former class included Flanders, which held part of the Empire and part of the kingdom of France, Hainaut, and Brabant. The group north of the river was formed by the three counties of Friesland, Zeeland, and Holland. In the Walloon provinces the culture was predominantly French in form; in the others, German. The most powerful of these princes was the count of Flanders, less for the extent of his lands than for his wealth. As early as 1150 a chronicler described Flanders as *terra valde populosa*—a densely peopled land. The rich alluvial soil of this part of Europe, formed by the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, the Somme, which here converge and empty into the North Sea almost side by side, had early attracted occupation. These provinces, as we have seen, had once been the heart of the crown lands of the Carolingians. Here monasteries had flourished from early times in profusion, and around their walls had grown up a clustered population out of which, in the eleventh century, an intense town life had sprung, whose population increased owing to the stimulus given to commerce and industry during the Crusades, a prosperity enhanced by the remarkable accessibility of this part of Europe from all points of the compass on account of the river system which engrossed the territories, and the seaports along the coast. The complaints of the people of Bruges in 1128 against Count William Clito show clearly that the commerce of Flanders at that time was essentially an outside commerce. "We are shut up in our land," they said, "nor can we do business with what we own without currency, without foreign merchants coming to us."

We may distinguish two branches of production: industry and com-


THE LOW COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES
0 10 20 30 40
To London
To Lubeck
Venetian Galley Route
SLUYS
DAMME
BRUGES
CALAIS
BOULOGNE
YPRES
Linen
COURTRAI
Lys R.
Scheldt
TOURNAI
ST. AMAND
DOUAI
ARRAS
Textiles
CAMBRAI
BAPAUME
Somme R.
AMIENS
PERONNE
ST. QUENTIN
ST. NICOLAS
GHENT
Woolens
ALOST
ANTWERP
Dairy Products
MECHLIN
Textiles
LOUVAIN
BRUSSELS
Dairy Products
MONS
VALENCIENNES
Textiles
Sambre R.
NAMUR
Iron Mfg
DINANT
Copper Mfg
Meuse R.
Wine
CHARLEVILLE
SEDAN
MEZIERES
UTRECHT
WYCK-BY-DUURSTEDE
Waal R.
NIMWEGEN
Rhine R.
DORTMUND
To LÜBECK
To MAGDEBURG
To CASSEL
COLOGNE
Maas R.
MAASTRICHT
ST. TROND
AIX-LA-CHAPELLE
LIÈGE
Wine
Moselle R.
TREVES

merce. Ghent was the industrial centre. In 1300 there were fifty different trades there. Bruges, connected with the sea by the canalized river Lys, was the chief emporium.

The chief industry of the Flemish cities was weaving. Ghent specialized in woolen cloth. Ypres was the linen centre. Almost every town had a particular weave, a particular pattern, a particular dye of its own, and the names of many medieval textiles are derived from these places. Arras gave its name to the hanging curtain called arras; Cambrai to cambric; Valenciennes created valence; the diaper pattern came from Ypres; the delicate linen known as lawn derived its name from Laon—a French city, it is true, but close to Flanders; the fair of St. Audrey created the word "tawdry," once a designation of quality which lost its first significance when shoddy was mixed with the long wool. Certain cities in the Low Countries excelled in metal work, especially Liège in iron and Dinant in copper ware. The French word for copper-smithing, *dinanderie,* was coined from the name of this town.

The Rhine was the most natural route of ingress into Flanders, but the flatness of the land made the overland road from Cologne through Aachen, Maestricht, where the Meuse was crossed, Louvain, where was the crossing of the Dyle, to Ghent and Bruges almost equally convenient. A toll schedule of Coblenz of 1104 shows the commercial intercourse between lower Germany and Flanders. In 1173 the emperor Frederick I, at the request of the count of Flanders, established fairs at Aachen and Duisburg.

Bruges was altogether a city of commerce and became the great middleman of North Europe. We have a remarkable list of foreign wares imported into Bruges about 1200.

One who attentively follows each of the streams of commerce converging upon Bruges from its separate source—the beer of Bremen and the Baltic products of the Hanse towns creeping behind the islands through the Zuider Zee, and threading a maze of Dutch waterways to avoid the Rhine tolls, the wool from England, the cloth of Picardy, the wine and salt of Rochelle, the cordwain of Barbary or Spain brought to the Fairs of Champagne by Provençal merchants, and the eastern argosies of Venice and Genoa venturing at length to face the perils of the open sea—will have become familiar with the essential features of international trade in the thirteenth century. . . . As the interruption of the English trade with Ghent and Ypres under King John enabled Bruges to establish its position as the centre of the wool trade, so the later disturbed condition of the land routes in France and Flanders assisted it to displace the Fairs of Champagne as the main and connecting link between North Europe and the Mediterranean. But it was not until the fourteenth century that Bruges became primarily an international dépôt and its citizens mere intermediaries in the transactions of foreigners whose permanent settlements gave their

names to whole streets and districts of the city. . . . The healthier period of its prosperity was due to the active participation of its citizens in a commerce predominantly Flemish—English and Spanish wool for Flemish weavers being the main import and the cloth of Flanders the main export.[1]

In Hainaut and Brabant was little but an agricultural peasantry, and dairy products, grain, and live stock were the chief productions. Antwerp, on the estuary of the Scheldt in Brabant, was not important commercially until the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, and arose after the decline of Bruges.

The density of population in the Low Countries already alluded to had an important influence upon emigration. Lowland and eastern Germany was settled by Flemish and Dutch colonists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Many Flemings also emigrated into England, where their skill as weavers was valued in wool-growing England. Floods and inundations of the sea were also causes of this emigration. The Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and many lesser rivers were liable to be flooded almost every spring by the head of waters from above pouring into them. But the sea was the greatest menace. It is true that dikes supplemented the natural barrier of the dunes in the most exposed places. But in a great storm these were often broken. The chronicles abound with tragic accounts of inundations, 1135, 1156, 1164, 1170, 1173. In the thirteenth century there were thirty-one. The Zuider Zee and the Texel were created by huge inundations. It is significant that there is a simultaneity between the occurrence of flood and Dutch and Flemish emigration. The connection is evident.

The commerce of Friesland and Holland was much less important than that of the provinces south of the delta of the Rhine. Most of the coast population was engaged in the herring and cod fisheries. The Rhine delta of the twelfth century, having practically the same course as it has today, owed its importance to its connection with the sea trade and the inland trade. Only a large map shows the names of the numerous branches that form the delta. On the left the Waal and the Leck extend westward from the main stream and flow into the North Sea. On the right the Yssel and the Vecht flow north into the Zuider Zee. It was impossible to enter the northern arms from the ocean, and in reaching this region traffic was compelled to enter the Leck and from this pass northward.

An important point was Arnhem, which lay at the point where the Yssel separates from the main course of the Rhine. A little below Arnhem lay Oosterbeek and Lobith, belonging to the count of Guelders. These were toll stations past which the traffic was compelled to go, and against these exactions there was more or less opposition. This was

[1] *English Historical Review,* XXIV, 774 (a review).

especially asserted at the diet of Frankfort in 1220. Duisburg, Doetchem, Arnhem, and Zutphen early acquired more than local importance, and from the end of the twelfth century foreign merchants were accustomed to visit them. A document of 1190 makes reference to Zutphen, which lay north of Arnhem on the Yssel. By the end of the twelfth century Zutphen was recognized as a central point for trade and commerce. The importance of the place and the extent of its trade relations are indicated in a commercial treaty of 1200 between the count of Guelders and the bishop of Utrecht in which it was provided that coins struck at Zutphen should not be the same as those coined at Utrecht. On the Vecht, which was the most eastern of the northern branches of the Rhine, lay Utrecht. Here was a toll station mention of which goes back as far as the tenth century. Through Utrecht passed fish and salt from the coast, and wine and grain from the inland. There was a regular trade between Utrecht and Cologne, wine being the most important article of commerce. Only a portion of this was for home consumption, as Utrecht became the centre of the wine market for shipments to England and to the north. Next to wine, grain was a most important article of the river traffic. The delta region was noted for its cattle breeding, but as no grain could be raised here it had to be brought from the south. As in the case of the wine trade Utrecht became the centre of the grain trade, which was brought from above and below Duisburg. The salt trade was especially carried on by the merchants of Friesland, who brought it in over the Zuider Zee. Their most important city was Stavoren, which lay far up the Zuider Zee at its narrowest point. There are no documents to show that any trade existed between this city and Utrecht; but it seems reasonable to suppose that there was, as this was the largest city of Friesland and its merchants were often found trading far up the Rhine. As early as the first quarter of the twelfth century Henry V had given protection to these merchants trading in German territory.

We now turn to the left arms of the delta. Here the Waal surpassed the Leck in commercial importance, just as the Vecht surpassed the Yssel in the north. There is no evidence that there was any commercial life at all on the Leck. On the other hand the Waal was dotted with a row of trading stations. On the left bank of the Waal not far below the point where it branched from the Rhine, was Nimwegen. This was the customs station for all imports coming in on this arm of the delta, but its importance for this period is not known with any degree of certainty. Tiel was another city on the Waal, which since the tenth century is mentioned along with the most important cities of North Germany as a place of toll. However, in the twelfth century the customhouse there was moved farther up the stream to Kaiserwerth on the Rhine, which gave great offense to Cologne. There is little that can be gathered as to the commercial importance of Tiel. Probably at the beginning of the eleventh

century Tiel was the leading trading city of the Netherlands; but between 1134 and 1174 its commercial importance decreased. This is the reason why the toll station was removed to Kaiserwerth.

The Waal was the principal route of the left delta region. From the middle of the twelfth century, and even before, merchants used this route to reach middle and upper Germany. Wood was an important item. Rafts were brought down from the upper Rhine as far as Coblenz, but the exact point where the rafts were broken up is not known. Perhaps next in importance to the grain trade was the trade in fish. The delta was the door through which fish entered Europe. Ships came down the Rhine bearing wine and on the return voyage went back to Cologne laden with salted fish.

Through Flanders or Holland naturally passed all trade between Germany and England. We have seen in a former chapter that German merchants were accorded royal trading privileges in England as far back as the reign of Ethelred (978–1016). They were distinguished as "men of the emperor." "The great privilege seems to have been that they were, with certain exceptions, allowed to buy and sell on board their own ships, which doubtless exempted them from certain tolls to which others were liable." As the Norman Conquest quickened Anglo-French trade, so it also quickened this Anglo-German trade. William of Malmesbury, an English historian of the twelfth century, mentions the importance of the trade of the German merchants in London in his time. Henry of Huntingdon, writing in 1155, refers to the English trade with lower Germany as "extensive" and mentions as English exports lead, tin, fish, cattle, jet, and above all wool. German exports in return were chiefly copper, silver, and iron.

In 1157 Henry II of England granted extensive privileges to the gild or hanse of German merchants resident in London. The document distinctly mentions the house (*domus sua*) of the men of Cologne. These privileges were confirmed or extended by Richard I (1194), by John (1213), by Henry III (1232), by Edward I. The German House or Steelyard in London was an important place, a walled area enclosing warehouses, a weighing house, dwelling houses, a church, and was in essence not dissimilar to the *fondachi* established by the Italian merchant colonies in Constantinople, Alexandria, and the ports of Syria and the Holy Land during the Crusades. The trade between London and Cologne was the core of this cross-sea traffic, but one finds record of German merchants from other Rhine cities, from Lübeck and Bremen, not only in London, but in York, Hull, Boston, Newcastle, Lynn.

A letter from Frederick Barbarossa to Henry II hopes for security and freedom of commerce between England and Germany. In 1176 the men of Lübeck were freed from the law of wreckage. Richard I on his return from his captivity passed through Cologne and made

additional grants to traders there. They were to be free from tolls; could buy and sell at all fairs on a payment of two shillings yearly for their Gild Hall in London. William of Malmesbury thus summarized the commercial relations of England in the twelfth century: "The noble city of London, rich in the wealth of its citizens, is filled with the goods of merchants from every land and especially from Germany, whence it happens that when there is a dearth in England on account of bad harvests, provisions can be bought there cheaper than elsewhere; and foreign merchandise is brought to the city by the famous river Thames." William of Newburgh records that a German nobleman said that if the emperor Henry VI had known how rich England was, he would have made her pay a much larger ransom for Richard I. John sent a letter to the citizens of Cologne in 1203 offering them the freedom of resorting to his dominions with their merchandise on paying the customary duties paid by their ancestors. This seems to indicate a temporary cessation of the Cologne trade after Richard I's captivity. In 1220 the merchants of Cologne reëstablished themselves in the Steelyard. In 1230 Henry III admitted the subjects of Otto of Brunswick to trade in his realm. In 1257, when Richard of Cornwall was chosen emperor—perhaps because of his fabulous wealth—he obtained from Henry III another charter for the burgesses of Lübeck. That same year the misery caused by the rapacity of the pope, the transportation of the earl of Cornwall's treasure to Germany, and further distress caused by a famine, resulted in a food crisis in London, which was relieved by the arrival of fifty large grain ships from Germany. Thus by the time of the early Plantagenets trade relations between England and Germany were well established—not through the initiative of English but through that of German merchants. The Hanseatic League was in embryo.

With almost all this internal and external expansion of German commerce and industry during the twelfth century the Hohenstaufen rulers had little to do. Even the princes were indifferent to it. The development was almost wholly due to the enterprise of the merchants and manufacturers themselves. Indeed, in the case of Frederick I (Barbarossa), he was so ignorant of the true nature of the age in which he ruled that he was hostile or indifferent to some of the most important of the changes. Much the same may also be said of the German feudality, both lay and clerical, of the time. The most brilliant exception is Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony and Bavaria, whose intelligent administration made his territories shining examples of prosperity. But in the main the material development of feudal Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was made independently of political authority and interest. The Hohenstaufen kings were deplorably devoid of that quick and sympathetic economic perception which characterized their French,

Angevin, and Norman-Sicilian contemporaries. Not one of them ever possessed a constructive economic policy.

The economic condition of Germany throws an important light upon the great feud of the two rival German political parties in the Hohenstaufen age. The Guelfs favored the burghers and the commercial and industrial revolution promoted by them. The Hohenstaufen, or Ghibelline, imperial party, on the other hand, was hostile to the change from the older feudal order of society. The shortsightedness and obstinacy of Frederick I in his burgher policy in Germany was of a piece with his policy toward the Lombard cities, and fortunately was just as ineffective in the end. His destruction of the walls of Mainz in 1163 reminds one of his treatment of Milan. Cologne in part owed her commercial preëminence to this setback of Mainz. Fortunately for German industry, the gilds had not yet become prominent enough to attract the wrath of the emperor and were unmolested.

The notorious prejudice of the Hohenstaufen emperors, especially Frederick I, against the burgher class encouraged seizure of existing tolls and the imposition of new ones by the feudality almost everywhere in Germany, in spite of Frederick I's boast that the Rhine was a "royal street." In 1155 the merchants of Mainz, Frankfort, and Bamberg protested in vain against "the new and unaccustomed and unreasonable tolls" exacted upon the Main.

> The collections of charters tell a tale of tolls granted to bishops, to monasteries, to counts, with a liberality which seems almost profligate. . . . It is probable that during the whole of this period but an insignificant fraction of the tolls levied throughout the Empire found its way into the emperor's treasure-box. By the twelfth century the princes were probably all of them in possession of these rights. . . . In 1157, in 1209, in 1235, in 1290, the princes declare that their consent must be obtained to the imposition of any new toll. . . . To safeguard their own large pecuniary interests the princes combine with the emperor against the trifling bandit who pillages on the tow-path. One step further and they combine with one another to pillage the Emperor himself.[2]

Nevertheless, in spite of these deterrent factors there is no doubt of the steady growth of German commerce and industry during the Hohenstaufen epoch. In time, as we shall see later on, the cities by leagueing together managed to check these abuses.

Only one German prince of this time stood out prominently as an intelligent promoter of commerce and industry within his dominions. This was Henry the Lion (died 1197), the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. As such, Henry followed the example set by his father Henry the

[2] Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, I, 278–79.

Proud in Bavaria. For during his struggle with Conrad III the burghers of Regensburg and Passau, who wished nothing so much as peace and commercial and industrial prosperity, had steadfastly supported him. When Henry the Lion inherited his father's possessions he continued his father's course in Bavaria and translated the same liberal economic promotion to Saxony, which he inherited from his mother. He founded Munich on the Isar, over which he constructed a bridge; the new city caught some of the Italian and oriental trade coming over the Brenner Pass and in time rivaled older cities like Augsburg, Regensburg, and Passau as a mart in southeastern Germany. Henry the Lion perceived the importance of this burgher movement in Germany as no other prince and identified himself with it. The Guelfs founded Brunswick, Göttingen, Münden, Nordhausen, Einbeck, and greatly developed Naumburg and Lübeck. Even Cologne, although never a Guelf or Saxon city, was Guelf in sympathy in the feud between the Guelf and Hohenstaufen parties. It was too closely attached to the metal industries of Goslar and Rammelsberg in the Harz and the Saxon hinterland not to be so.

The industrial development of the Saxon towns under Henry the Lion went hand in hand with their commercial prosperity. Not only the grosser industries but the fine arts were stimulated. His capital, Brunswick, became a German Florence because of its architects, artists, goldsmiths, silversmiths, wood, stone, and ivory carvers. Henry the Lion was not always just in his dealings, but he was ever keenly intelligent and alive to economic opportunities.

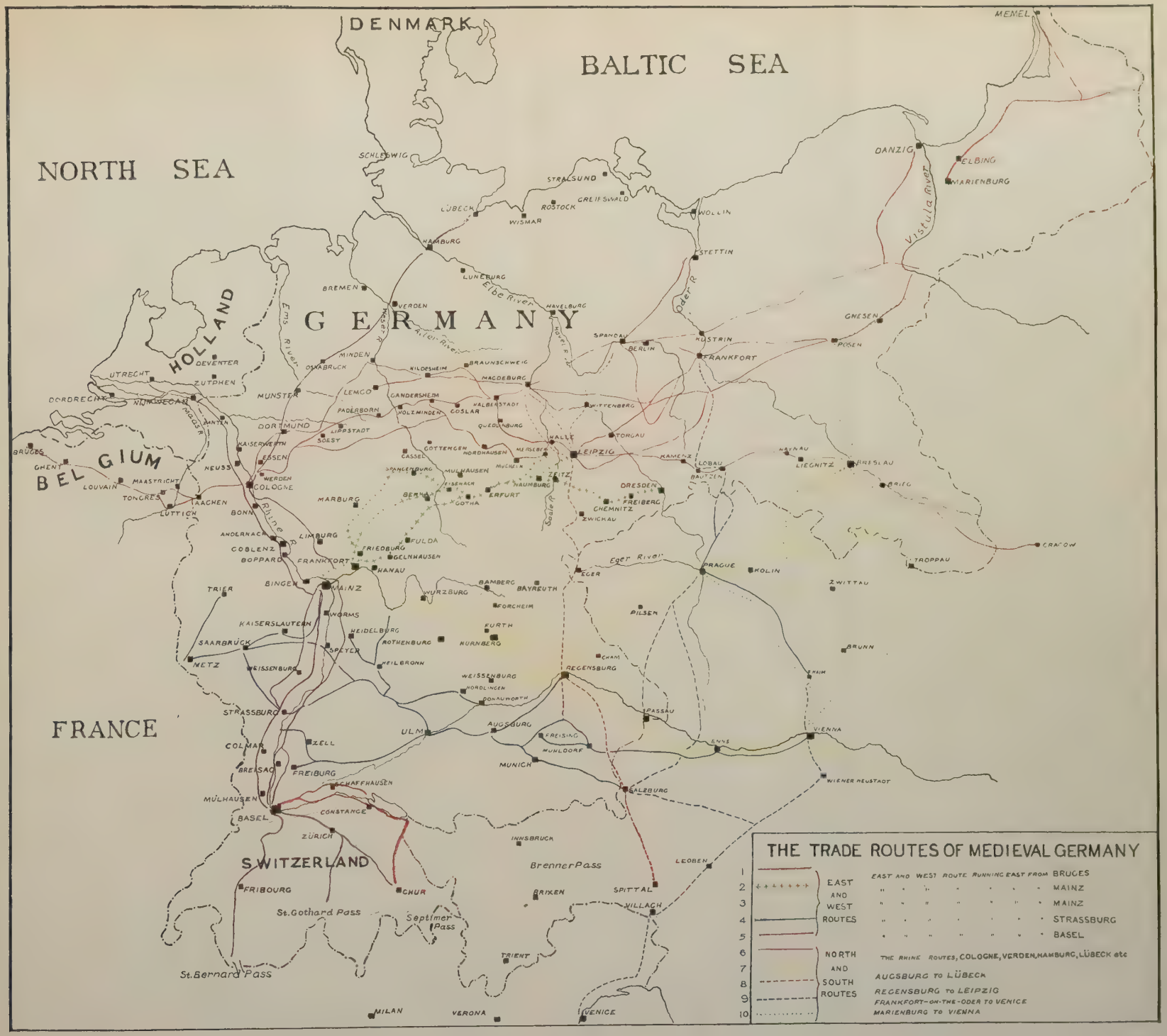
For nearly two hundred years the Danes had almost monopolized the commerce of the Baltic. Danish merchant colonies were established in Stettin, Wollin, Danzig, at the mouths of the Peene, the Oder, the Vistula rivers, amid the Slavonic population. Henry the Lion's ambition was to supplant the Danes and to establish German commercial supremacy in the Baltic. It is not too much to say that effective German commercial life in Baltic Germany begins with Henry the Lion's seizure of Lübeck, on an island in the little river Wochnitz, in 1158. The place had once been a formidable Slavonic stronghold, but in 1143 Count Adolph of Holstein established a community of Holsteiners there. The new town speedily began to compete with Bardowick, Charlemagne's old trading post and, except for Hamburg and Bremen, which were not under Henry's rule, was the principal German seat of trade in the far north. Thereupon Henry founded a new town, which he called Löwenstadt after himself, and nearer to Lübeck in the hope of competing with her. But it, too, declined like Bardowick. Henry, who was rapacious and domineering, then demanded of Adolph of Holstein the half of Lübeck for himself, and when it was refused, forcibly closed the market there. Hostilities followed, and in 1157 Lübeck was burned by the Saxon duke. When the count of Holstein refused to rebuild it Henry seized it (1158),

rebuilt the town and its walls, established a market and a mint and proclaimed it a free port for all merchandise from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Wisby, on the island of Gothland, then the base of trade with Novgorod in Russia, and through Novgorod and Kiev with the Black Sea, Byzantine, and eastern trade. With the reluctant aid of Waldemar of Denmark, Henry the Lion then set to work to free the Baltic of piracy, and for the first time in history made the islands of that sea places of peaceable habitation.

Certain other elements of Henry the Lion's administration may also be briefly specified. He was a great road and bridge builder; he diked streams; he drained vast tracts of marsh and swamp, by importing lowland Flemings and Hollanders, used to laboring in that kind of soil.

The destruction of Saxony in 1181 as the climax of the feud between the duke and the emperor, the removal of the Hohenstaufen seat of power and political interest in 1190 to Sicily and southern Italy, the civil disturbances and internecine war into which Germany was thrown between 1198 and 1214 did not derange the commerce and industry of the country as seriously as might have been expected. For by that time the cities—the seats of greater material prosperity than the countryside—were walled and free towns and were able to protect themselves. Few of them seriously suffered except Goslar, which was sacked by Otto IV in 1206 because it adhered to Philip of Swabia in the conflict between these two aspirants for the throne. We have a picture, in the account of this catastrophe by Arnold of Lübeck, of the high degree of commercial development the German cities had acquired by the thirteenth century. "The enormously rich city (*civitas opulenta valde*) was devastated, streets and houses pillaged, the richest citizens made prisoner, during eight days. So great was the amount of pepper and spices that it was measured by bushels and divided into heaps."

Medieval Germany entered upon that long period of political disunity and feudal particularism in these fateful years. The power of the crown, the authority of the central government, was reduced to illusory dimension. The rule of the country was divided between powerful feudal princes, not the least of whom were the prince-bishops, and the burghers of the free cities. There was much money in the country owing to the expansion of German trade, but the power to tax the resources of the land escaped the crown. Otto IV dreamed of imposing a general tax, but feudal and municipal independence and fiscal autonomy were too great for him to enforce it. The policy of favoring the towns against the princes was initiated too late to be effective and both classes eluded crown control. The crown had permitted commerce, industry, and the very revenues of the soil to slip out of its grasp. "The mere rumor of an intended common imperial tax lost Otto IV


DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
MEMEL
DANZIG
ELBING
MARIENBURG
Vistula River
SCHLESWIG
STRALSUND
GREIFSWALD
ROSTOCK
WISMAR
LÜBECK
WOLLIN
HAMBURG
STETTIN
LÜNEBURG
Elbe River
BREMEN
VERDEN
HAVELBURG
Oder R.
HOLLAND
GERMANY
Ems River
Weser R.
Aller River
SPANDAU
BERLIN
KÜSTRIN
FRANKFORT
GNESEN
POSEN
MINDEN
OSNABRÜCK
HILDESHEIM
BRAUNSCHWEIG
MAGDEBURG
UTRECHT
DEVENTER
ZUTPHEN
DORDRECHT
NIJMWEGEN
MÜNSTER
LEMGO
GANDERSHEIM
WITTENBERG
PADERBORN
HOLZMINDEN
GOSLAR
HALBERSTADT
DORTMUND
QUEDLINBURG
LIPPSTADT
SOEST
HALLE
TORGAU
KAISERSWERTH
ESSEN
GOTTINGEN
NORDHAUSEN
MEISSEN
LEIPZIG
KAMENZ
LOBAU
NAVNAU
LIEGNITZ
BRESLAU
BRUGES
GHENT
BELGIUM
NEUSS
CASSEL
SPANGENBURG
MÜLHAUSEN
MUCHELN
NAUMBURG
ZEITZ
BAUTZEN
GÖRLITZ
MAASTRICHT
LOUVAIN
TONGRES
WERDEN
COLOGNE
EISENACH
ERFURT
DRESDEN
MARBURG
BERKA
GOTHA
FREIBERG
CHEMNITZ
ZWICKAU
AACHEN
LÜTTICH
BONN
Rhine R.
Saale R.
ANDERNACH
LIMBURG
FULDA
CRACOW
COBLENZ
FRIEDBURG
TROPPAU
BOPPARD
GELNHAUSEN
FRANKFORT
Eger River
PRAGUE
KOLIN
HANAU
EGER
ZWITTAU
TRIER
BINGEN
MAINZ
BAMBERG
BAYREUTH
WÜRZBURG
FORCHHEIM
PILSEN
WORMS
KAISERSLAUTERN
HEIDELBURG
FURTH
BRÜNN
SAARBRÜCK
ROTHENBURG
NÜRNBERG
SPEYER
METZ
WEILBRONN
CHAM
WEISSENBURG
REGENSBURG
IGLAU
FRANCE
WEISSENBURG
NÖRDLINGEN
DONAUWÖRTH
PASSAU
STRASSBURG
AUGSBURG
VIENNA
ULM
FREISING
COLMAR
ZELL
ENNS
MUNICH
MÜNLDORF
BREISAC
FREIBURG
SCHAFFHAUSEN
WIENER NEUSTADT
SALZBURG
MÜLHAUSEN
BASEL
CONSTANCE
ZÜRICH
INNSBRUCK
SWITZERLAND
BrennerPass
LEOBEN
FRIBOURG
CHUR
BRIXEN
SPITTAL
VILLACH
St.Gothard Pass
Septimer Pass
TRIENT
St.Bernard Pass
MILAN
VERONA
VENICE
THE TRADE ROUTES OF MEDIEVAL GERMANY
EAST AND WEST ROUTES
NORTH AND SOUTH ROUTES
EAST AND WEST ROUTE RUNNING EAST FROM BRUGES
MAINZ
MAINZ
STRASSBURG
BASEL
THE RHINE ROUTES, COLOGNE, VERDEN, HAMBURG, LÜBECK etc
AUGSBURG TO LÜBECK
REGENSBURG TO LEIPZIG
FRANKFORT-ON-THE-ODER TO VENICE
MARIENBURG TO VIENNA

some of his most influential supporters." The Hohenstaufen had looked so long to Italy for their money that when they lost rule over the Lombard cities they were unable to tax Germany and hence endeavored to recoup their fortune in Sicily, with the result that Germany was lost, too, and the kingdom dissolved into a complex of jarring petty feudal states and fiercely competitive city groups.

The commercial and industrial history of Germany in the thirteenth century is largely the history of conflict between feudally governed rural Germany and the towns. The bitterest source of this strife was the tolls by road and river, especially those of the Rhine. The cities fought for freedom of interurban trade. The feudality suffered from depreciation in their revenues from landed estates owing to the economic revolution in the twelfth century whereby the wealth derived from commerce and industry began to displace the wealth derived from agriculture—a condition aggravated by the migration of rural labor to the towns; and they sought to mend their fortunes by imposing all that the traffic would bear in the form of tolls and tariffs.

"The robber fastnesses multiply apace. . . . The steady multiplication of toll stations is in itself a sufficient indication of the growing anarchy, but though the smaller nobles joined in the pleasant task of relieving the merchant of his wealth, the lion's share went to the princes of the Church. The rich banquet of the Rhenish tolls was served up to the opulent archbishops of Mainz and Cologne." The Rhine was popularly described as "the priests' lane." The intelligent and constructive economic principle of Saxon and Salian times, whereby the revenues arising from these tolls were expended for improvement and protection of navigation, was succeeded by a selfish local and fiscal policy. In the late Hohenstaufen period the toll stations fell almost entirely into the hands of the bishops and barons along the Rhine. The number increased appallingly, from nineteen to sixty-two, and the rapacity of the barons and bishops was so great that the rates were continually raised, sometimes to as high as sixty per cent. It was a policy of exploitation and extortion greater than the traffic could bear and destructive of commerce.

The condition was a repetition of the condition in the early feudal age when every noble laid *péages* upon trade and converted the boundary of his fief into a tariff frontier. But with this exception: the condition was far more aggravated now by the great development of commerce and industry and the power and sense of independence of the burghers. The robber baron in the thirteenth century had to deal not with poor pack peddlers and small wandering merchants, but with a rich and united merchant class, commanding great resources and capable of acting with force in protection of its interests.

Out of this political and economic struggle between the towns and

the feudality was destined to come a great and constructive movement in the middle of the thirteenth century, which was to have far-reaching influence upon the history of commerce and trade in medieval Germany. This was the formation of the city-leagues.

There seems to have been an effort toward the formation of a city-league in the Rhenish midlands as early as 1220. But nothing came of the movement until 1226, when Mainz, Worms, Bingen, Speyer, Oppenheim, Frankfort, Gelnhausen, and Friedburg united to resist the oppression of the robber barons. Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz complained to Frederick II. In answer Prince Henry, the regent of his father, declared the league must be dissolved. The cities refused to obey. They were in much the same position as the Lombard cities in the previous century, and the grandson of Frederick I had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. In 1231 the diet at Worms, in which burghers had no seat, formally interdicted the League of the Rhine. But the furious conflict of the emperor with the papacy prevented any imperial action to suppress it.

Other towns, in Swabia, Westphalia, and even Switzerland, soon joined it, and on June 25, 1255, an imposing league was constituted which ultimately included seventy cities and extended up and down the entire Rhine and covered a great part of central and western Germany. Recognized by William of Holland, these *civitates conjuratæ*—for such they are called in the *Formula pacis*—organized a constabulary on land and a flotilla on the water. Between Basel and the confluence of the Moselle with the Rhine at Coblenz this river fleet numbered a hundred armed boats. Only commercial barges were allowed to put in and out of those river ports pertaining to the league, and a *Bundzoll,* or official toll, was created to meet common expenses.

Having thus established security along the Rhine, the league attacked the arbitrary tolls imposed by the barons. In 1268 the cities obtained from the diet an act abolishing all tolls except those of ancient right and ordering the demolition of all collection bureaux between Strassburg and Cologne. Many of the castles were destroyed. But the most formidable of these, the famous Castle Rheinfels, constructed in 1216 and belonging to Count Dietrich of Katzenellenbogen, resisted all efforts to take it.

In 1253 the Westphalian cities followed the example of the Rhine cities. Münster, Dortmund, Soest, Lippstadt united. Sometimes only two cities arranged together for mutual protection, as Basel and Mühlhausen in 1246, Brunswick and Stade in 1248. In 1278 the towns of the upper Rhine and Alsace combined and in 1285 Strassburg, Basel and Freiburg.

Indubitably the healthiest and most progressive life of Germany in the Hohenstaufen epoch is to be found in these free cities. The number

of them was very great, at least one hundred and fifty. As cities are estimated today they would seem small. But their influence for their time was equal to that of modern urban communities. Not only were they the focal points of commerce and industry, but as their wealth increased they also became of importance in the promotion of the higher arts and of literature. The architecture of later medieval Germany is preëminently a municipal and gild architecture, not, as formerly, ecclesiastical. In historiography it is now that town chronicles begin to supplant the older medieval form of monastic chronicles.

It is as suggestive to contemplate the trade routes of Germany as it is those of Italy and France, and to observe similarities and differences, ordained by natural resources and above all, by physical features. Italy is a long, boot-shaped peninsula whose axis is the Apennines, with three sides open to the sea and only one river of importance, the Po. France is a great hexagon open to the sea on south, west, and north and connected with central Europe all along its eastern frontier and easy of access from Lombardy, Germany, and Flanders. With the exception of the Garonne all important rivers of France flow from the centre to the circumference, or in other words, radiate as spokes from a hub. The centre of gravity of France is naturally in the Seine basin. Political France merely conforms to natural, physiographic France.

Medieval Germany, on the other hand, was rectangular in form; or rather, it was formed of two rectangular parts, upper or southern Germany, and lower or northern Germany. These two halves were separated from each other by the Main and Eger rivers, the former flowing west into the Rhine, the latter east into the Elbe through a great natural trough formed by parallel ranges of mountains. Except for the Elbe River (the long diagonal feature of physical Germany), all important German rivers flow along either horizontal or vertical lines. This makes the road map of Germany somewhat resemble a gridiron, at the intersection of whose bars one finds the cities. Careful scrutiny of the map will disclose the fact that there were five horizontal routes of commerce across Germany, and a like number of vertical ones. Horizontal routes: (1) the Danube Valley Route from Basel or Strassburg over Ulm, Augsburg, Regensburg, Passau to Vienna and Buda Pesth; (2) the Main-Eger Route from the middle Rhine to the upper Elbe from Mainz through Frankfort, Bamberg, Nuremberg, Eger, Prague; (3) Cologne, Cassel, Erfurt, Leipzig, Bautzen, Breslau; (4) Cologne, Dortmund, Soest, Goslar, Magdeburg, Berlin, Frankfort-on-the-Oder; (5) Cologne, Münster, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Stralsund, Stettin, Danzig. Vertical routes: (1) the Meuse, from Verdun to Ghent in Flanders; (2) the Rhine from Basel to Utrecht, in reality a triple route, for there was a road on each bank and the river between; (3) from the Brenner Pass to the Baltic, through Augsburg, Nuremberg, Bamberg,

Erfurt, Goslar, Brunswick, Hamburg, to Bremen or Lübeck; (4) from the Brenner Pass through Munich, Regensburg, Eger, Leipzig, Halle, Magdeburg to Hamburg or Lübeck; (5) from Venice through Villach, Salzburg, Passau, Prague, Breslau, to Frankfort-on-the-Oder or to Danzig.

In the twelfth century the texture of German society was greatly changed from that of the eleventh. During the long War of Investiture, which, so far as the emperor was concerned, was a revolt of the great feudality, a swarm of lesser feudal lords had risen to power who fortified themselves within their castles and exercised sway round about them, and whose inclination was to set at naught both the authority of the crown and that of the great dukes. Thus, politically Germany was given over to sectionalism and feudal particularism on a large scale —a condition precisely the opposite from that which obtained in France.

The burgher population in the walled towns was able to protect itself against the overbearing ways of this petty feudality. But the rural peasantry had not such protection. The long civil strife, poverty, famine, had reduced most of the free class in Germany to serfdom even before the termination of the Salian epoch, and the dominance of the petty lords who had arisen confirmed and continued this condition in the twelfth century. And yet, although the general tendency was for small freeholders to sink to serfdom and for serfdom itself to become more aggravated, there were counterbalancing influences which ameliorated this tendency. There was great competition among proprietors for laborers to clear forests, and to drain swamp lands as the price of land increased, and the consequence was that many of the proprietary class were compelled to attract settlers by liberal offers. Moreover the rapid growth of towns in Germany and the colonization of trans-Elbean Germany tended to ameliorate the condition of serfdom. Labor was so much in demand in the towns and in the new lands of the frontier that the serf took flight to one place or the other if he were overworked or abused. To avoid losing his tenantry the proprietor had to be considerate, if not kind. Thus the services of the peasantry gradually became definite and quasi-contractual in their nature; the peasant was assured of his holding on reasonable terms. The "hard age" of the German peasantry was not in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but at the end of the Middle Ages, when the "reception" of Roman Law formidably aggravated their condition.

CHAPTER XX

GERMAN EASTWARD EXPANSION AND COLONIZATION *

"The great deed of the German people in the Middle Ages," it has been justly said, "was the expansion of the German race eastward over the Slavonic nations, and the making of three-fifths of modern Germany."

There were two Germanys in the Middle Ages, and it is important to understand the distinction between them: Old, West, Feudal Germany, and New, East, Colonial Germany. The former was peopled by the ancient German tribal stocks, which preserved traditions of Roman and old Frankish rule and culture; the Church was a long established institution in it, and feudal institutions and civilization prevailed over it. New East Germany on the contrary, was a different world geographically, racially, culturally. It was the great zone beyond the lower Elbe, the Saale, the Raab, and the Leitha rivers, peopled by the Slavs and Magyars.

What Professor Turner has called "the common sequence of frontiers" in American history is true of medieval Germany. Rhenish merchants in the ninth century imported grain and cattle into the Rhine cities from the estates of the Hessian monasteries of Fulda and Hersfeld on the edge of the wilderness. Beyond these monastery ranches, conditions became more primitive, the thinly settled region shading off into patches of soil, crudely tilled by a German peasantry, and clearings in the forest, until the pure frontier was reached on the Saale and the lower Elbe. The stages in the eastward expansion of the German people are marked, though not so clearly (for lack of documents) as the same phenomenon here in the United States. In Charlemagne's time the frontier of settlement—for we must distinguish between the military boundary and the edge of civilization—was barely beyond the Rhine. The chain of fortified trading-posts along the course of the lower Elbe, the Saale, and the Nab rivers from Bardowick to Regensburg was far from civilization.

This parallel between American westward expansion and German eastward expansion in the Middle Ages is not a fanciful one. The line of the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula rivers as clearly demarked the eastward expansion of Germany as the "fall line" of the Atlantic seaboard, the Alleghenies, and the Mississippi delimited the successive stages of American

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 80.

westward expansion. That "return to primitive conditions in a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development of that area," which is so manifest in American expansion, is just as true of the history of the German border. The stages of transition are identical—from cattle-raising and swine-herding to farming, to commerce, to manufacturing. In the time of the Ottos, the Saxon peasant fed his cattle in the plains of the lower Elbe and Saale rivers, and the Thuringian herded swine on the pine-slopes of the Harz. The cowpens were not far from the town life of old Franconia (Mainz, Worms, Speyer), as they were near the "fall line" in the American colonies when tidewater cities like Baltimore, Richmond, and Charleston had become staid communities. Erfurt, Hallstadt, Forchheim, Priemberg, Schesel, Magdeburg, were fortified trading depots with the Wends like Forts Granville, Shirley, and Bedford in Pennsylvania, Cumberland in Virginia, Chiswell on the Great Kanawha, and Prince George above the Saluda. These German fortified towns were often built on the sites of former Slavonic villages, as Indian villages were occupied over here. Beyond these posts the German pack-trader, with whom furs were an important article of trade, threaded the Slavonic wilderness as his American successor pierced the Allegheny watershed into the plains of Kentucky and Ohio.

Nothing in history so resembles this history of German eastward expansion and colonization as that of the westward expansion of the American people from the Atlantic seaboard, first to the head of tide-water, then up the Mohawk or over the Alleghenies into the Ohio and Mississippi country. At bottom both movements were a search for free and cheap land by a farming people. For it is estimated that land values in Germany rose forty per cent between 900 and 1300, especially in the rich Moselle and Rhine lands.

The conquests of Charlemagne had been the first stage in this long and bloody history of German expansion. In his reign Frankish expansion had reached the Saale and the lower Elbe, and in the Danube Valley by the middle of the ninth century the German sphere extended beyond the Enns, which had been the farthest east of German extension in pre-Avar times, and had reached the Raab. What is now modern Austria, with Carinthia and Styria, was not merely politically but culturally from now on affiliated with Germany.

But the break-up of Charlemagne's Empire and the evil days of civil war and Norse and Magyar invasion arrested this eastward expansion. The movement was not resumed again until the accession of the Saxon dynasty in 919. Under Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great, German trade and commerce increased, population grew, and with this development came the demand for more land. Moreover, the intimate alliance between the Church and the Saxon crown entailed an obligation upon the

latter to back up by the sword the revived missionary activity of the Church. The result was renewed attack upon the Wends.

The Sorbenland between the Saale and the upper Elbe was the first territory wrung from the Slavs, and the first to be Germanized. In 928 Henry made a winter campaign across the frozen marshes of the Havel River and "by hunger, sword, and cold," as the chronicler says, captured the chief town of the Hevellians. It was called Brunabor. Henry converted it into a fortress—a *burg*. The town was built on a low hill, a remarkable thing in this land of marsh and fen, on the crest of which stood the famous Wend temple of Triglatt, which was transformed into a church dedicated to the Virgin. The little Wendish town doubtless was composed of the rude cottages of fishermen studding the river bank. The Wends were naturally a fisher folk, living as they did in a network of rivers and marshes. But bee-keeping was also a passion among them.

Such is the history of the beginnings of Brandenburg. The process of conquest and colonization went on under the ruthless margrave Gero, Otto the Great's "lord of the north." Magdeburg was made an archbishopric with power over the whole northeast, and seven new bishoprics established—Oldenburg, Havelburg, Brandenburg, Merseburg (notice the repetitious suffix "burg," for every one was half house of God, half fortress against the Wend), Zeitz, Meissen, and Prague. By the end of the Saxon period German ecclesiastical influence was dominant in Poland; the bishoprics of Breslau, Gnesen, and Posen had been founded. The Germans had reached the Oder River.

At the same time other Saxons crossed the lower Elbe into the Billunger lands (Mecklenburg) [1] and settled there. The frontier of settlement and the military border, however, were not identical. In Thuringia the frontier of civilization extended to the Saale, but in Saxony proper it stopped at the Aller and the Ocker. Along the middle Main civilization had crept up as far as Würzburg, as a charter of Otto III shows, which granted special privileges to settlers who would come and reclaim the forests and drain the marshes. Bamberg, which Henry II founded in 1007, succeeded Würzburg as the frontier outpost of the Main valley. The sources of the Saxon period show the large progress made in eastward expansion. Along the eastern edge of the kingdom,

[1] The province of Mecklenburg derives its name from the fortified town of that name. It was originally called "Wiligrad" or the "Great Town" by the Slavs. When it was captured by the Saxons and converted into a *Burg*, they prefixed the Old German adjective *mekel*, meaning "big" or "great," to the word *Burg*. Compare Middle English *mickle*, and Anglo-Saxon *micel*, which have the same significance Thus Mecklenburg is a German translation of Wiligrad. It was the key fortress in a line of frontier posts which extended from the Baltic to Lake Schwerin and included Wismar, Oldenburg, Ilow, Bukow, Schwerin on an island in the Schwerinersee, and Dobbin at the north end of that lake.

from the mouth of the Elbe to the mountains of Styria, German colonists annexed immense tracts of territory.

These pioneers were chiefly engaged in cattle-raising. Court judgments in this region were imposed in cattle fines under Otto I, and the legislation shows the prevalence of crimes of violence typical of frontier conditions. The country, like our own New West, began to be thinly settled with Saxon colonists, ranchers and farmers as ready to use the sword against the Wends as the American frontiersmen were to use the rifle against the Indians.

The Saxon population along the border (*Marcomanni,* or *Marchmen,* they were called), had need, as the chronicler Helmold says, to be of strong endurance and to be ready to risk their blood. These medieval German frontiersmen were resolute and hardy, hard-working and given to a rough hospitality toward strangers, provided they were Germans and "lived Saxon law" like themselves, but hating the Wend and detesting foreign incomers like the Dutch and Flemings.

Yet this subjugation was not permanent. In 983 the Slavs rose furiously and destroyed the German settlements. But the border warfare was renewed and colonization was resumed. In 1000 Nordalbingia was desolated for the second time by the Slavs. Again colonization was resumed, and again in 1018 a Slavonic uprising drove the Germans out. All the German villages and border posts were devastated; even Hamburg was threatened. It was an irrepressible conflict. For the third time German pioneers crossed the Elbe and for the third time in 1066 the Slavs, who this time found a bold leader in Kruto, whose stronghold was on the site of later Lübeck, drove them out. Brandenburg was lost until the first quarter of the next century, when once more the dogged determination of the Saxon people permanently recovered it. More than 600 families in Holstein left the country in 1066 and settled in the Harz.

The desolation was complete. In the twelfth century, when lower Germany under the leadership of Adolph of Holstein, Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear again recovered the "lost provinces," Helmold of Holstein, whose intelligent observation entitles him to no mean honor as an archæologist, found a melancholy charm in surveying the ruins of churches and monasteries in Schleswig and Mecklenburg—crumbled memorials of German power there in the days of the Ottos.

> There still remain [he writes] many evidences of that former occupation, especially in the forest which extends from the city of Lütjenburg through the mighty tracts of Schleswig, in whose vast and almost impenetrable solitude yet may be descried the furrows which once marked out the plowlands. Even the lines of former towns and villages may be traced in

the ruins. Along the streams in many places mounds of earth and silt, formed by the tributary waters, yet testify that every such site was once inhabited by Saxons—when Saxon valor was formidable.

It is the same even on the *left* bank of the Elbe between the great bend and the upper Aller (today the territory around Halberstadt, Salzwedel, and Stendhal), "where still may be seen the ruins of old levees which were constructed in the lowlands along the banks of the Elbe. When the Slavs over-ran the country the Saxons were cut off, and the land was possessed by them down to our own time."

When we sum it up, the Salian period closed with pitiably insignificant results so far as trans-Elbean settlement is concerned. In 1125 the linguistic frontier in the northeast was still where it had been in the reign of Charlemagne.

In the Bend of the Danube the history of German southeast colonization exhibits the same alternation between advance and retreat that characterizes the history of the northeastern frontier. Just as the Slavonic reactions of 983, 1018, and 1066 undid the work of Trans-Elbean colonization, and threw the Saxon pioneers back across the Elbe three several times, so in the southeast the labor of Bavarian settlement was undone by the Magyars, who by 896 were settled on both banks of the Theiss. In 900 the margrave Liutpold built the Ennsburg out of the stones of Passau's old Roman walls. Effective check to the inroads of the Magyars was not made until Otto I's smashing defeat of them near Augsburg in 955. After that date a steady stream of German colonists flowed into the wasted land of the Ostmark. The body of these pioneers probably came from Bavaria, but there is reason to believe that with them was a considerable proportion of Frank and Swabian immigrants from farther west.

After 955, in spite of obstacles and setbacks, the advance of German southeast colonization, if slow, was sure. The work of colonization was done by big "operators,"—namely, the high clergy and feudality. Unfortunately there is no general description of this movement by a contemporary observer, such as Helmold affords us for the history of the colonization of Mecklenburg. The frontier bishoprics of the southeast had no one to record their history as Adam of Bremen did for Hamburg. The history is not found in any Austrian chronicle, for there is no chronicle of the Babenberger house.

The Wienerwald seems for several years to have retarded settlement. But more important than the resistance of the great forest was the hostility of the sparse but determined population (principally Magyar, but with some settlers of Slavonic blood), living east of the forest. This territory was a sort of No Man's Land where every man's hand was liable to be against another, and certainly against any encroaching

pioneers out of Germany. The first positive evidence of German settlement east of the Wienerwald is found in 1002.

At some unknown date in the career of Duke Adalbert of Austria (1018–55), the site of Vienna had been occupied by him, probably as an advance-post to cover the German settlements which by that time had succeeded in penetrating the Wienerwald. Their appearance in this region was the signal for an intensification of the border strife in which the settlers were apparently the aggressors, and which soon led to intervention of the Magyar king Stephen. It was not long before the narrow strip of territory between the Fischa and the Leitha rivers, like the Scottish Border, was the scene of a strife which has left an indelible and picturesque mark upon medieval German literature in the greatest of German epics. Nevertheless, German settlers persisted in pushing into the land, and even some adventurous traders. Who made the first trading journey into Austria, no source tells us, but there are clear evidences of the coming of traders from the tenth century on. The Regensburgers were the first who came in any number. Austria, at that time, scarcely had a distinct trading class of her own. The progress of German culture toward the southeast during this period is no less important than the political development. By the time of Henry IV, under the able administration of Bishop Altmann of Passau (1065–91), this portion of the Danubian lands had begun to lose the shaggy frontier aspect of a border diocese, and to acquire some of the material amenities of civilization which might be enjoyed in older Germany.

The War of Investiture stimulated this extension of German colonization farther down the Danube, as it did that east of the Elbe. The anarchy in Germany led to an exodus of the population into the lands of the east. In the next century one finds a surprising number of German communities in these colonial lands. Further tangible evidence of German extension is found in the charters of the monasteries, especially in Austria. The colonizing activity of the bishops and the abbots in the March, in Steiermark, in Carinthia in the late eleventh, and through the twelfth century, was very great. The multiplication of German place-names shows it. This is when Melk, Klosterneuburg, Heiligenkreuz, Lilienfeld, St. Maria Zell, Zwettl, Seitenstetten, Geras and other abbeys began to grow rich and fat on gifts of land. At the same time families of the high feudality like the Ebersberger, the Schala-Burghausen, the Bogner, the Plaien-Pleisteiner, the Sulzbacher, the Falksteiner, who naturally brought with them a crowd of colonists, free and serf, began to rise up. Some of these probably drifted into the Danube lands during the early Crusades. North of the Danube the progress of German colonization was no less. German and Bohemian backwoodsmen clashed in the great Böhmerwald where their spheres of "squatter sovereignty" met.

With the accession of Lothar of Saxony to the German kingship in 1125 a new and formidable advance was made in German northeast colonization. Within the term of the next generation the entire fabric of Slav independence collapsed. Nordalbingia, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania were settled by the German people. The speed and effectiveness of this rapid change is partly to be ascribed to the breakdown of the capacity of resistance among the Wends; more, perhaps, to the accumulated pressure of things economic and social in Germany, which bore down all barriers of opposition.

"Hard times" and feudal oppression were prolific sources of the migration of the small farming class into new regions. In the twelfth century, however, the feudal nobles began to show more enlightenment. They saw the economic value of promoting colonization in the vast stretches of forest and marsh land which they owned, and also were eager to dispossess the Slavs whose lands they coveted, and so began to hold out inducements to settlers. In 1106 the archbishop of Bremen imported hundreds of Dutch and Flemish settlers, used to deep plowing and ditching and draining in the low-lying lands of Belgium and Holland, and settled them in the great marshes of the Weser River around Bremen. Albert the Bear of Brandenburg did the same in the marshy region around medieval Berlin. Count Adolph of Holstein, one of the most intelligent and clear-sighted nobles of the twelfth century, "sent messengers into all the regions round about, even into Flanders and Holland, into Westphalia and Frisia, to proclaim that all who were in want of land might come with their families and receive the best soil—a spacious country rich in crops, abounding in fish and flesh and exceeding good pasturages."

The result of the reduction of the Wagri in 1143 was a large influx of colonists into the trans-Elbean lands, which were thrown open to settlement. After the Wendish Crusade of 1147 this drift of population toward the frontier became almost a "rush." Settlers thronged in *cum equis et bubus, cum aratris et plaustris et personis ad opus idoneis,* to the exasperation of the Wends who could do nothing but sullenly submit. Nothing so much resembles it as the American "rush" after the War of 1812 into the Western Reserve and the Ohio Valley. In the older parts of Germany the exodus was so great that manorial proprietors were compelled to ameliorate the condition of their peasantry lest they run away to the new lands beyond the Elbe.

It was a rough and uncouth frontier community, predominantly Wendish, but with a considerable sprinkling of a hardy, lawless pioneer element—Helmold says it was a *gens bruta.* But mixed with that negative ingredient found in every rough, frontier society seeking a way out of its discontent by change, was a very large element of the best blood and bone of the German race in this migration. A large pro-

portion of the immigrants in the twelfth century were men of firm fibre, actuated by a determination to better their lot and ambitious to seize the opportunities offered in a new country.

The farm lands were distributed in an absolutely different way from the old method. The old manorial village community with its "strip" farming and its common ownership in pasturage and woods was not usual. Instead each man received a long oblong tract of from 60 to 20 acres like a modern farm. His house was built at one end of the tract facing the road and standing in the midst of a garden and orchard. Behind it, if the "lay" of the land permitted, were the farm acres, behind them the pasture, and last of all the wood-lot. This manner of settling new tracts spread to other parts of Germany later in the Middle Ages—into upper Bavaria, the Black Forest, the Odenwald; nearly one-quarter of Silesia was so colonized, as later the marsh lands between the Oder, the Warthe, and the Netze. The whole system goes back to the Dutch settlers first established in 1106 along the North Sea littoral and in clearings in the Franconian forest, and then *in extenso* in Brandenburg. A charter of Albert the Bear mentions these manors of Dutch measurement—*mansos Hollandriensis dimensionis.*

The picturesque variety of villages which one may still see in eastern Germany goes back to these days of early expansion and colonization. Where settlement was less formally regulated the old kind of "nucleated" village might have been established not far from those of the new type. And everywhere one might have seen the typical *Runddorf* or "round village" of the Slavs. For among the Slavs the houses, instead of being huddled together in a cluster as in the German *Dorf,* were placed in a circle or an oval around the edge of a green, enclosing it on all sides, leaving only a single gateway, so that the houses formed an enclosure into which the cattle of the villagers could be folded for safety. In a German Dorf the road ran through the middle of the village. Among the Slavs it passed outside of the entrance to the village. This difference points to the fact that the ancient Slavs were still in a pastoral stage, when the Germans had already developed agriculture, and combined cattle-raising and farming. When the Germans began to press eastward against the Slavs and to settle beyond the Saale and the Elbe, they carried their open village type with them, or established "street" villages, but sometimes imitated the Slavonic round-village.

There are other details also of German frontier history that ought to be luminous to the American student of history. Until the twelfth century the richest gold, silver, and copper deposits in medieval Europe were those of the Harz in Thuringia (the Nevada of the Middle Ages), and the art of mining was largely a Saxon monopoly. The Rammelsberg mine there was like the Comstock Lode, and Goslar was the most

important mining town in Europe. But in the second half of the twelfth century, between 1162 and 1170, silver was discovered in the Erzgebirge, that barrier range of mountains dividing the March of Thuringia from Bohemia. Soon there was a "rush" from the old diggings in the Harz to the new El Dorado which reminds an American historian of the gold-fever of '49.

The discovery was first made upon the lands of the Cistercian monastery of Altenzelle, it is said, and the worldly-wise monks soon began to import Goslar miners. A cluster of German mining camps which gradually grew into towns rapidly arose in a region hitherto wholly Czech in population, the most important of which was Freiberg, founded in 1171. In the thirteenth century it was said of Henry the Illustrious, the margrave of Meissen and lord of these rich silver lands, that he possessed towers full of silver, and if the kingdom of Bohemia had been for sale he could easily have purchased it.

Since general prosperity often attended the industry, mining became an important factor in German economic history from the twelfth century. Some mines belonged to the fisc, other pertained to the feudal lords. According to Inama Sternegg the ordinary freeman had no rights to the minerals found upon his property. Documentary proofs of German mining begin in the twelfth century and rapidly multiply between 1200 and 1400. Of these the charter of Trent (1185), of Goslar (1219–1301), the mining law of Iglau (1249–1300), the Kuttenberger regulations (1300), and the law of Freiberg (1296–1400) are the most important. Although Germany produced gold, silver, lead, iron, tin (after 1240), it is the history and technique of silver-mining that is of greatest importance. In spite of the paucity of sources for the twelfth century, one main point is clear. Even at this early period mining was conducted by an association (*Genossenschaftliches Betriebs*), a real principle of organization prevailed which developed a technically trained stock of miners from generation unto generation.

These alien colonies of Flemings and Hollanders established in lower Saxony in the time of Henry the Lion and in Brandenburg by Albert the Bear, the Angle colony about Merseburg, the settlements of Saxon miners in the Bohemian mountains, and the sixteen free "Zips" towns founded in the Hungarian Zipser-Erzgebirge were woven into the texture of medieval German society as the Dutch of the Hudson, the Germans of the Mohawk, and the Palatine Germans of the Shenandoah Valley and Piedmont were merged with the American people. In time these German settlements grew into towns which often retained their former Slavonic place-names, as Leipzig, Danzig, Berlin, Wollin, Küstrin, Kammin; for place-names with suffixes terminating in *-zig* and *-in* are a sure indication of former Slavonic villages. Even when the name of the locality is German it may be merely a translation of the

original Slavonic name for the place. Thus, Oldenburg is a translation of Staragard (Slavonic, "Old Town"), the suffix *-gard* or *-grad* being a widely spread Slavonic place-ending signifying "town," as in Belgrade or Petrograd, and the prefix *stara* meaning "old."

With improved agriculture came the grape, and the vine was spread much farther than today over northern and northeastern Germany, in Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia. More and more as the wilderness was subdued and the barbarian Slavs civilized, the old trade in furs, wax, amber, and forest products gave way before a larger commerce. Nowhere else in Europe was town-planting so energetic as in trans-Elbean Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Stendhal, Breslau, Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Thorn, Marienwerder, Elbing are examples. These new towns were not like older medieval towns, which had narrow, tortuous and crooked streets, but were carefully laid out with rectangular streets and wide-open squares. In this they resembled the *bastides* of southern France, or new towns which arose in Languedoc and the southwestern provinces after the devastation of the Albigensian Crusade, and the havoc of the Anglo-French wars between St. Louis and Henry III of England.

Breslau

Leipzig

GROUND PLANS OF GERMAN TOWNS IN THE SLAVONIC LANDS

In the Danube lands the Slavonic population found in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria by the incoming German settlers was less driven out than depressed, as was the case in the Thuringian March, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. But unfortunately such admirable chronicles as those of Thietmar of Merseburg, and Helmold, which cast so much light upon conditions in the northern colonial lands, are wanting for the history of southeast German expansion. In compensation, however, a considerable body of charters has been preserved. In the codices and cartularies of the monasteries founded in these lands peopled by the southern Slavs, Slavonic place and proper names are of

frequent occurrence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The political and social overstratum in these provinces was German and aristocratic; the under-stratum Slav in ancestry and politically and socially a dependent population. In Austria, on the other hand, while there was the same aristocratic political and social organization, both the upper and the lower stratum was prevailingly of German blood; the dependent population was composed of German serfs brought eastward by their masters and established in the colonial lands.

The Magyars effectually checked German expansion in the southeast, while no force arrested it in the northeast until the Vistula was reached. In 1119 border warfare was especially fierce. In 1131 Styria was invaded by Hungarian forces, a raid in which the settlements established by the bishops of Salzburg suffered severely. In 1133 an allusion of Otto of Freising shows that Hungarian expansion north of the Danube had spread so far that Poles and Hungarians came to clash *in silva quæ Polunios et Ungarios sejungit,* as already Bohemians were in border strife with Bavarian pioneers in the Boehmerwald.

The expansion of German commerce naturally accompanied this expansion of the German people. In the twelfth century the Baltic became a German lake. Every year in November, at the time of the "big wind" a fleet of western craft came for dried fish and furs to the half-Slav, half-German towns on the Baltic coast. There is still a little village, now a watering-place, near Stettin named Heringsdorf. The Baltic herring trade was important. The Alt-Lübecker merchant group even penetrated into the Baltic and sought to capture the ancient Swedish-Russian trade of Novgorod and the Varangian route and had a "factory" or trading post on the island of Gothland. In 1134 the emperor Lothar II took them under imperial protection. The original charter of Lothar is lost, but it is referred to by Henry the Lion in a privilege dated October 18, 1163, granted to the merchants of Lübeck. We know little more about this distant commerce until the formation of the Hanseatic League and the incorporation of the Wisby group with it in 1298.

Pioneer traders, indeed, sometimes moved in advance of German colonization, but more frequently trade followed colonization. In the Obodrite country (it did not become the Duchy of Mecklenburg until after the conquest of 1147), at Staragard, which was the capital of the Obodrite duke Pribislav, there was a considerable colony of German merchants settled in 1129. German trading operations extended clear to the island of Rügen, whose inhabitants were still fiercely pagan, and where the famous Slavonic fane of Arcona was located. Before the storming and capture of this sanctuary by a joint German and Danish expedition in 1168, it was necessary for the merchants not only to avoid parading their Christianity, but also to offer substantial presents to the god in order to be permitted to buy and sell.

In the *Life* of the Bishop of Bamberg is a curious account of how the conversion of the peoples of the mainland of Pomerania interrupted for some time the trade with the Rugians, who would have nothing to do with the converted Slavs. Among the Rani, or Rugians, conditions of trade were so primitive that strips of linen cloth served for currency, like wampum among the Indians of America. This cloth currency was also once current among the Bohemians. In Czech the word for "linen" and the word "to number" come from the same root.

Of the trade of the Pomeranian mainland in the first half of the twelfth century we have interesting information in Ebbo's *Life of Otto of Bamberg,* who twice visited Pomerania (in 1124 and again in 1128), and also in the *Dialogues* of Herbordus. Twice Otto made the long and arduous journey down the Saale and the Elbe, and thence up the Havel, and so to the far Baltic coast towns of Stettin and Wollin.

Pomerania then was a land of marsh and fen, of sluggish streams and stagnant lakes, inhabited by a pure Slav people who still lived after the primitive manner of their kind and were absolutely untouched by Christo-German civilization. A fisher folk chiefly, they estimated wealth in "lasts" of dried fish and in hives of bees, for honey was a staple article of production. Their food was fish and rye and a few vegetables; they drank a mead of cherry and honey. Their textile skill was considerable, but they were poor farmers. The towns at the mouth of the Oder and the Poene had considerable commerce in raw products like dried fish, furs, tar, rope, etc., but were astonishingly squalid and miry. The only structures of prominence were the temples. Amid this population, which was spared the intolerance, bigotry, and greed which were so heavily inflicted upon the Slavs of the Elbe, Otto lived and labored, winning the confidence of the Pomeranians by gentle means. Pomerania and Poland were the only Slavonic lands under the domination of the Latin Church in the Middle Ages which made the transition from paganism to Christianity and from barbarism to civilization by transformation and not by force.

By the next century Stettin appears as the *totius Pomeraniæ metropolis,* although it could not possibly have had a population of from six to seven thousand, as said. Its chief rival was Kammin. The spongy, marshy soil upon which both towns were built was a serious drawback. Stettin was girded with swamps, and the streets in Kammin were so miry that bridges, which seem to have been nothing but planks, were everywhere. Otto himself fell off one of these planks and was pitched into the mud. The people were hospitable, though rude and crude in manners. Each town had a "forum" where business was done, and a certain degree of money economy obtained. There were warehouses, chiefly, one imagines, for the curing and storing of fish. Fishing was the main activity of the inhabitants, though furs and slaves were also

articles of commerce. The herring ran in shoals in the Baltic; but there was a brisk trade in fresh-water fish, too. The coastwise trade must have been considerable, for Otto easily traveled by water from Wollin to Stettin.

By 1125 it is evident that there was a through route from the eastern parts of "New" Germany to the farther Baltic coast. Halle, on the Saale River, was the clearing-house and emporium of all this eastern German commerce. Both times when Otto of Bamberg made his trips to Pomerania he "stocked up" at the fair (*nundinæ*) in Halle, and thence traveled by boat down the Saale to the Elbe, down the Elbe to Werben at the mouth of Havel, and up the Havel and down the Peene to Stettin.

The founding of Lübeck in 1158 permanently assured German commercial domination in the Baltic. It soon became the emporium of the whole Baltic trade. Merchant vessels from England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and even Russia crowded the port. Stettin was Lübeck's closest rival. The Low German speech became the language of trade throughout the whole north, and the Elbean-Slavonic speech, which hitherto had been necessary for the conduct of Baltic trade, gradually died out. More than a hundred years later the records of the Hanseatic League began to be written in this Low German dialect. By the middle of the thirteenth century Lübeck was the chief commercial city on the Baltic coast and the trading centre of a swarm of lesser towns founded by the expansive and colonizing energy of the North German folk in the conquered Wendish lands, such as Rostock, Wismar, Greifswald, Stralsund, Mecklenburg, Ratzeburg, Schwerin, Oldenburg, the last four built (like Lübeck itself) on the sites of former Slavonic towns.

In the confederation of these cities in the thirteenth century for mutual protection of their commerce against coast and river pirates and robber bands along the roads we find the earliest beginnings of the Hanseatic League, although that name was not adopted before 1360. We do not know exactly when this process of coalition was begun. The earliest document preserved is an agreement of a very general nature between Lübeck and Hamburg in 1230. But in 1241, when it was renewed, the terms of this alliance have become specific. In 1259 Rostock and Wismar became members of the association, which by this time had formulated the rule that no city could become a member of the league which was not situated upon the coast or a navigable river, and which did not keep the keys to its own city gates. Between 1260 and 1265 we find the first recorded statues of the league, among which is a provision for an annual diet of representatives of every city "to legislate about affairs."

The greater history of the Hanseatic League is principally a chapter in the history of medieval commerce in the fourteenth century. We are concerned here only with the history of its formation. But the history

even of its formation cannot be fully understood without knowledge of the history of German eastward expansion and colonization in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By 1265 the league had begun to alarm neighboring princes like the king of Denmark, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the duke of Schleswig. But fortunately for the cities, these princes did not agree. Denmark coveted Schleswig; Brandenburg looked with resentment upon the Danish settlements at the mouths of the Peene, the Oder, and the Vistula rivers, for the margraves coveted Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Between the years 1283 and 1293 the league successfully checkmated the Danish designs by adding Haddeby and Kiel to its membership and frustrated Brandenburg by taking the coast towns of Mecklenburg and Pomerania into its fold. Thus Brandenburg was kept back from the Baltic for many years.

Meanwhile the league also labored to create monopolistic commercial control in the waters in which it operated. Flemish and Frisian merchants were shut out from the Baltic, the Gothlanders from the North Sea, by the threat of boycott. A momentous step of the Hanseatic League was made in completion of this effort to convert the Baltic into a Hanseatic lake and to capture the rich Russian trade of Novgorod in furs, tar, hemp, wax, timber, in 1293 when Wisby on the great island of Gothland, the seat of the most ancient maritime trade of any German merchants, was seized and the merchants thereof compelled to join the league. This high-handed act was the sequel of an alliance made in 1280 between Lübeck and Wisby, joined two years later by Riga (founded by Germans in 1201), against pirates. Wisby thus lost its hold upon the Baltic trade, but it nevertheless continued to prosper enormously. Indeed, the wealth of the town became proverbial. It was said that "even the pigs eat out of silver troughs." The town walls of Wisby, built in the thirteenth century and still well preserved, are among the most imposing examples of medieval town walls anywhere in Europe, and the remains of four ruined churches are still beautiful and melancholy memorials of a vanished prosperity.

Under the name of *Osterlingi,* Hanseatic merchants invaded England, where bitter rivalry ensued between them and the merchants of Cologne —for each group had separate privileges—until the rival groups were united in the German Gild Hall or Steelyard in London in the reign of Edward I. In the middle of the same century an office of the Hanse was established at Bruges.

But home politics also occupied the league. Mindful of the time when Frederick II, in his struggle with the North German princes, had sought the support of Denmark and actually ceded to her all the territory of Schleswig, Holstein, Nordalbingia, and Mecklenburg (which is to say, the whole territory of Lübecker sway)—a loss of territory prevented by the crushing Danish defeat at Boernhöved (1227)—during the

interregnum (1250–73) the Hanseatic League was resolutely Guelf in its politics, a policy which not a little contributed to the favor it attained in the cities of Westphalia, the lower Rhine and in England. The eastward movement of the German people, at first that of peasantry, clergy, and nobles, acquired new impulses with the rise of the Hanseatic League, with the expansion of which it became knitted in the thirteenth century, and the sway of German commerce was carried clear around the bight of the Baltic into Prussia, Livonia, and Kurland, where Memel, Elbing, Libau, Königsberg, Riga became the seats of mighty Hanseatic merchants.

In the middle Danube lands the political change by which the former margrave of Austria was made a duke, united with the double process of territorial expansion and political consolidation of the Austrian lands, had a notable effect upon commerce.

Lack of sources makes it hard to determine what the articles of trade were in this early time. However, we know that among the imports into Austria stood, first, salt, and, second, cloth; among the exports were honey, wax, hides, and, as time went on, wine in increasing amounts. Probably trade originated here, as Keutgen thinks it always originates, in the endeavor of foreign merchants to seek goods needful for them in exchange for their own products. The trade with Hungary, for example, may reasonably have arisen through the desire of upper Germany for precious metals, gold and silver. A complete change, however, from this small, unregulated commerce was brought about at the end of the twelfth century through the acquisition of Styria (1192) and Frederick II's (1230–46) ambitions for a political and commercial unity of this land. This gave Austria control of the routes in the southeast of the Empire, leading to Hungary and Venice. Now, for the first time, an energetic trade policy was possible with upper Germany on one hand and Hungary on the other. In Frederick's time, too, came the first laws regulating trade, the prohibition of the export of grain, the grant of "guest rights" to the Regensburgers, and the guarantee by charter in 1231 of a monopoly of Hungarian trade to Vienna. Foreigners were forbidden to trade, not only with Hungary, but among themselves. More important, perhaps, than the limitations placed by this and similar charters was the establishment by them of trade centres in which merchants could count upon a market. Under this policy of grants of privilege to towns, continued and extended by Rudolph of Hapsburg to Graz, Judenburg, Neustadt, and Freistadt, the towns flourished notably for many years. Its purpose was to give the Austrians a monopoly of the foreign trade. Perhaps it stimulated this too much, for there developed a certain unwholesome dependence of the Austrian merchant, especially the Viennese merchant, upon the trade abroad.

The tax records of Passau from the middle of the thirteenth century tell us something of the extent of Austrian commerce. From these we judge that the import from upper Germany exceeded the export to upper Germany two or three times. Much of the goods brought in, however, was not con-

sumed in Austria, but carried by Viennese to Hungary. This was especially true of cloth. In the trade with Hungary the balance was always strongly in favor of Austria. This balance was paid chiefly in the products of the Hungarian gold and silver mines, though Hungary exported some cattle also. Besides this carrying trade to Hungary, the other main line of Austrian commerce for the whole of the Middle Ages was the trade with Venice. This had reached a considerable height by the thirteenth century. It appears, then, that Austrian trade to the thirteenth century depended somewhat upon the geographical position of the country, somewhat upon the ability of its people, but also somewhat upon privileges granted by its rulers. It appears, also, that the consumption of foreign manufactured goods in Austria was covered chiefly by the profit from carrying trade, while the equivalent for the import of salt and other raw materials is to be found in the export of wine and other products of the land.[1]

The earliest document referring to the passage of Venetian merchants through Austria is of 1244. The Baltic trade to South Germany was mainly up the Mulde and down the Nab to Regensburg, the former taking the place of the Saale when that stream was made the eastern edge of the German world in Charlemagne's time. In Bohemia a trade route ran from Prague up the Moldau and over the divide to Linz on the Danube. Another road was up the Eger—or through the Nollendorf Pass—and down the Nab to Regensburg.

By the thirteenth century, except in the Baltic lands of Prussia, Kurland, and Esthonia, German eastward expansion and colonization had reached its term. Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, while not impenetrable to German colonists and German civilization, nevertheless were strong enough to preserve themselves from the fate of the trans-Elbean Slavs. Something with reference to the economic history of these three nations bordering upon the eastern frontier is now in place.

The first Christian king of Hungary, Stephen, who was baptized in the year 1000, was favorable to German incomers, especially knights and small nobles, yet cautious lest they acquire too much influence. His attitude is seen in his advice to his son: "Hold the 'guests' (*hospites*) in honor, for they bring foreign learning and arms into the country; they are an ornament and protection to the throne." German peasants also in this time began to emigrate to Hungary, and were settled on the royal lands and on those of the nobles and clergy. But while the Magyars accepted Latin Christianity and adopted much of German institutions and culture, the penetration and spread of that influence was strictly measured. King Geisa (1041–61) was the first Hungarian ruler actively to promote German colonization in the kingdom. He seems to have issued a proclamation similar to that of the

[1] Theodor Mayer, *Der Auswärtige Handel des Herzogtums Oesterreich im Mittelaler* (1909) (a review).

Fürsten of North Germany already mentioned, inviting German settlers into Hungary. Unfortunately the text has disappeared; not even the date is preserved. There is merely the statement that the German communities found in Hungary in the next century had originally come at Geisa's invitation. Almost all these immigrants were settled in the mountainous mining regions.

Ladislaus I (1077–95) and Koloman (1095–1114) labored hard to redeem their country from the bondage of barbarism and ignorance. The intelligence of these two early Hungarian sovereigns in promoting economic and social welfare is remarkable. The latter, who was highly educated for a layman of his day, when most learning was confined to the priest-class, had read history to some advantage. He quaintly observes in one of his documents: "The Roman Empire first grew, and kings were made great and glorious because many nobles and wise men met together from different parts. . . . For as strangers come from different parts and provinces, so they bring with them different tongues and customs. . . . For a kingdom of one language and one custom is weak and fragile." Koloman was at pains to induce immigration into Hungary from the more advanced lands of the West, and labored to promote trade and agriculture. At first most of these Germans came from Bavaria and Swabia—that is, from southern Germany, which lay nearest to Hungary. Budapest and Pressburg early had a German quarter, and many German settlers were to be found in the territory round about, as the place-names still indicate. To this day, in this part of Hungary, a German, no matter whence his origin, is often called a *Schwab,* or *Swabian.*

The commerce of the Danube basin and of the northern Adriatic which had been ruined by the pagan Magyars, revived under the first Christian kings of Hungary; the corn of the Hungarian plain became a valuable export to Constantinople, and furs and iron were exchanged for silks, gems, wines, and chased armor. Merchants and pilgrims from the West were again free to cross the ancient Dacia as they had not been for seven centuries, and the reopening of this new avenue gave an immediate and considerable impulse to the Crusades. As early as 1092 Mohammedan merchants are found in Hungary. Earlier than this an Hungarian colony is settled in Constantinople.[2]

But while Hungarian culture was thus predominantly German and Latin Christian, it is interesting to observe that a considerable amount of Byzantine culture poured into Hungary from Constantinople. Hungary in the twelfth century touched the large commerce of the Levant at two points: Constantinople, and Zara on the Adriatic. The quickened trade with Constantinople also brought missionaries of the Greek Church

[2] Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography,* II, 484.

into Hungary who competed with Bavarian Benedictines, Slovenes, and Italians from the diocese of Friuli and Aquileia.

In the twelfth century Hungary enjoyed great prosperity. The brilliant medieval German historian Otto of Freising, the uncle of Frederick Barbarossa, goes outside of his subject in order to describe the admirable character of Hungarian civilization at that time. He admits that Hungary was yet far behind Germany in material prosperity and moral culture, as well she might have been, and comments upon the rudeness of the manners in the country, the absence of towns, the wretched wattled houses in which they lived, their still semi-nomadic condition and rudimentary agriculture. Nevertheless, his account is a tribute to the advancement of the former utterly barbarian Magyars along the road of civilization.

One of the most influential agencies of colonization and culture in Hungary in the twelfth century was the French Cistercians. The influence which French civilization, largely through this order, had upon Hungary in the twelfth century is an interesting fact, King Bela III (1173–96) married Anne de Châtillon, daughter of the famous Crusader Renaud de Châtillon, and his two most intimate counselors were descendants of French families settled in Hungary. His ambition seems to have been to graft French institutions upon the nascent Magyar civilization, perhaps as a counterpoise to German influence. He founded a school at Veszprem for teaching *"prout Parisiis in Francia,"* created a royal chancery modeled on French lines, and personally appealed to the abbot of Citeaux, who visited him in 1183, to establish French Cistercians in his kingdom. The influence of this order soon became very great. Bela founded the abbey of Egresch on the bank of the Maros and called thither French monks from Pontigny in Champagne (1179); the abbey of Pilis (1184), which still exists and whose first members came from Acay near Besançon; and the abbey of Kerz in the district of Hermannstadt. After the death of Anne de Châtillon, Bela III married Marguerite, a sister of Philip Augustus. Some years after his decease, we find at the court of his son Emeric the French troubador Vidal of Toulouse who has left us some verses upon his hospitality. Everything demonstrates that French influence was very high in Hungary at the end of the twelfth century.

But the attempt of the Hungarian kings to limit the infiltration of outsiders into their country was largely rendered nugatory by the Crusades, for the valley of the Danube became an important route to the Holy Land. Even before that great military enterprise began, thousands of pilgrims were flocking through Hungary. It is impossible to think that these swarms of humanity did not leave an important residuum within the land. Indeed, we have the evidence of it in the Golden Bull of king Andrew II (1222).

The chief German communities in Hungary were to be found in the mining regions. Exploration of the Tatra and the Carpathians had followed the discovery of gold in the Erzgebirge on the edge of Bohemia. The Magyar princes held out inducements to these Saxon miners upon whose skill they were dependent for the working of the mines, and these latter flocked into Hungary by thousands in the twelfth century, bringing their own language, laws, customs. By 1150 the slopes of the Tatra, the valleys of the Waag and Popper rivers and the table-lands of Liptau and Zips were dotted with German villages whose names are reminiscent of Saxon origin. It is significant that the names of so many of these places terminate in *-dorf,* a common local suffix in Saxony. Commingled with these Saxon miners was a considerable element of Bavarian and Austrian incomers.

The greatest German colony was in Transylvania, whose rich ores attracted thousands of miners from the Erzgebirge, from the Tatra and Carpathian regions, and even from Thuringia in the twelfth century, commingled with whom was a considerable Frankish population from the region of the middle Rhine. In a papal document of 1191 these Germans are called *Teutonici ultrasilvani.* The place-names in this southeastern quarter of Europe are strikingly German to this day.

But military considerations simultaneously operated together with the gold-fever to induce this immigration of German settlers into Transylvania. For with the removal of the Hungarians from the plains of southern Russia to the great plain of central Europe, the evacuated space had been gradually filled, early in the eleventh century, by the Pechenegs and Kumans—Tartar or half-Tartar nations whose country vaguely extended around the Black Sea coast from the Don to the Danube. Hence we find German borderers colonized along this frontier for the purpose of defense. Finally, after the Third Crusade the Teutonic Knights settled here for some years before their removal to Prussia in 1224.

The permeation of things Germanic was not quantitatively or qualitatively in the same proportion in Bohemia and Poland, and was different from that into Hungary. In Silesia German influence was overwhelming after the twelfth century. In Bohemia, where the process was slower, and sometimes not without check, the spread of German influence continued until the Hussite wars in the fifteenth century. In Poland the degree of Germanization was never so great as in Silesia or Bohemia, and German colonization was of varying density in different parts of the country. The earliest and most widely spread German influence in these countries was that of commerce and trade. Already traders, probably German Jews, in the ninth century had become very active in Moravia, for we find the significant words in a chronicle:

mercatores undecumque sunt—merchants are to be found everywhere. We have even a tariff list of the late Carolingian period.

The period beginning with the reign of Bratislav II (1061–1092), marks the first nucleus of a permanent, predominatingly German, community in Bohemia, settled within the country. Below the castle of Prague on the Hradčany and in the Vyšehrad Street, besides the rich and prosperous Jewish slave dealers, there gathered a medley of merchants. This also was the place where the fairs were held. These Prague fairs were widely famous by the eleventh century, and drew to Prague traders and merchants from Poland, Novgorod and Kiev in Russia, Italy, France, and, of course, from Germany. Many of these traders remained in Prague and settled there permanently, especially the Germans. They formed a compact community about the Church of St. Paul. Bratislav granted them privileges, chiefly the right of self-government under a magistrate of their own election, and the right of living under their own laws. This grant was a most important privilege. In the course of time their settlement grew and extended by reason of accessions from the ranks of other incoming merchants and by natural increase, so that in course of time the Germans formed an entire quarter in Prague. The Prague community grew rich upon commerce, and its population continually increased. By the time of Ottokar I it occupied almost the whole of the present Old Town of Prague. When in 1235 the quarter was circumvallated with a wall and a ditch, it formed a veritable medieval town.

Bavarian and Swabian farmers overflowed the Bohemian border from Southeast Germany as did Saxon settlers from the northeastward expansion movement. Situated as Bohemia was in an angle between the two great projections of German power, this overflow was inevitable. The anarchy of Germany during the long years of civil disturbance in the time of Henry IV materially influenced this exodus of the peasantry from Germany into Bohemia. Thus it came about that the German element in Bohemia was much more mixed than in the Baltic or Danubian provinces.

The history of Bohemia in Hohenstaufen times is chiefly interesting from the point of view of German town-planting. As in Silesia and Brandenburg, so in Bohemia, we find the simultaneous operations of town-planting, with the attendent development of trade and commerce, and forest and moor redemption by German farming folk brought in by churchmen and nobles. But Bohemia was not so heavily Germanized as Silesia and Brandenburg, nor were the colonists so evenly distributed throughout the country. The Czech population never lost its identity as did the Slav population in Silesia. German historians have been inclined to disparage the culture of Bohemia in the Middle Ages before the German colonization. But Bohemian civilization in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries was superior to that of Poland, and it is historically unjust to include both in the same category. On the other hand it is an exaggeration of the self-sufficiency of Bohemia before the coming of the Germans into the land to say that all the usual trades were practised in Bohemia before the colonial era began, and that the Germans brought in only the German miners' skill and German craft gilds. Bohemia in every economic way was behind Germany, but superior to Poland.

The remoteness of Poland for a long time kept her shrouded in obscurity. The influence of this physical isolation upon the Poles was perceived as far back as the twelfth century by the earliest medieval Polish historian, known as Gallus, who wrote: *"Regio Polonorum ab itineribus peregrinorum est remota, et nisi transeuntibus in Russiam pro mercimonio paucis nota."* That sentence epitomizes much of early Polish history. The wide and distant plain of Poland, covered with lakes and swamps, was even more difficult to penetrate than the *"circuitus vasta horrens solitudo"* of the densely forested mountains of Bohemia. In a word, isolation was a more effective protection to medieval Poland against Germanization than to either medieval Bohemia or medieval Hungary.

The zealous catholicism of the Poles made monasteries of German foundation and German inmates the first important economic influence in Poland. For there, as in early western Europe, the founding of a monastery was usually an act of colonization. These monasteries kept in close communication with their mother monasteries in Germany, and spread their own culture and customs among the people of their districts. The monks brought over from Germany new methods of agriculture and horticulture, and by going out among the people and teaching them improved ways of farming, they exercised a beneficial influence upon the social and economic conditions of the peasantry.

Artisans and craftsmen also came to minister to the wants of the new monastic settlements. But the grants of land given to these foundations did not always include the right to reduce the local population to serfdom. Accordingly the monasteries were often compelled to import foreign labor, which as a rule was chiefly of the unfree class. "In this way the monasteries which at the time of their introduction into Poland were the only large private land-owners, supplied an example of organization of large manors and the utilization of the half-free class of foreign peasants who became attached to the soil."

In course of time German traders found their way into Poland and established themselves in "quarters" as they had done in Prague and other Bohemian towns.

The old Polish towns of Cracow, Lwow (Lemberg), Poznan (Posen), and Plock received a great influx of German merchants, and

were regarded in Germany as the outposts of German commerce, civilization, and political influence. The native municipal law was supplanted by Magdeburg or Halle law, German silver money became the predominating currency, and even the municipal records began to be kept in the German language. Thus the cities became strongholds of German influence. The influx of masses of Germans was especially great with the extension of the Teutonic Order on the Baltic seacoast in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Boleslaw V (Wstydliwy = the Bashful; 1243–79) gave this Germanizing process all the assistance he could. In his time colonization from Brandenburg east of the Oder was very aggressive. The German colonization on the Vistula also was given a powerful impetus. The land of the Prussians was wrested from them by the Teutonic Knights, and was slowly Germanized and Christianized. It was a peculiar blindness on the part of the Polish princes that this subjugation by Prussia received their aid; the last formidable Prussian native chieftain, Swietopolk, was defeated by the Knights, who were aided by the Polish Kings.

But there is another side to the culture history of these border states. While Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland for the most part looked toward the West, it must not be forgotten that their eastern edges were one with Russia. All along the eastern edge of these three nations bordering upon Germany, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the Poles, the Bohemians, the Magyars touched hands with the trade of medieval Russia, of which the principal centres were Novgorod and Kiev. The mighty Mongol invasion in 1241 almost destroyed this communication. The sack of Kiev and the cutting off of Novgorod from its Byzantine and Baghdad connections is a turning-point in the history of medieval commerce so far as far eastern Europe is concerned. It helped Venice and Genoa by destroying the ancient and competing Varangian route and threw the transportation of almost all Levantine goods into the Mediterranean.

The great Tartar invasion of Russia also had another effect upon Poland. A large part of the population of Poland was either cut off or scattered, and a new influx of German settlers came into the country.

> The country was in ruins and the population either scattered or exterminated. The refugees went north and helped to colonize the sparsely inhabited areas and to clear the forests to the east of the Vistula in Mazovia. On the heels of the receding Tartars came the Germans. Theirs was a movement along the line of least resistance. The new settlers were spared the hard labor of the pioneers, as the soil they occupied had been used for arable purposes centuries before. There was no need of clearing primeval forest or colonizing an utter wilderness.[3]

[3] Lewinski-Corwin, *History of Poland*, p. 36.

The manner in which the actual colonization was carried out was similar to that of Brandenburg and Bohemia. It was done by an agent (*Vogt*) who undertook to settle a stretch of land with colonists. Since the Polish nobles and land-owners were forced to offer special inducements in order to attract colonists to their deserted lands as quickly as possible, lands were offered exempt from taxes for a number of years. The only obligation was a rent, which was paid annually and was collected by the *Vogt*.

CHAPTER XXI

SCANDINAVIA *

DENMARK, after the time of Canute the Great, (1000–1035), was confined to Jutland, the islands of Fünen and Zealand, Scania (or Schonen) in southern Sweden, and parts of the Baltic coast of Germany. A Bamberg priest traveling through Denmark about 1100 has left the following description of the country: "The country has towns and villages without walls, only palisades and earthworks. The homes of the nobility and the churches are very poor and of bad taste. The inhabitants are engaged chiefly in hunting, fishing, and cattle-breeding, for with their poor system of agriculture all their wealth is measured in cattle."

The commerce and material and moral civilization of Denmark developed rapidly during the twelfth century. The towns increased. These were almost always situated upon the coast, for the Danes were far more a seafaring people than an agricultural people. When the towns were walled for protection against pirates we find the names of most of them ending in *-borg* and the merchants and craftsmen within them called burghers (*borgere*). Examples are Aalborg, Flensborg, Vordingborg, Faaborg. Other towns in Denmark, as in France and Germany, grew up around the monasteries. Still others owed their origin immediately and specifically to natural sites conducive to trade. The place-suffix *-kjoebing,* meaning "market," gives the clue to these towns of which Copenhagen (*Kjoebenhavn,* "Market Haven,") is the most striking illustration. Copenhagen was founded in 1165 by Absalom, the bishop of Lund, who erected a castle in the harbor in order to protect the merchants from pirates.

Ribe and Haddeby in Schleswig were the most important Danish towns on the German mainland. Adam of Bremen tells us that from Schleswig one sailed east to Jumna and from there farther east to Russia. From Ripen on the other side of Jutland, one sailed west to Saxony (Bremen), Friesland, and England. In the eleventh century the town of Aarhaus, farther north in Jutland, was connected in trade with the Danish islands, Scania, and Norway. Roskilde on the island of Zealand was in early times the home of the kings. In Scania was the town of Lund, "at which town," Adam of Bremen says, "there is much gold, which they get from piracy on the numerous barbarous nations in the Baltic Sea: and for reason of the tribute paid to him the king of Denmark tolerates these piracies."

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas,* 58–59.

Along the south coast of the Baltic, at the mouths of the rivers, there were settlements of Danish merchants in the ancient Slavonic towns such as Stettin, Wollin, and Danzig. These Danish traders looked with jealous eye upon those German merchants who had pressed beyond the Elbe and sought also to trade among the Obodrites and the Pomeranians. For many years a fierce competition existed between them. But the German conquest of Pomerania in 1124, the Crusade of Henry the Lion in 1147, and the founding of Lübeck in 1158 finally turned the scale and German commercial ascendancy excluded the Danes from the Baltic field. During these tumultuous years the Baltic and the Danish Belts swarmed with Danish, Slavonic, and German pirates.

Although excluded from Mecklenburg and Pomerania the Danes tenaciously hung on to Schleswig and were ambitious to extend their sway over Holstein, and thus to capture the two cities Hamburg and Lübeck, commanding the isthmus and an important trade route between the Baltic and the North Sea, which was shorter and safer from piracy than the long and dangerous route through the Belts, in which navigation was very difficult. In the early part of the thirteenth century we therefore find the Danes endeavoring to take advantage of the upset condition of affairs following the partition of Saxony, the fall of Henry the Lion, and the rival struggles which filled the first years of the reign of Frederick II. In order to make head against the pretender, Otto of Brunswick, the young emperor, made overture to Denmark and offered to yield Holstein, Lauenburg, and part of Mecklenburg to the Danes in return for support. Hamburg and Lübeck took alarm and were supported by many of the North German princes. The conflict was resolved at the battle of Bornhoeved (1227), which put a stop to Danish aggression upon German territory for centuries and enabled Lübeck without molestation to form the Hanseatic League and extend German commercial sway over the whole north.

In the thirteenth century, in the reign of Waldemar II, we find that Danish towns, all of which had their origin in fishing villages, harbors or market-places, or around a castle, were still small. Most of the trade between Denmark and England in the thirteenth century was with the town of Ribe. King John in 1208 took Nikolaus Marinellus, a citizen of Ribe, under his care. Another merchant from Ribe who lived about this time was Richervinus de Rippa, *mercator de Denemarch*. About 1300 Ribe was the only Danish town that sent ships to England. By that time the commerce of Denmark was controlled by the Hanseatic League.

From this brief consideration of the history of Danish commerce we may pass to that of Norway. Owing to its geographical situation most Norwegian trade was with England. It must be remembered that dur-

ing this period Norway held sway over most of the western islands, Iceland, Greenland, the Orkneys and Hebrides, the Shetland Islands, the Isle of Man. It also controlled part of Ireland at times. Norway itself was a bleak and barren country. For a livelihood the population depended on cattle-raising and fisheries, with some hunting. Overpopulation and the almost incessant warfare of the more powerful nobles often forced the natives to leave the country. But in spite of these discouraging conditions we find times of peace during which wise kings tried to develop the resources of their country. Because the people had to depend so much on fishing, they became excellent sailors, and we find them doing an extensive carrying trade in the north until they were forced out of this lucrative industry by the German merchants.

Very early we hear of commerce in Norway. Viken as early as the eleventh century was visited by merchants from Saxony and Denmark, both summer and winter. The inhabitants of Viken themselves often made voyages to other countries: to England, Saxony, Flanders, Denmark. The towns had markets where foreign traders congregated to trade with the natives for their surplus wares. Among towns of this character Tönsberg was the earliest of importance. At nearly the same period we hear of Kongehelle, Stavanger, Stenkiver, and Levanger. Nideras (Drontheim) was founded by Olof Trygversen, but did not assume any importance until the reign of Olaf the Pious (1015–30). Olaf the Pious founded Sarpsburg (near Frederickstad) and Harold Haardraade founded Oslo (Christiania) in 1050. Oslo became the capital, for it was less exposed to the raids of the Danish Vikings than other towns, and had been the harbor for the Viking ships of the most powerful nobles of Raumarike and Hedenmarken from the earliest times. It had also been a rendezvous of foreign merchants. Bergen, destined to become the most important of all the commercial cities of Norway, was founded by Olaf Kyrre about 1075. It had also previously been used as a harbor for the native Viking ships and foreign merchant shipping.

Some of the progressive kings of Norway, during intervals of peace, labored to develop the resources of their country, and especially to encourage commerce with foreign countries. During the time of Harold Haardraade (about 1050), in spite of the wars with Denmark, foreign commerce did not cease even with Denmark, but was carried on in neutral ships, as shown by the histories of Audun Islaendings and Sneglu-Halle. With the northern European countries, and especially with England, commerce flourished. It is related that Thore in his voyage to England, remained there a long time and brought home many costly wares to the king. When Sneglu-Halle, after an extended visit in England, wished to return home, he tried to get passage on a Norwegian ship (seemingly a common sight in the harbors of England), but so

many Germans had secured passage with their numerous wares, that there was no room for him and he had to use intimidation to get room. Denmark, England, Ireland, Scotland, France, and Germany were the principal countries with which the Norwegians traded; and Danish, English, Saxon, and German ships frequented the Norwegian harbors, especially Viken. Norwegian ships found their way into Russian harbors also for the sake of the furs and the costly Asiatic wares. There was also trade with Greenland and Iceland.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the trade of Norway became more extensive. King Eystein did much to encourage commerce and industry. He improved the laws and built churches. Through persuasion, gifts, and appeals to its self-interest, he regained the allegiance of the Swedish province of Jemteland, which had belonged to Norway under Haakon the Good. Knowing the importance of the fisheries as a natural resource, he had huts erected at Vaagen, for the accommodation of the fishermen, and also a church and monastery for their spiritual welfare. At Agdeness, where many ships were wrecked, he made an artificial harbor by the construction of a mole. He placed sea-marks and beacons on certain rocks and promontories to guide the sailors along the dangerous coast. In the reign of Sigurd Magnusson (1130) Bergen was a large and wealthy town. Orderic says that ships from all the corners of the world came there with riches. We also get the same impression of flourishing trade and growing cosmopolitanism from Ragnvald Jarl's impression of the town upon his voyage from Grimsby to Bergen. "The ship came to the town," the Saga says, "where there was a large crowd of people gathered from both the north and the south, as well as many foreigners, who brought many good wares to the country."

Bergen became the great fish market of Europe. It soon became the emporium of Icelandic commerce. The first foreigners to have special trading privileges in this new town of Olaf Kyrre's were the English. There was also considerable trade with the northern German cities, Scotland, and Iceland. In the twelfth century there were certain ships in Bergen that were called *Englansfarere*. These ships were Norwegian. They brought cargoes of honey, wool, cloth, and wine to Bergen. The wine must have come from the Rhineland or France and English merchants seem to have been middlemen in this trade. Trade was carried on between Bergen and the rich herring fisheries of Skanör and Falsterbo.

William of Malmesbury speaks of the commerce of York and says that the city was visited by merchants from Germany and Ireland (especially the Norwegian towns of Ireland, Dublin and Waterford). Another important commercial town on the eastern coast of England was Grimsby, which at the beginning of the twelfth century was visited by ships from Norway, the Orkneys, Scotland, and the Hebrides. Even in the reign of Henry I (1100–1135) the commerce of the Norwegians in

Grimsby is mentioned in the archives. The most important town on the western coast of England in the eleventh century was Chester, on the Dee. From the Domesday Book we learn that the northern fur trade was of great importance for Chester. The town paid an annual tax of marten to the king in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Chester probably stood in close commercial intercourse with Norway because of the Norwegian domination over the Isle of Man, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides. William of Malmesbury calls Bristol *vicus celeberrimus,* "a famous town, its haven being a commodious receptacle for all ships coming thither from Ireland, Norway, and other foreign lands." From another source we find that the chief export of Bergen in 1190 to the Germans was butter, and the chief import was wine, while from England came wheat, honey, wax, cloth, and copper kettles. We have an interesting account of Bergen of the year 1191.

> Bergen is in its eminence one of the largest towns in this land, containing a royal castle and many relics. . . . There are many people and many monasteries for the monks and nuns. It is rich with resources. It is impossible to relate the amount of dried fish, which is called *skrejd.* One can see here a congregation of ships and peoples from all the corners of the world, Iceland, Greenland, England, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Gothland. There is a great surplus of honey, lumber, good cloths, herring, and other wares. One can buy almost anything.

In the thirteenth century Norwegian trade went exclusively to the eastern coast of England; to Grimsby, Boston, Yarmouth, Scarborough, and especially Lynn. King Sven of Norway made a treaty with John of England and received military aid from him. Soon after his coronation Haakon Haakonsson of Norway in the fall of 1217 made a commercial treaty with Henry III of England, which was later renewed in 1269 at Winchester. The archbishop of Nidaros and the monastery at Lyse near Bergen received certain toll exemptions and trading privileges from the English kings. The Norwegian commerce with England probably reached its height in the middle of the thirteenth century The peasant war which raged from the latter part of the twelfth century was ended by the fall of the Ribbungar in 1227. After this, trade and shipping could flourish. We find in the reign of Haakon Haakonsson a marked increase in commerce. At the end of June, 1224, fifteen Norwegian ships lay in the harbor of Lynn; this number was never reached in the fourteenth century. In the following year (1225) the number was greater. Henry III of England ordered the port officials at Lynn in August, 1225, to welcome Norwegian ships. He permitted these merchants in spite of the prohibitions on the exportation of grain, to export a thousand *malter* of wheat. German competition became too strong for the Norwegians in London, and in the thirteenth century they confined their commerce to

the more northern ports of England. In 1215 we hear of the last ship from Norway in Bristol, the connection ceasing after the treaty of Perth, when the Hebrides and the Isle of Man were ceded to Scotland. By the middle of the next century the German merchants, by forcing certain trading privileges from the king, practically controlled Bergen and its commerce.

Sweden from 1000 to 1300 included only the eastern part of modern Sweden. Scania, the most fertile part of Sweden today, belonged at that time to Denmark. Sweden was perhaps the most barbaric of the Scandinavian countries, for it was the farthest removed from the civilization of Europe. Its connections were chiefly with Russia. Adam of Bremen, however, speaks of it as "a very fruitful country, rich in grain and honey, and cattle-breeding. The flow of the streams and the lay of the land was conducive to all kinds of foreign commerce." Another writer states that the exports from Sweden during the Viking period were slaves, furs, horses (for the Swedish horses were famous), wool, fish, etc. A little later lumber and iron were added to the list of exports. Travel by water was easier than by land, for there were no roads. The Swedes were, we may say, a people engaged in hunting and fishing and some cattle-raising. Toward the end of this period there was some agriculture, the raising of wheat, and some manufacture of iron and steel. The Swedes were specially skilled in making weapons and armor and in the building of ships. By the thirteenth century there were foundries in Gothland and copper works in Falem. Of the three northern countries of Europe, Sweden alone was badly situated for trade development except with half-barbarous Russia. For the Baltic was too nearly a closed sea and the only port at all giving upon the North Sea was Gothenburg on the Skaggerak, which was controlled by the Danes. For many, many years the only other Swedish place of commerce was Birka near Stockholm, but badly exposed to pirates.

The centre of foreign commerce in the Baltic was the island of Gothland, with its town of Wisby. It was the distribution point for the Baltic and North seas, for the oriental goods that came from the Black Sea by the way of the Russian rivers to Novgorod. In the Viking period Gothland was the most important commercial centre of the north, as is shown by the great number of Arabic coins that have been found on the island. The great number of English coins and the many runic stones that are memorials of those who have died in foreign lands, but especially in England, shows that the commercial intercourse between the Swedes and England must have been considerable during this early period. Wisby was not important in the tenth and eleventh centuries and did not become a town until settled by the Germans. After the rise of Wisby the native Swedish trade declined under the competition of the Germans, but did not fall entirely into the hands of these enterpris-

ing foreigners, for in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we still find in foreign countries, merchants from Gothland with genuine Norse names, who were not members of the Hanse. In London the Swedes enjoyed certain trading privileges as early as the Danes and Norwegians. The Swedes had established themselves in Novgorod as early as the eleventh century as traders and possessed their own church there in 1152. The German merchants of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen were the strongest competitors for the Scandinavian shipping industry and finally destroyed it completely.

CHAPTER XXII

MOHAMMEDAN AND CHRISTIAN SPAIN (711–1284)

THOUGH joined to the European continent, central and southern Spain is geologically and climatically much like northern Africa. Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia have only two seasons, a wet and a dry. The annual rainfall is less than that of Italy, or Greece, which are in the same latitude. This oriental nature of the land and the climate probably accounts in part for the remarkable adaptability of the Moor and the Berber to Spanish conditions.

Spain was the earliest province of the Mohammedan Empire to shake off the authority of the khalif. Andalusia became an independent state under Abd-er-Rahman (756–788 A.D.). However, it was not until the reign of Abd-er-Rahman III, who died in 960, that the ruler took the title of khalif, and the kingdom became the Khalifate of Cordova. From the founding of the Spanish khalifate, the connection between North Africa and Andalusia was close. The Berbers formed a large part of the Mohammedan population of Spain, and they maintained intimate touch with their kinsmen across the straits. For the first half-century after the conquest there was bitter rivalry between the Berbers and the Arabs, the former claiming Spain as their conquest. Then began a general Arab migration into the peninsula with the coming of the Ommeyad prince Abd-er-Rahman I in 756, the effects of which were to introduce that brilliant Arabic culture into the West which so profoundly influenced it, and to unite Moslem Spain and Africa into a single state known as the Empire of the Two Shores.

During the three centuries following the Mohammedan conquest of North Africa and Spain, Arabic civilization in the West was of the highest quality. Agricultural products hitherto unknown to Europe were introduced and profitably cultivated. Rice, sugar-cane, cotton, dates, saffron, ginger, myrrh, mulberry trees, strawberries, lemons, quinces, figs, pomegranates, spinach, asparagus, buckwheat, and sesame constitute a variety of agricultural products which have been thought to have been introduced by the Moors. Olives, grapes, pears, and apples were produced in large quantities, and different flowers were raised for their perfume. Agriculture deserved the name of a science in Arabic Spain at a time when it was only manual labor elsewhere. The khalifs took a deep interest in the cultivation of the soil, and pride in their own gardens. The place held by agriculture in the minds of the Moors is

shown by their proverb: "He who plants or sows, and who causes the earth to produce food for man or beast, does a service the account of which will be kept for him in the sky." Agriculture was studied as a science, as the number of Arabic treatises on horticulture shows. The royal gardens were in charge of distinguished botanists.

In the twelfth century Spain produced two notable writers on agriculture and husbandry, Ibn-al-Awam and Abu Zacaria. Both were natives of Seville, and both show the influence of the writings of Columella, the Romanized Spaniard. The former is so highly regarded in Spain that as late as 1802 his treatise was translated out of Arabic into the Spanish language for the benefit of Spanish farmers. The didactic poem of Ibn Loyon on the management of fields and gardens is a valuable commentary on the excellence of Moorish agriculture, while the treatise of Ibn Khaldun far excels any similar treatise of Christian Europe for centuries. He even developed a theory of prices and the nature of capital.

The insufficient moisture in much of the land required a high degree of engineering skill to construct the irrigating canals which parceled out the water of the melting snows of the mountains over the valleys. The khalifs expended large sums in the construction of aqueducts and canals of irrigation. Abd-er-Rahman III supplied Cordova with water by means of an aqueduct, bringing the water from the mountains through lead pipes. This is only one example from many; for the irrigation system of modern Spain is but what has survived of the work of the Arabs in the Middle Ages.

Stock-raising was an important industry among the Moors in central and northern Spain, especially sheep-raising. Even in Roman times Spain was famous for its wool, and the conquest of Spain by the Mohammedans in 711 increased sheep-raising in the peninsula, for the Moors and the Berbers were naturally a pastoral people. They improved the breed by importing new species from Africa. Abd-er-Rahman III, we are told, "constructed vast troughs of stone for the use of cattle, and watering-places for horses also." It seems likely that these were in market-places; but since the fields had to be irrigated in a large part of the country, it is possible that they were for watering the stock of the pasture lands. In some of the towns the watering-place became the local market-place. Attention was also given by the Moors to the breeding of goats, and to bee culture. The promotion of these rural industries made possible a dense population in the country districts. For years of drought, provisions were laid up, and grain was stored in large underground silos, where it would keep indefinitely, thanks to the dryness of the climate.[1]

[1] Bouchier thinks these silos were in use in Spain under the Romans. Others hold that they were invented by the Spanish Moors.

The most fertile provinces of Moorish Spain were Andalusia and Murcia. Andalusia with its half-tropical climate was the garden region of the Spanish peninsula, where dates, sugar-cane, cotton, olives, etc., were cultivated, while the plains of the Guadalquivir were a veritable granary. Wine also was an important production, especially in the Xerez (whence "sherry") district. Malaga also was a famous vineyard region and exported raisins in vast quantities. Murcia, like Andalusia, under the scientific farming of the Moors, produced wheat, olives, textiles, oranges, sugar-cane.

The Moors exploited the rich mineral resources of the country they had conquered. Gold, silver, tin, lead, quicksilver, copper, red and yellow ochre, alum, and iron were mined. The raw products of these mines were valuable in themselves, but many of these substances were more valuable in the industrial arts. The chief industry was the manufacture of sword blades. Those of Toledo had a reputation over Europe on account of their excellence, both in beauty and in temper. Near Cordova, Al-Mansur founded an establishment for the manufacture of shields, which was said to turn out twelve thousand finished shields each year. Murcia was a centre for the manufacture of all kinds of instruments of brass and iron. Almost every Moorish town was engaged in leather manufacturing. The so-called Cordovan and Moroccan leathers were the product of the best tanneries of the world. The Moors introduced cotton raising and the silk industry into Spain. Both raw silk and finished cloths fabricated by the Moors of Spain were in great demand throughout Europe. Sashes famed the world over for their brilliance of color and fineness of texture were manufactured in Almeria. Carpets were made at Teulala, and bright-colored woolens were manufactured in Granada and Baza. Vases of glass or pottery, mosaics, and jewelry were other commodities which were produced by Mohammedan workmen.

The revenue system of the Moors included taxes on personal and real property, quit-rents from tenants on domain lands, a tithe on agriculture, industry, and commerce, and customs duties. In the most flourishing period these assessments were based on a census, but with the break-up of the khalifate taxation became less just and more arbitrary.

During the period of the greatest prosperity of the Moors, the tenth century, the city of Cordova had many of the characteristics of a modern city. It contained many factories and workshops. The streets were paved, and there were raised sidewalks for pedestrians. At night, it is said, "one could travel for ten miles by the light of lamps along an uninterrupted extent of buildings."

The Khalifate of Cordova was on friendly terms with the Eastern Empire. As early as 839 it is recorded that the "king" of Constantinople, "a city situated beyond the Franks," sent presents to Abd-er-Rahman, at the same time soliciting his friendship. In the year 949

Greek ambassadors stopped several days at Cordova, and an envoy accompanied them home, bearing presents from the khalif of Cordova, consisting of Andalusian horses, decked with brilliant harness, and richly worked arms and armor from Toledo and Cordova, besides other rich products of Andalusia.

But naturally the bulk of the foreign commerce of the Spanish Moors was with the Mohammedan part of the world, rather than with Christian lands. Silk and wool, both raw and woven, were carried from Spain to the markets of Syria, Africa, and Egypt. Coral, cochineal, quicksilver, iron, and other metals, and weapons, also figured in this trade. In return for these products, spices, dyes, and unguents were brought from the East to Spain. In the twelfth century, it is said that as many as a thousand vessels were engaged in this Levantine trade. Until the twelfth century the commerce of the Saracens in the Mediterranean was much greater than that of the Christians. Trade relations between the Italian cities, notably Genoa, and the Moors in Spain appear by the middle of the eleventh century. The usual voyage extended along the Barbary Coast with the return by way of Cadiz and Provence. The trade brought to Genoa metals, especially copper, and alum. Almeria, in the kingdom of Granada, was the chief port of Spain; it was crowded with ships from Syria and Egypt, Pisa and Genoa, and boasted of a thousand inns for strangers and four thousand textile shops, besides manufactures of copper, iron, and glass. In 1149 and 1161 the Genoese negotiated commercial treatises with the Moorish kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia. Between 1155 and 1164 we find records of contracts of commercial societies relative to the commerce of the Genoese at Tunis, Tripoli, Ceuta, Bougia, and other places in Africa. The Genoese were on unusually good terms with Ceuta and Bougia, it seems, as they had permanent consuls in those cities. In 1133 an embassy was sent by the Almoravid Sultan to Pisa, which was well received. The Pisans valued the trade in figs from Granada. In 1186 a new treaty between Pisa and Abu-Yusuf-Yakub, son of Yakub-Yusuf, the Almohad khalif, is recorded in which provision was made for twenty-five years of peaceful commerce between Pisa and the towns of Ceuta, Oran, Bougia, Tunis, and Andalusia. In 1180 Norman Sicily made a treaty with the king of Morocco, in whose power was "all Africa and also the Saracens who are in Spain." Florence derived a large supply of raw textile materials from Malaga and Almeria. There was little commerce between France and the Spanish Moors. It was not a direct trade but was conducted through the Catalans and the Basques. Some Moorish goods found their way as far north as Flanders before 1200.

But in spite of the fair outward showing of material prosperity which Moorish Spain exhibited, its civilization was a brittle one and too readily liable to crumble. The political and religious contact with Africa twice

brought about invasions of the country—in 1087 and again in 1146—by half-barbaric and fanatical sects of the Berbers, the Almoravids and the Almohads, which politically disorganized the khalifate and set back the high and enlightened Arabic civilization it had established. The Mohammedan provincial governors or emirs seized these occasions to localize their power and make themselves as independent as possible within their jurisdictions. In the eleventh century the Khalifate of Cordova was dissolved into almost independent Mohammedan states much as the Frankish Empire had been rent asunder in the ninth century, and these petty princes too often fraternized with what ought to have been the common enemy—the Christian princes of the north.

In addition to these adverse external forces there were forces of dissolution within, less of a political than of a social nature. Moorish Spain was "a confused medley of races and faiths subject to no guiding principle." The Mozarabs or Arabized Christians who lived under the Mohammedan domination, the *muladis* or former Christians who were descended from Visigothic serfs who had embraced Islam in order to acquire freedom, and the Jews, were distracting elements in the population.

Many of the Mozarabs were employed in the administration, some even rising to become viziers and army commanders. In time the Mozarabs so completely lost their knowledge of the Latin tongue that their Scriptures and church canons had to be translated into Arabic. They were far the most tractable element in the population and with time would have become completely merged with the conquerors racially and religiously. On the other hand, the *muladis*, or converted Mohammedans, were from the first a discordant group, regarded with suspicion by both Mohammedans and Christians. It was they who fomented the separatist inclinations of the emirs and even themselves established semi-independent petty principalities in Algarbe, Murcia, and Toledo. Between 853 and 933 Toledo was a seceded Mulad state. These renegades were frequently deserters to the armies of Castile and Aragon, playing fast and loose across the border. Ibn-Mardanich, king of Valencia and Murcia, dressed as a Christian, spoke Castilian fluently, and had an army composed chiefly of Navarrese, Castilians, and Catalans. His chief captains were two sons of the count of Urgel and a grandson of the Cid's most famous lieutenant, Alvar Fuñez. The Jews, who were very numerous, formed the third non-Moorish ingredient of the population. They had suffered much from Gothic intolerance and had materially assisted the Mohammedan conquests of Spain in 711, and were generally tolerated. Their commercial instincts and business acquisitiveness made them a valuable economic factor in the community. They were much employed in the Mohammedan civil service as farmers of the revenue and tax collectors. In the eleventh century two Jews, father and

son, Samuel ha Levi and Joseph, were viziers of Granada for fifty years. But their wealth, their keen competition, their identification with taxation and fiscal policy in course of time gave birth to considerable economic prejudice against the race. Yet if it had not been for the irrepressible wars waged by the Christian Spaniards of the north, all these social ingredients—Moors, Mozarabs, *muladis,* and Jews—would in great probability have finally merged racially and religiously into a homogeneous nation. But the constant assaults of the Spanish Christians upon the Moorish state prevented peaceful fusion and aggravated the cleavages.

Turning now to northern and Christian Spain, we find conditions in general strikingly different from those in southern Spain—climate, physiography, soil, people, civilization.

In the Middle Ages, Christian Spain was the least favorably situated of all the countries of Europe. Located at the southwest angle of the continent, no international route crossed it. The huge barrier of the Pyrenees all but cut it off from communication with its northern neighbor, and the formidable sea-power of the Mohammedan states until the twelfth century jeopardized what maritime commerce it might otherwise have had. There was almost no commerce on the Atlantic side, and the drift of Mediterranean commerce out of the East was not toward Spain, but to Italy and Provence. Moreover, the orographic structure of the peninsula, its high plateaux, dividing mountain ranges and unnavigable rivers, seriously impeded commercial communication and the transportation and exchange of its natural resources. Since all the rivers of the peninsula have their sources in the mountains which almost completely ring these plateaux, and since their current is very swift, river navigation is impossible; they are quite as difficult to ford or to bridge. The physical dislocation of the land thus foreordained the formation of petty principalities, the union of which was never more than partially accomplished in medieval times. This great topographical variation is accompanied by marked climatic variation due to the many mountain ranges. Central Spain is a high, almost arid plateau, divided into two parts by the Sierra de Guadarrama. In consequence of this wide physiographic variation, broad generalization of medieval Spanish economic and social history is impossible. The truest statement is that physiography and climate especially favored pasturage and stock-raising.

During the universal dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire in the ninth century the Spanish Mark also had disintegrated, and the Moors again over-ran much of the territory north of the Ebro River from which they had been driven by Frankish arms. Much of the Christian population seems either to have been destroyed or to have fled into Gaul. Some sought the asylum of the few walled towns like Barcelona, Vich, and Gerona, which were able to resist the Moorish arms. The

Moorish horsemen, though they over-ran and devastated the valley country, were unable to penetrate the high and remote fastnesses of the Pyrenees where the inhabitants found refuge.

The Christian peoples of northern Spain, in the ninth and tenth centuries, formed tiny but furiously bellicose kingdoms, whose fusion ultimately was to form the Spain of today. But in the Middle Ages, although there was some tendency toward union, they never became wholly united. In the northwest the population was of Basque origin, and had never been completely Romanized or Gothicized. The Basques were a stubborn, hardy, fiercely democratic people of small farmers and cattle-raisers inland, and of fishermen and whalers along the Biscayan coast. In Navarre and Aragon the population was of Romanized Gothic origin, living almost entirely as cattle-raisers in the high valleys pocketed between the peaks of the Pyrenees and subsidiary ranges. Only the Catalonians of the northeastern coast—politically organized as the county of Barcelona—may be said to have had any commerce.

These earliest little states underneath the great mountain wall which extends across all northern Spain from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, were (1) the principality of Asturias, a mountainous refuge never conquered by the Moors, a narrow strip bounded on the north by a range fringing the very coast, and separated from the interior by a tremendous barrier having only one pass, the great Puerto de Pájares, which Oviedo, the one important place in the Asturias, commanded. No invading army ever penetrated into this remote little territory in which the hardy Christian, but slightly civilized population, pastured their cattle, for the high humidity nurtured a heavy growth of grass. (2) East of Asturias in the angle of the Bay of Biscay around Pamplona sprang up the little kingdom of Navarre, a country rich in forests and mountain pastures where stock-raising was almost the only industry—except fighting the Moor. (3) East of Navarre, wedged in between it and the seaboard county of Barcelona, in the very centre of the Pyrenees in the valley of the Arga, an affluent of the upper Ebro, was formed the little county destined in course of years to grow into the kingdom of Aragon. In the ninth century the name "Aragon" was confined to the county lying in the upper valley of this torrent. Here again the economic resources were almost wholly cattle, sheep, and hogs, the last feeding upon the mast and acorns of immense forests of oak and chestnut. (4) The county of Barcelona, on the Mediterranean coast and possessed of an ancient Roman and Visigothic port, was the only one of this fringe of Christian states in northern Spain which may be said to have possessed any commerce; and that was slight in the ninth and tenth centuries, owing to the seapower of the Mohammedans in the Mediterranean.

The civilization of Christian Spain rose as that of Moslem Spain

declined. When the latter was at its apogee in the tenth century, the small Christian principalities in the north were in a semi-barbarous condition. Their economic life was rude and crude, and was hardly manifest before the eleventh century, when the Navarrese, the Castilians, the Aragonese, and the Catalans began the "reconquest," piece by piece, of their country from the infidel. Unfortunately the early development of the material prosperity of these Christian kingdoms in Spain is very imperfectly known. As in other parts of Europe, in Spain, too, the economic unfolding was connected with the progress of political institutions. Material prosperity increased in some proportion to the growth of the royal authority. But the process is not nearly so visible in Spain as in Germany or Italy or France, and, speaking in the broad, Spain lingered from a century to a century and a half behind other countries of Europe. Castile in 1350 was relatively about where France was in 1200.

Christian power in the Spanish peninsula expanded from two centres, Asturias-Navarre and Aragon-Barcelona. The former was destined to create the kingdom of Leon-Castile, the latter the kingdom of Aragon. Backed by the free and fighting population of the Basques in the Asturias, the population of Galicia was the first to expel the invader. Between 739 and 757 Alfonso "the Catholic" overran and conquered the plains as far as the Douro, although the Moors continued to make annual forays into the land, more for plunder of horses and cattle than in hope of reconquest. By 910 the northwestern country was so far made safe from the enemy that the capital was removed by García from Oviedo to Leon, and the now enlarged principality of the Asturias erected into the kingdom of Leon.

But the frontier of Leon was exposed to perpetual Moorish attack, and hence a Mark was established there to guard the kingdom at the place where the plains of the interior began to run up into the high hills. This Mark, as elsewhere in Europe where similar conditions of danger existed, was protected by a line of castles, which in course of time gave their name to the territory. Not only Christian but Moor called the land Castile or the Land of Castles (*Kashtellah*). Into the protected area behind the long line of these *castillos* settlers flocked, and occupied the land as farmers and ranchers; and around the castles grew up a clustered population of colonists (*poblaciones*), which in slow lapse of time developed a town organization and were given charters, or *fueros*. Among the earliest of these groups we find Anaya and Santillan (about 882), Burgos and Ovierna (about 890), Coruña del Conde, Oca, San Esteban de Gormez and Sepulveda in the tenth century. The hero of this border and the creator of Castile was the half legendary, half historical Rodrigo, whose successors were never more than nominally subject to the kings of Leon.

It was natural that Leon, Navarre, and Castile should gravitate together, for they had a common foe, a similar economy, and a population essentially identical. The last heiress of Rodrigo married Sancho of Navarre, and in 1037 their son Ferdinand married the heiress of Leon. Hence in this eventful year Leon, Navarre, and Castile were united. The territory of Navarre later slipped into the hands of Aragon. But Leon and Castile, although before 1230 they were only loosely united, nevertheless formed a substantial and formidable state in the north and central portion of the Spanish peninsula. Ferdinand, realizing the manifest destiny of Castile to become the greater state, formally took the title of king of Castile and removed the capital from Leon to Burgos. The old order was reversed; Leon became a province of the younger state, which had absorbed the older territory into itself. The great victory of Calat Anazor in 1102 ruined the hopes of the khalifate of stemming the Christian advance into the heart of the peninsula. In the eleventh century Castile spread its sway across the Douro as far as the Sierra de Guadarrama, steadily colonizing the land with settlers, establishing castles and fortified towns and granting *fueros*. It is written of Sancho García in 1021 that "he gave good *fueros* and customs to all Castile." (*"Dedit bonos foros et mores in tota Castella."*)

Ranching was almost the sole occupation of the inhabitants, and the staple articles of trade were wool and leather goods. Even the monasteries, of which numbers were of French foundation, were great fortified ranch-houses on whose lands the dependent population were cowboys, shepherds, leather and wool workers. The border warfare was practically a constant series of cattle raids and sheep drives on both sides. Naturally the zone of territory between Christian and Mohammedan domination was a bitterly fought over border, almost wholly desolate. The war of Moor and Christian was chiefly an economic strife. Sheep, cattle, and horses were the prizes striven for. "Whenever the infidels withdrew from a district they deliberately devastated it so as to prevent their foes from following close upon their heels; they thereby created a wide neutral zone or No Man's Land, which, coupled with the natural poverty of the great *meseta,* opposed the most effective barrier to the Christian advance." The great *despoblado* of central Spain in its depleted population and its absence of towns is to this day a mournful memorial of those decimating conflicts. No living thing was safe within this intermediate zone. The familiar saying, "Castles in Spain" to signify a fantastic or chimerical idea, is as old as the twelfth century, and is cited in the *Romaunt de la Rose.* It meant that castles were impossible in such a land, for if not destroyed they would be seized by one side or the other and converted into strongholds against the other foe. Romance has cast its glamour over these border wars, especially in the case of the Cid Campeador. But the Cid of history was a desperado, a

border ruffian, and a renegade, as often fighting on the side of the crescent as on that of the cross. Indeed, each side recruited its following to a large degree from the lawless frontier element.

Before the thirteenth century the medieval Spaniard was not greatly actuated by race antagonism or religious fanaticism; his ruling motive in war against the infidel was an economic one. "A Spanish knight of the Middle Ages fought neither for his country nor for his religion; he fought, like the Cid, to get something to eat." He coveted possession of the flocks and herds of his Moorish neighbor and necessarily had also to acquire the wide pastures on which these herds grazed. The root of the Spaniards' characteristic aversion to agriculture is perhaps to be found in the prevailing physiographic feature of the country whose dry plateaux were incapable of intensive cultivation. But the natural infertility of the *meseta* was aggravated by the interminable border warfare. Consequently, stock-raising was the only profitable industry, for pasturage could be found where crops were impossible. Moreover, in event of a raid there was always a chance that the stock might be driven to a place of safety, whereas standing crops were certain to be put to the torch by the invader. This condition of things in turn had a marked social effect. It made impossible in Castile the growth of a fully developed feudal system, such as existed in France. For feudal society was eminently an agricultural society. Castilian nobles, it is true, were large landowners, but their lands were grazing lands and not farms. They were ranchers, not proprietors. The dependents upon these ranches were herdsmen, and hence half nomadic, in winter living in wretched adobe huts, in summer in tents. In winter they dwelt on the plains; in summer, when the fervent heat dried up the pasturage, they drove their flocks to the cooler and moister pastures in the mountains. The manorial village as an economic and social unit, with its complex organization and immemorial customs, such as one finds in central Europe, hardly existed in Spain. On the other hand, the constant warfare, the ever-present insecurity, promoted castle-building and fostered the walled town to a far greater extent than elsewhere in Europe. "The problem of repeopling the conquered lands was in reality far more urban than rural. The boundaries were continually shifting; land which had been captured one day was likely to be raided and possibly recaptured by the enemy the next. The neutral zone between the rival forces could not possibly be occupied by a scattered and consequently defenseless agricultural population; it was essential for those who ventured to take possession of it to concentrate and intrench themselves in compact groups—in other words, to found cities." In France and in Germany country villages and rural communities abounded in the Middle Ages. In Spain they were few. In the rest of Europe the bulk of the population lived in the country during the feudal age. In Spain, on the other hand,

the bulk of the population was urban and the country was sparsely peopled, and the distance between communities was immense. Country life in Spain was lonely, for the villages were few and isolated. In more feudalized parts of Europe villages were thick.

The intervention of thousands of French Crusaders in the eleventh century resulted in a new aggressive movement against Islam, and a new and great expansion of Castile. The war was now carried down into the centre of the country. Toledo was taken in 1085, and the Tagus was crossed. The capture of Valencia followed in 1094. In this wise a New Castile was created beteen the Sierra de Guadarrama and the Guadiana river, which was steadily advanced by successive lines of castles behind which the Christian population flooded in and settled. Alfonso VI (died 1109) liberally endowed the monasteries, protected merchants, and promoted pilgrimages, especially that to the great shrine of St. James of Compostella. The fair of Medina del Campo appears in the eleventh century, and those of Segovia and Valladolid in the twelfth. Yet the relative inferiority of the commerce of Spain, when contrasted with that of other countries of Europe at the same time, is shown in the existence of so few fairs, and also in the further and curious fact that these fairs were annual or even biennial, and did not last more than four weeks. In other parts of Europe at the same time fairs were held every spring and autumn, and sometimes even in summer.

Want of outlet to the sea was for centuries a serious deterrent to Castilian commerce. Cadiz and Seville were, of course, blocked by Mohammedan possession. The natural exit was by way of the Douro and Tagus rivers to Oporto and Lisbon. But unfortunately for Castile these ports were closed by the rebellion of Portugal from Castilian vassalage in 1139. Castile did not reach blue water until the conquest of Seville in 1248 and that of Cadiz in 1262. If the loss of Castilian control over Portugal had not taken place, in all probability Castile would early have become a maritime power like Aragon.

Commerce in Spain, as in other parts of Europe, grievously suffered from the imposition of provincial tolls, the variety of coin in circulation, and the confusion in weights and measures. In these respects medieval Spain was neither better nor worse than the rest of Europe in the same time. But from these inhibitions the inhabitants of the three Basque provinces of the northwest were exempt. The love of freedom among this hardy people, wholly made up of small farmers and fishermen, was proverbial. The Basques had always remained free, if not completely independent, and even Castilian pride had to bend before their rugged democratic spirit. So refractory were the Basques that the famous Gonsalvo de Cordova in the sixteenth century said he would rather command a troop of lions than one of Basques. In the three Basque provinces of Guipuzcoa, Vizcaya (Biscay), and Alava entire

freedom of trade existed, both internal and external. The Ebro on the south was the line of limitation.

Evidences of industrial development in Castile are not great before the fourteenth century. The absence of gild organization among both merchants and craftsmen until late in the Middle Ages tells its own story of slight industrial activity. Most of the trades were plied by the Moors and the Jews. This backwardness of industry in Castile, when compared with industry in other European countries, made the kings jealous to protect and to stimulate the few local industries that existed. While one does not discover this protective policy in France before the fourteenth century, it is manifest in Castile in the thirteenth. The great weakness of Castilian industry was that it was chiefly founded upon the technical skill of the non-Christian element of the population, the Moors and the Jews, although the Mozarabs formed a considerable proportion of the industrial population. For contrary to a widely prevalent belief, after the conquest the Moorish population was generally unmolested and even induced to stay. Financially and industrially the Moors in Castile "formed a most valuable portion of the population. The revenues derived from them were among the most reliable resources of the state. . . . To the nobles on whose lands they were settled they were almost indispensable, for they were skilful agriculturists." They were allowed to retain their property, their own religion, their own laws, their own magistrates. It is true that the Moors and the Jews were compelled to dwell in segregated quarters of the towns and intermarriage with Christians was forbidden, but economically and socially they were more than tolerated, they were favored. Commerce and trade were largely in their hands. It was the very prosperity of the Jews and the Moors which finally provoked their ruin in the later Middle Ages. For the Spanish clergy and the Spanish nobles in course of time looked with covetous eyes upon their wealth and the spirit of religious fanaticism and intolerance—the poisonous flower of the Albigensian Crusades—fanned this covetousness into flaming hostility. The reign of Alfonso X (1252–84) marks the culmination of the prosperity of both Jew and Moor in Castile.

Unfortunately, the Visigothic tradition of ecclesiastical power and religious intolerance was carried down into the kingdoms of medieval Spain, especially in Castile, and the Church ceaselessly inculcated the doctrine of constant war against the infidel. Not unnaturally the Church got its reward in ample slices of land in the conquered territories and exemption from regular taxes. The Church performed a greater service to society of an economic and administrative nature in the repeopling and reclaiming of the devastated areas and reducing the arid soil of the *meseta* to tillage than it conveyed in its spiritual teachings. In less

degree than the high clergy the great nobles also demanded and received reward for their military services. As a result of such loose and lavish grants the Castilian kings were chronically in financial straits owing to lack of sufficient crown lands.

The nobility of Castile seized the opportunity afforded by the "reconquest" to intrench themselves in privileges. The greatest nobles were *ricos hombres* or grandees; those of lesser rank were *hidalgos* and *caballeros*. The grandees were reputedly of lineage "beyond the power of the king to confer"; the *hidalgos* (the word is probably derived from the Visigothic *adalingi*, meaning "nobles") might be of ancient blood, but their distinction more usually rested on reward of service; the *caballero* answered to the knight of feudal France, a gentleman-at-arms. There was never a fully fledged feudal system in Castile, however. "Local conditions, particularly the constantly shifting boundary and the agricultural poverty of the *meseta*, were distinctly unfavorable to it." While much was feudal, there was no feudal system. The principle of primogeniture and entailed estates, with the effect of preserving the unity of landed possession and perpetuating the rights, powers, and immunities of a house, was of late introduction—nearly two centuries later than the same practices in France and England. A striking illustration of the exceptional condition of things in Spain when compared with other countries of Europe, is the fact that Spain alone possessed three indigenous military orders, those of Calatrava, Santiago, and Alcántara.

The most progressive social feature of Castilian history in these centuries of expansion is the fullness and intensity of city life. The communes of Castile were older than those of any other European country except Italy, and were endowed with an admirable vigor. Their charters, or *fueros*, compare favorably with those of Lombardy and Flanders in the large amount of municipal liberty accorded in them. Whereas town life was scarcely manifest in Europe at large before the twelfth century—Italy alone excepted—we find it strong in Castile in the eleventh century. Leon was chartered in 1020, Burgos in 1073, Sepulvada and Najera in 1076, Toledo in 1085, Logrono in 1095. Unfortunately the kings of Castile were too shortsighted to make intelligent and efficient use of this burgher class. They were "improvidently liberal" in granting charters, and in the end had as little control of the bourgeoisie as they had of the nobility. Spain never developed that third estate which was so progressive a factor in the history of the other countries of Europe. Moreover, the Spanish burgher was behind the same class in France, Italy, and Germany in natural aptitude for trade. The commercial prosperity of the cities largely reposed upon the enterprise of the Moorish population, which also paid the greater part of the taxes.

We have reminders of that municipal prosperity in the great cathedrals which were built in the centuries of the "reconquest," [2] but do not so easily perceive that the cost of their erection was very largely derived from the Moors. The poverty of Spain, the depletion of its population, the decline of its architecture, all date from the expulsion of the Moorish and Jewish population in 1492. Castile was incapable of perpetuating this prosperity.

The status of the Castilian peasantry was largely conditioned by the "reconquest" and the peopling of the devastated areas. Protection and security were primary objects naturally, and these could be secured only at the price of loss of, or at least great limitation of, liberty. Accordingly the mass of the population outside of the towns was serfs of varying degree, or even slaves. But as the Moors lost power and their territory shrank away, the condition of the servile population improved both economically and socially. The chief factor in this amelioration was the large number of towns, toward which the serfs gravitated in increasing numbers as war grew more remote and the opportunity for peaceful industry improved.

The agricultural problem was far the most important and the least solved problem of the realm of Castile. Pasturage was a natural form of exploitation, while agriculture required a patience and an intelligence beyond the Spaniard's power; moreover, the returns from it were precarious, both on account of the shallowness and aridity of the soil and on account of the hostile proximity of the enemy for so many centuries. In addition, the immense flocks of sheep in their migration were ruinous to what agriculture obtained. The farming peasantry and the cattle barons were alike hostile to the grazing of sheep, and strife between sheepmen and cattlemen was common.

We must now follow the history of the formation and development of that other Spanish kingdom, Aragon, which by the thirteenth century divided almost the whole peninsula with her rival. Between the ninth and the early twelfth centuries the little county of Aragon slowly and indefatigably crept down the valley of the Arga River to the upper Ebro and thence down that stream. Physically the territory was as inaccessible as Old Castile and it was protected by a broader river. Hence Aragon never suffered as much molestation from the common enemy as Castile. Like Old and New Castile, Aragon was an upland interior kingdom shut off from the sea. While Aragon obscurely expanded in

[2] San Isidore in Leon was dedicated in 1005, Santiago completed between 1082 and 1128; the cathedrals of Oviedo, Valladolid, and Avila date from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, the magnificent cathedral at Burgos from 1121. To these structures we must add enormous fortifications such as those of Ciudad Rodrigo and the walls of Avila, completed in 1090 and regarded by some as the most formidable erection of the Middle Ages.

the upper Ebro country, the Catalonians of the lower Ebro territory, which politically was the county of Barcelona, also expanded. The capture of Tudela in 1110, of Tarragona in 1116, and of Saragossa in 1118 created a greater county of Barcelona and one of a natural physical unity. The union of the two states was as natural and as inevitable as the union of Leon and Castile. The turning point in Aragonese history was its union with the county of Barcelona in 1137, exactly a hundred years later than the union of Leon and Castile. This gave Aragon an outlet for its produce and identified its own agricultural peasantry with the commercial tradition and maritime interest of Catalonia. Henceforth, although the state was called the kingdom of Aragon, the control of its destiny really lay with the maritime province of Catalonia and the commercial instincts of Barcelona. "It was at Barcelona that all the foreign and naval activity of the realm, both political and commercial, was centered; it was the Catalans who built the ships and manned them; it was the Catalans who cherished visions of expansion and a maritime career." Trade was an old story in Barcelona. The customhouse there is mentioned in the years 1029 and 1050. In 1068 Ramon Berenger published the *usages,* or customs, of Barcelona, in which there is evidence of commercial growth. The safety of merchants and security on the roads were especially assured. The growing sea-power of Aragon, Genoa, and Pisa together gradually got the upper hand over Mohammedan sea-power in the twelfth century. But the depredations of the corsairs who made the Balearic Islands their base of operations, were a constant menace to the commerce borne by sea, a danger not completely removed until the capture of Majorca in 1237.

In partial compensation for this Mohammedan restraint of Aragon's natural maritime development during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Aragon found a wide and profitable field of commercial exploitation in southern France. For the ancient house of the counts of Barcelona was of French origin, and at the time of the union of Barcelona and Aragon it was possessed, thanks to adroit marriage alliances, of the greater part of Provence, Millau, and Gévaudan. These rich holdings were increased between 1137 and 1204 by the acquisition of Roussillon, Foix, Nîmes, Béziers and—greatest of all—Montpellier. In the chapter upon France during the Crusades we saw how rich and varied the commercial and economic life of Provence and Languedoc was, and that Montpellier rivaled Marseilles as a port of entry for Levantine goods. Much of this prosperity was ruined by the destructive wars of the Albigensian Crusade, in which Aragon's losses were little less than those of the county of Toulouse; and when peace finally came to the ruined land political rule in southern France had passed to the French crown. In 1258, by the treaty of Corbeil, Aragon renounced to the French king all rights to Carcassonne, Agde, Béziers, Foix, Albi, Nîmes, Narbonne,

Millau, Gévaudan, and all other territories north of the Pyrenees except Montpellier, which was retained by Aragon under French overlordship until the next century.

Undoubtedly the decline of Aragon's sway in southern France inspired James the Conqueror (1213–76) to new aggression against the Moors in order to get compensation for his French losses. In 1225 the Moorish king of Valencia was compelled to pay one-fifth of his revenues to Aragon. Thirteen years later James significantly proclaimed that he was going "to get the hen as well as the eggs," with the result that Valencia was besieged and captured, and all the territory north of the Guadalavir acquired. But Castile was now watching Aragon's expansion in the peninsula with jealous interest. For Castile in a peculiar sense had been formed by the "reconquest"; she was much more actuated by the crusading spirit than Aragon, and regarded the reversion of the two Moorish kingdoms still surviving in Spain as her residuary right. These two realms were Murcia and Granada. The latter was destined to be spared until the end of the fifteenth century. But Murcia, almost without a battle, was partitioned between Castile and Aragon, the former getting the lion's share.

But again, a new door of opportunity opened to Aragon. By this time, Castile was clearly the kingdom of the "reconquest" and the dreaded foe of all that was left of Moorish Spain. On the other hand no such hostility existed between Granada and Aragon, or between the Mohammedan states of North Africa and Aragon. What Aragon lost in future acquisition of territory in the peninsula was compensated for by the wider field of commercial action which opened to her with these states, which regarded Castile, not Aragon, as an hereditary foe. It now became Aragon's ambition to acquire commercial predominance in all the North African ports, especially Tunis, Bougia, and Ceuta.

Tunis was unquestionably the chief centre of European trade in North Africa, and regular Aragonese factories and consulates were set up during the reign of James the Conqueror. Vigorous competition not unnaturally ensued with the Genoese, Florentines, Venetians, and other Italian powers who were already on the ground; but the Aragonese were generally able to hold their own. . . . There was an elaborate set of duties and tariffs on this thriving trade; but in return European merchants were most effectively protected against fraud or maltreatment in the North African ports. . . . Much of this admirable organization was directly traceable to the needs and demands of the merchants of the Aragonese realms—for Majorca constituted a sister kingdom of Aragon—whose preëminence among the various foreign traders in the North African ports was unquestioned.

How keen the spirit of trade was in James the Conqueror is manifested

in his jealousy of the competition of the Genoese, and the very interesting navigation law he proclaimed forbidding merchandise of Aragonese origin to be carried in foreign ships if national ships were available. In truth, unlike Castile which was almost wholly an inland and agricultural state, Aragon in the thirteenth century had become a fundamentally maritime and commercial state. Valencia supplied no more than one-third its need in wheat, while Catalonia imported almost all the cereals it consumed from the Balearic Islands and Sicily.

But Aragon also penetrated into the eastern Mediterranean in search of commerce. As we have seen elsewhere, although late in entering the Crusades, in the thirteenth century Catalan merchants are found in numbers in Alexandria, Cyprus, Constantinople, and Little Armenia. The tariff lists of James I mention spices, sugar, precious stones, rare dyes, and silks, as imports of Barcelona, and the records reveal the presence of merchants and shipping from Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Palermo, and Marseilles.

Aragon in the thirteenth century realized that her destiny was upon the sea and not upon the land. She left the rest of the Spanish peninsula to Castile. But her competition stirred up the intense resentment of Genoa, which hitherto had been without a rival in the western Mediterranean, and had handled almost all the African trade out of Tunis, Bougia, and Ceuta. From friends they became enemies, and Pisa, Genoa's other rival, and Aragon now made common cause together. The chief field of rivalry was southern Italy and Sicily. Here Aragon scored by a dynastic and commercial alliance with the Hohenstaufen, when in 1262 Constance of Sicily, daughter of Manfred, the emperor Frederick II's brilliant son, was married to Peter III of Aragon, and Aragon became the "favored nation" in the ports of Sicily and southern Italy. At this time Charles of Anjou and Provence, with papal support, was plotting to acquire Naples and Sicily; Genoa, which had large commercial interests in Provence, backed him with her fleet in hope of being restored commercially in lower Italy. The result, as we saw in Chapter XVII, was the fall of the Hohenstaufen, the establishment of Angevin power in Sicily and lower Italy, Genoa's commercial triumph and Aragon's discomfiture. But Aragon watched, waited, and intrigued, and when in 1282 she "underwrote," so to speak, the conspiracy of the Sicilian Vespers which wrecked Angevin political power and Genoese commercial supremacy in Sicily, she got her reward. The great and rich island lying in the middle of the Mediterranean, commanding the narrows between the two basins and possessed of the important port and city of Palermo, became a component part of the kingdom—an extension of Aragon. Thereby Aragon became and was to remain for centuries the foremost naval and commercial power in the western Mediterranean. Even Genoa's jealousy and her ascendancy with the

restored Greek Empire could not keep the Catalans out of the Ægean and Byzantium.

Thus, of the two great states which divided almost all the Spanish peninsula between them at the end of the thirteenth century, Castile was the military and agricultural state; Aragon, the naval and commercial state.

CHAPTER XXIII

MERCHANT TRAVEL IN THE MIDDLE AGES. MARKETS. THE CHAMPAGNE FAIRS. THE CONDUCT OF TRADE *

All medieval travel was either on foot or on horseback or muleback. Wagons were not in use even for heavy freight until the twelfth century and then their employment was limited to certain most favorable regions. Carts were used for transporting heavy stuff on farms and to the local market. The magnificent road system of the Romans had gone to pieces in the course of centuries and even if the ancient routes were still followed, the face of the highway had changed. Instead of the ancient paving blocks and cemented causeways were now mere dirt roads, heavy and miry in winter, deep with dust in summer; sinkholes were frequent, bridges few and poor. The roads had no "crown" and no ditches beside them to drain off the water. In the worst places rushes or boughs of trees made a "corduroy." Fords were used wherever practicable; if not, then a rude ferry was in vogue. When we add to these inconveniences the not unusual peril of highwaymen or robber nobles, insufficient shelter, and the trying influence of the elements like storm, snow, flood, it may easily be perceived that medieval travel was no light matter. There is a world of history in those words of the Litany: "That it may please Thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring of child, all sick persons and young children; and to shew Thy pity upon all prisoners and captives." It has been well said that "the persons thus interceded for are not mixed together casually or carelessly." Women were not peddlers and merchants in the Middle Ages, but many were wayfarers traveling of necessity or pilgrims en route to some shrine.

Keeping roads in good repair was regarded as one of the most meritorious of services. The monasteries were particularly distinguished for such works, especially the Cistercians, who built their houses in remote and isolated places, often in marshes or deep woods, and who perforce became road-builders. There is intimate relation between Henry VIII's destruction of the monasteries in England in 1537–39 and the bad roads of the Tudor period. However, when we reflect upon these evil conditions it must always be remembered that our knowledge of them is derived from records of complaint, of accidents and injuries, which illustrate the worse, not the better side.

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 98–99.

We read of Henry I of England that in 1102 he

issued orders for his army to march by the Hubel Heben (Evil Hedge) and laid siege to Shrewsbury. The road through a wood on this route is called by the English *Hubelheben*, which in Latin means *Malum Callem vel Vicum* (bad road or street). This road was for a thousand paces full of holes and the surface rough with large stones and so narrow that two men on horseback could scarcely pass each other. . . . The king gave orders that they should clear a broad track by cutting down the woods with axes so that a road might be formed for his own passage and a public highway forever afterwards.

Few nobles were intelligent enough to see the advantage of good roads. If one could get his produce to the nearest market he was content. There was little "through" trade, and what there was, was in the hands of wandering merchants, chiefly Italians, Greeks, and Syrians, for whom nobody cared and who were sedulously exploited by the baronage. It benefited no one to make good roads unless his neighbors did so, too. In consequence, until the commerce and trade of Europe increased during the Crusades to such a point that its volume became important enough to consider, the roads were largely left to themselves. Charlemagne had been careful in this particular and had made good roads and bridges. But the road system declined with the whole decline of Europe after his death.

What happened to a peasant boy, employed on the lands of a monastery, from his animal falling into a sinkhole, is amusing to read:

A boy from another monastery was sent by the prior to bring green hay from the meadow. The servants loaded this upon an ass which, on the way homeward, passed through a certain sunken way, where the load was caught between the banks on either side and the ass, slipping away, came home without the boy's knowledge. He stood by the hay, smiting it oftentimes and threatening the ass (which he did not know had got away) as best he could. Nor did he stir from the spot until the brethren came out to find him, who could scarce persuade him that the ass was clean gone and that the hay could not walk without a beast of burden.

The rule of the road was to turn to the left, a rule which still obtains in England. The reason lay in the fact that every one in the Middle Ages traveled armed, and by passing one he met on the left he had him at his right side, and naturally carried his sword or lance in his right hand. This precaution was necessary in a time when every person one met on the road might be hostile. It was the introduction of firearms which changed the rule of the road. A man with a gun naturally carries it with the barrel lying in the hollow of his left arm. Accordingly by

passing on the right he had whomever he met off the point of the gun. In Colonial America the settlers in New England and Virginia and the frontiersmen along the forest trails always traveled in this way. In America the rule of the road has always been to pass on the right. In Europe it was not introduced until long after the invention of firearms. The earliest legislation I know of, instituting the keep-to-the-right practice, was in Saxony in 1736, when Augustus the Strong built the beautiful bridge over the Elbe at Dresden and introduced it there.

The improvement we might expect to have followed from the growing numbers of that class of travelers who had most to lose by the bad condition of the roads, is only slightly apparent. While Charlemagne and his immediate successors had employed measures to keep up the roads and bridges of the Frankish realm, the power of later kings to do so became restricted to their own personal domains, and the feudal nobles who took over the royal functions did not as a rule trouble themselves to fulfil their obligations in this respect. New roads were indeed opened from time to time, for military and market purposes. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there seems to have been some active administration of highways on the part of the more progressive princes and nobles interested in the gain they might derive from the passage of traffic through their domains. By the middle of the thirteenth century, land routes were used almost as much as water routes by the merchants seeking the great fairs. Yet the absence of a vigorous and thorough policy carried out by a centralized power prevented any widely extended and permanent improvement of the roads. As the feudality gradually lost their power of enforcing servile labor upon the roads, and as no other legal and regular means was provided for the maintenance of the highways, conditions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seem to have been worse than ever before. Roads and bridges were patched and mended by the easiest method that came to hand. One bridge is mentioned the material of which was such a patchwork of wood and stone that it was impossible to tell of which material it had been originally constructed. The ruts in the roads were leveled up with fagots, and the mire was given some consistency by means of wisps of broom. If such accounts are, as they seem to be, illustrative of general conditions, it is not hard to agree with the statement that distances in the Middle Ages were equivalent to seven times our present distances, and we may wonder at the great development of interior commerce that actually took place.

To say that the roads lay in utter neglect, however, at this or any other time of the Middle Ages, would be an exaggeration. From the beginning to the end of the period, efforts at improvement were more or less continuously made; but they were chiefly local, and often were rendered ineffectual through lack of power of enforcement. Two princi-

ples seem to have held good throughout—that the proprietors along the course of the highways were responsible for their upkeep, and that the expenses of the upkeep should be provided by means of taxes, or tolls levied upon the users of the roads, especially merchants. The feudal lords generally took advantage of their power to levy and collect taxes, to draw from it as large a revenue as possible. Tolls were multiplied far beyond the requirements for the repair of highways. There were tolls for crossing the bridges, for traveling upon the roads, for the protection of an escort across the domain, etc. The customary exactions, however, would not have been as excessive or as illegal as often represented, if the revenues had been employed honestly for road upkeep. The evil of the situation lay in the fact that, while the traveler was stopped with annoying frequency for the payment of dues in consideration of good roads and protection, he quite often found neither.

The universal prevalence of local sovereignty subjected the merchant to an infinity of local taxes of many sorts. Every feudatory from dukes and counts down to viscounts and mere châtelains, not excepting the king himself, mulcted all traders and traveling chapmen who traversed his domains and assessed them with a multitude of exactions. The special names for these impositions varied from province to province and country to country, but they were all alike and may be classified under six different forms or types. The array of terms descriptive of them is amazing:

(1) Taxes on transportation. Such were *passage, pontage* (bridge toll), *charriage* (cart toll), *rivage,* river toll, *travers* (crossing a ford) and, most common of all, *péage.* The derivation of the last is illuminating. It comes from the Latin *pes, pedis,* foot, whence *pedaticum* or *péage,* a tax on chapmen and pack peddlers who carried their wares on their backs and traveled on foot.

(2) Taxes on goods or wares called *telonia* or tolls. Hundreds of tariffs survive from the twelfth century forward in which a myriad of commodities is enumerated, such as cattle, horses, salted or smoked meats and fish, wheat and other cereals, vegetables, wine, honey, oil, dried fruits, salt, metals, leather, furs, arms, dyes, wool, thread, millstones.

(3) Taxes on wine formed a class by themselves, and included cask-age, bottling, measure (*galonnage*), *tavernage,* or sale in inns. The lord's ban gave him prior right of sale of the year's vintage, so that he sold his own wine when the market was "high," while the peasants could only sell later when the market might be glutted.

(4) The right of regulating weights and measures. Like the right of coinage, in the feudal age, the right of regulating weights and measures was a feudal prerogative. The units varied greatly. Almost every province, or at least region, had its own system. Even Charlemagne

had never been able to establish a uniform system of weights and measures and with the rupture of the Frankish Empire, local diversity grew apace.

(5) Taxes upon market and sale. These were license taxes and strictly an emanation of feudal sovereignty, not domanial in nature. In seaboard countries port and harbor dues were of this classification. Of all produce the selling of wheat was most jealously supervised, a fact quite natural when one considers the prevalence of famine in the Middle Ages.

(6) Douanes or tariffs, in medieval parlance usually known as *maltôtes* (bad taxes), because of their great unpopularity and often burdensome nature. They do not appear much before the end of the twelfth century—that is to say, they were coeval with the rise of the towns—and are again an interesting evidence of the growing volume and variety of trade during the era of the Crusades. This form of taxation had long been familiar in Mediterranean countries, in both Arabic and Byzantine lands. Its adoption in the West is therefore significant of the commercial and economic awakening of western Europe.

A lord frequently compelled an itinerant merchant to follow one road rather than another in order that he might subject him to toll, or force him to cross a bridge when he might have taken a ford. In Germany this was called *Strassenzwang*. Even Charlemagne had to legislate against such practice. The local lord claimed the right to any pack which fell from the load; if a cart upset he might claim the whole load; but the roads were usually so bad that most merchandise was carried on mule-back. Sometimes a group of merchants for greater security traveled together in caravan. The most vexatious of these baronial taxes and the worst abuse of them, however, tended to diminish with the growth of stronger and more centralized governments. In the twelfth century a systematic or customary fixation of tolls began to be developed and arbitrary exactions gradually fell out of use, except in Germany.

The following query made to the princes under Frederick II, in 1236, sheds light. "The venerable archbishop of Salzburg asked: When merchants are going along the public highway to a market, may anyone force them to leave the highway and go by private roads to his market? The decision of the princes was, that no one has a right to compel merchants to leave the highway, but that they may go to whatever market they wish."

The interest of the medieval public in good roads expressed itself in various ways. The care of roads was looked upon as a pious and charitable duty, and to endow a bridge or a stretch of highway, or to labor upon the same, was efficacious in absolving from sin, just as the giving of alms or the making of a pilgrimage. Frequently, when a local situation became desperate, indulgences were granted by neighboring bishops

to those who would give either means or labor for the repairing of the highways. Even indulgences, however, did not always awaken sufficient response to bring about the end desired, and public authority supplemented the measures of the Church. Bridges seem particularly to have been objects of interest for the medieval public, probably because their scarcity and their tumbledown condition often made the passage of the rivers as formidable as that of the mountains. Sometimes there was other danger in crossing a bridge. The incident is told of a bondman in the service of Enguerrand de Coucy who was set to collect the tolls paid for crossing the bridge at Soord and used to watch until a lonely traveler appeared, whom he would murder and rob, sinking the body in the river. Charlemagne had wisely imposed upon the monasteries the obligation to maintain roads and bridges, and it is to the credit of the monasteries that they adhered to this rule down into the feudal age. With greater perception than the laity they recognized the benefit to commerce arising from good roads, although, of course, the interest the monasteries had in collecting local tolls was an incentive to maintaining roads and bridges. It was often the case that certain families, tenants, or individuals, were grouped in responsibility for the care of a neighboring bridge. In 1174, two brothers in Italy received certain immunities from the government on condition that they would keep a stone bridge over the Mella in such a shape that convenient passage of the river would be possible.

Gilds and associations were sometimes formed with the express purpose of keeping highways and bridges in repair. Toward the close of the twelfth century, a young priest of Vimarais believed he heard a divine voice directing him to build a bridge over the Rhone at Avignon, the rendezvous of the pilgrims to Rome. His enthusiasm over the suggestion spread to others, and resulted not only in the building of the bridge (1177–89), but in the organization of the "Fratres Pontis," consisting of both lay and clerical members. The order of the Bridge Brothers was popular, and in a short time appeared in various other countries of Europe. Four arches of this famous bridge still stand. Pont Saint Esprit, farther up the Rhone, is still in use. The Pont de la Guillotière at Lyons was subventioned by Pope Innocent IV by indulgences. There is a tradition that the first wooden bridge built across the Thames in London was built by a religious order founded by a ferryman's daughter named Mary. It is a matter of record that the first stone bridge over the Thames was begun in the latter part of the twelfth century by the head of such an order—Peter of Colechurch. This work was thirty years in the building; the faithful monk died four years before its completion and was buried in the bridge chapel of his own construction. Bridges were sometimes fortified with castles at each end. A wondrous example is still preserved near Rome, and the bridge at

Cahors in France is another. Bridges in cities, as London Bridge, the Ponte Vecchio in Florence and the Pont-Neuf in Paris, were lined on either side by small shops, giving them a most picturesque effect.

From the twelfth century on we find many instances of the activity of governmental authority in behalf of road improvement. In 1135, Henry I of England issued an order that all highways should be broad enough for two wagons to pass each other, or for sixteen soldiers to ride abreast. In 1285, a statute ordered that highways connecting the market towns should be cleared of woods and bushes for two hundred feet back on either side, that robbers might not find lurking places along the way. In many German states there were laws determining the width of both main roads and by-roads, as well as the privileges of using and the duty of maintaining them. In Italy, neglect of the highways was not so common as in other countries. The communes took special pains to keep the trade routes in good shape. Pisa and Piacenza in the twelfth, and Verona, Padua, and Pavia in the thirteenth century, passed many decrees for the laying out, maintenance, and repair of roads, ways, and bridges.

Besides the dangers and inconveniences due to bad roads, the traveler of medieval times was constantly exposed to robbery and pillage. So numerous are the accounts of highway robberies, that one might well doubt whether any journey could have been taken without some experience of the kind, or at least without constant fear of such. The great number of highwaymen infesting the roads of every European country in the Middle Ages was perhaps due in the main to the weakness of government and the lack of economic pursuits adequate to the employment of all the population. The class was greatly augmented by, if not mainly composed of, criminals and debtors fleeing from justice, dismissed soldiers, and others for whom society did not furnish sufficient occupation to assure a livelihood.

The robber feudal baron of the iron age of feudalism gradually became an anachronism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, owing to the enforcement of the Truce of God and increase of royal power. His place was taken, however, by the fugitive criminal and above all by the *routiers,* those mercenary soldiers who, when dismissed from service, took to brigandage. Late in the Middle Ages a newcomer was the impecunious, impoverished knight whom the change in economic condition, fixed rents and rising prices, increase in cost of living, had so to speak caught between the millstones and ruined. Rather than face poverty and too proud to work, this class became the ruffian road-men dear to romance. There is a record of two counts who in 1308 negotiated with the Venetians for delivery to the latter of many bales of cloth, which they had seized from Venetian merchants and had carried off, with the owners, to their castles. They declared that their poverty had driven them to high-

way robbery, and offered to restore the goods at half their actual worth! Other nobles, who did not so boldly take to the road themselves, allowed their castles to be used by robbers as hiding places from justice, and storage places for stolen goods. Yet it is not impossible that modern writers have exaggerated the perils of travel in the Middle Ages, when we remember that chroniclers then as now recorded crime, accident, and calamity far more than less uneventful matters.

By the twelfth century, political authority grew more active in measures for the protection of merchants on the highways. These measures sometimes took the form of decrees, such as the peace ordinance of Frederick I, in 1156, which included the provision that "a merchant who is traveling through the country on business may carry a sword bound to his saddle or on his wagon, but he shall use it only to defend himself from thieves, and not against innocent persons." Cities and princes coöperated with one another in the work of protection, and there are instances of a city's contracting with a great noble along the route for his aid in the policing of the highway. Even the services of dwellers along the roads within the jurisdiction of Piacenza were requisitioned for this purpose. These people were put under oath that they would keep watch, and hasten to the aid of any they heard cry out upon the highway for help.

Growing interest was shown by German rulers in the safety of Italian merchants traveling to the fairs of Flanders and Champagne. Rudolph of Habsburg, near the close of the thirteenth century, ordered the nobles of his dominions to assure protection to all merchants traveling through their territories, and made each of them responsible for any robbery committed upon his land. King Albert in 1301 made a compact with certain bishops and nobles of his realm, to keep the peace of the ways. This was the first time, says Schulte, that a king, in order to make the peace of the land effectual, strengthened his position by a compact with influential subordinate powers. The ordinances of the German princes seem to have been not wholly without effect. In France, also, the kings tried to make the feudal lords responsible for crimes committed on their territories, but with little success until the thirteenth century.

Another method by which the Middle Ages sought to protect the traveling merchant was the system of reprisals for robbery committed by citizens of one state against those of another. The natural inclination of the injured man to indemnify himself from the goods of the one who had done the injury, or of the latter's countrymen, was recognized by government, and carried out with its sanction. This policy can be traced from the twelfth century. The custom came to be carefully regulated by law, and the merchant who had been robbed was obliged to apply first to his government, which took the matter up with the authorities of the

robber's country. In case no satisfactory restitution could thus be provided for, then the complainant was given written permission by his government to make good his loss from any available property of the offender's countrymen, by violence or otherwise—a regulation which was a hardship for the mercantile compatriots of the robber, who happened to be passing through or sojourning in the country of the one robbed.

Gradually there developed a broader governmental policy of protection and relief to foreign merchants. Many instances of such occur in the thirteenth century. Commercial law was, however, intermittent in passage and enforcement, often partial and unjust, or restrictive and unwholesome. But a gradual evolution of a kind of international law, the *jus mercatorum,* is found, by which foreign merchants in all lands were subject to similar regulations, and which princes tried to enforce justly, in order to induce merchants to frequent their markets and fairs.

Next in importance to the legal security of trade was the shelter afforded to the person and wares of the traveling merchant. Inns existed from a very early day; but in the first centuries of the Middle Ages they were scarce enough to compel travelers to carry along provisions and tinder box, and sometimes to sleep in the open. It had always been the self-imposed duty of the Church to house wayfarers, and provide shelter especially in lonely and dangerous places along the routes. The cloisters were numerous. There were hospices in the high passes of the Alps probably as early as the eighth century. Schulte mentions one destroyed by the Saracens in the tenth century, which had probably existed more than a hundred years. Other hospices were founded in the Alpine passes after the expulsion of the Saracens. Before the close of the eleventh century, there were stations or refuges on the St. Bernard and Mont Cenis passes, and six others on the road of Mont Genèvre. There were also hospices in the passes of the Pyrenees. In Sweden, the law required inns on main roads within half a day of each other. Public inns managed for profit were not slow to follow the increase of commercial travel along the main roads. Jusserand writes that in England the "common inns" were used by the merchant class generally, the monasteries receiving only the rich and the poor, the one from policy, the others from charity.

The conveyance of merchandise on land during the Middle Ages, as has been said, was by means of pack animals. But in the late medieval period rude, solidly built wagons came into use. They are pictured in contemporary drawings, and often mentioned in the regulations for taxing merchants for the purpose of repairing bridges and highways. The medieval wagon or cart was constructed with an eye to the roughness of the roads. It was heavy and cumbersome, and solid enough to bear heavy jolting. In Germany, small wheels were used, in order that the vehicle might not so easily lose its balance in the ruts of the highway, and thus

expose its contents to the operation of the *Grundruhrrecht*, the law by which a local feudal lord seized all goods which accidentally fell off to the ground. The difficulties and dangers of transportation upon the roads led to the use of rivers wherever available, especially for the carriage of the heavier forms of merchandise. Waterways furnished a cheaper as well as an easier conveyance, since a single boat might carry the burden of five hundred pack animals. Incorporated gilds of "keelmen" or "watermen," who made a business of freighting goods, were to be found in many river towns. We have already seen such at Rouen, Paris, and on the Yonne above Paris. The merchants of Amiens, Abbeville, and Corbie controlled the Somme. The Loire in like manner was divided into "reaches" under separate associations of rivermen, which, however, were not united until the fourteenth century. At Bayonne was the *societas navium Baionensium* upon the Adour. Upon the lower Rhone, Arles by 1150 had an elaborate series of statutes for police of the river and exaction of tolls. There is fragmentary evidence for the existence of gilds of bargemen upon other French rivers like the Saône and the Garonne. In like manner in Germany we find gilds of keelmen on the Rhine, at Strassburg, Mainz, and Cologne. In Lombardy there were many on the Po and its affluents.

It was usual, especially in the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages, for the merchant to accompany his goods on the journey. If he were wealthy, he might take with him a band of hired men for a guard; but the more common method was so to arrange the time and place of starting that he might join a caravan of other merchants and travelers going in the same direction or to the same place as himself. The greatest travelers of the time were the pilgrms and the traders, two unarmed classes who gladly joined each other's company to increase security with numbers, the purse of the merchant and the arm of the pilgrim supplementing each other in dealing with the demands of highwaymen and robber barons. The necessity of fellow travelers prevented the free choice of the trader as to the time of transporting his wares; but this was not so disadvantageous to commerce as might be inferred, for the periodicity of the fairs made possible a more or less periodical regularity in the movement of caravans. Not infrequently, however, the merchant traveling unaccompanied attached himself to the retinue of a noble who happened to be journeying the way he wished to go.

The speed of travel in the Middle Ages is a difficult matter to determine. Merchant travel must necessarily have been slow, with frequent stops. But courier and messenger travel was as fast, perhaps, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was steam power which wrought the great revolution in this particular. The news of Frederick Barbarossa's death in Cilicia in 1190 required four months to reach Germany. That

of Richard I's capture in Dalmatia in 1190 reached England in four weeks. The average time from Rome to Canterbury was seven weeks, although there is a record of the journey having been made in 29 days. The great Italian banking houses which did business at the Champagne Fairs had a courier system whose efficiency is shown by the fact that the trip was customarily made in from 20 to 25 days. Perhaps 18 miles *per diem* was considered a fair distance. But couriers sometimes made as much as one hundred miles. In 1421 a messenger covered the distance between Barcelona and Perpignan, 210 kilometres, in 30 hours. In the fourteenth century a merchant traveled from Montauban to Rome via Avignon, Embrun, Susa, Pisa, Viterbo in 23 days, or at the rate of 56 kilometres *per diem*. When Charles VII died in 1461 three messengers were dispatched from Meung near Bourges, where the king died, to Louis XI, then at Genappe in Brabant. They rode three horses to death but covered the distance, 530 kilometres, in less than 48 hours. The news of the Mohammedan conquest of Syria and Persia in 635 reached China eight years afterwards, and is mentioned in Chinese annals in 643.

The need for a responsible person to attend the wares to market, and for another to supervise affairs at home, made association in commercial business very common in the Middle Ages, the merchant usually taking as his associate a son or other relative. Associations were formed also with other purposes in view. The numerous tolls levied by nobles upon the river traffic, and the fact that these tolls were not used for the improvement of the rivers, or even for keeping them open and navigable, caused the great merchants of the river cities to associate in order to perform the duties neglected by the lords. They took over the toll rights of the seigniors, and kept up the tow paths, dredged the rivers, and constructed magazines and quays. By the thirteenth century adequate law for regulating the carriage of goods had been developed, so that it was not always necessary for the merchant himself or his associate to go with his goods to their destination. Carriers were sometimes entrusted with the transfer of the wares to the market, where the merchants awaited their arrival. These carriers were bound by stringent contracts, which they took oath to maintain, to guard the goods faithfully and deliver them intact, bearing as they did the trade-mark of the owner, at the fair or other destination. If, however, the goods were lost by act of violence or other casualty that the carriers could not prevent, they were not held responsible for the loss.

On the whole, the conditions of inland travel were comparatively little changed for the better during the Middle Ages. The physical hardships and dangers of the highway were scarcely mitigated, and the means of transportation were not much improved. Chief alleviation came in the better regulation of the toll system, the increasing number of inns and

hospices, and the higher efficiency and better agreement of governments in safeguarding mercantile rights at home and abroad.

An inconvenience not obsolete yet, experienced by the medieval traveller, arose from the multiplicity of languages in Europe. In the Middle Ages almost every province had its own peculiar dialect. These patois, it is true, still survive as vernacular forms of expression; but every nation in Europe today has a national speech understood by almost all its people. No such uniformity of speech obtained in medieval times. St. Bernard in the twelfth century complained of "the isolation not only of distance, but that due to difference of language." On the other hand the all-prevailing sway of the Church made Latin a uniform language at least of the clergy throughout all Europe and must sometimes have mitigated the inconvenience of the numerous dialects. For the great merchants kept their accounts in Latin until late in the Middle Ages, and if they did not know Latin, a clerk at least understood it.

The life of the seagoing merchant from the tenth to the fifteenth century was in general one of great peril, if not of greater hardship, than that of the land traveler. The incidents of his voyage were likely to be of a more disastrous kind and accidents on a greater scale than those of a journey on land. There is seen, however, in regard to the methods and means of navigation during these centuries, a more marked improvement than is disclosed by the study of travel on land.

At the beginning of the period, no ship captain ventured out of sight of land, for the danger of shipwreck on the rocks or shoals was not so terrifying as the thought of being lost in the open sea. The terrors of the sea diminished after the beginning of the Crusades, yet the safer and customary way to voyage was within sight of the friendly shore. The galleys and the ships more heavily laden with men or wares, throughout the period did not venture into the open sea. The Genoese, Pisans, and Amalfitans, as also the French voyagers of Montpellier and Marseilles, and the Catalans, went usually along the west coast of Italy toward the south; after resting at Messina, the fleets were accustomed to take the course around the Greek peninsula, along the north coast of Candia to Rhodes and Cyprus, where they also often rested; then they made from Cyprus for the Syrian coast, following this in a southerly direction until they came to Tyre and Acre. Travelers from the North Sea regions, coming through the Straits of Gibraltar, owing to piracy would not take the chances of a direct route east, but made the detour along the coasts of Spain, France, and Italy. In the thirteenth century, the more adventurous captains took a straight course from Candia to the Syrian coast. It was not until the fourteenth century that the compass was applied to navigation and so enabled sailors to cross the Mediterranean without fear of the unbroken circle of the horizon.

The shipping of the Mediterranean was more rapidly developed in

size and efficiency than that of northern Europe. Daenell suggests that the shallowness of the harbors on the Atlantic, North Sea, and Baltic coasts, discouraged the building of greater ships in the northern waters. The Normans in 1066 crossed the English Channel in boats of about 30 tons burden, which carried 50 or 60 men each. English vessels of the early thirteenth century are mentioned as carrying from 8 to 15 horses, placed amidships, although these ships are called in the records *naviculæ*. In the time of Edward III, the average ship was about 200 tons, the largest mentioned being 300. They were manned with 65 men for each 100 tons burden, besides archers and soldiers to the number of about one-half the crew. The North Sea ship rose high above the water at stem and stern, the Mediterranean vessel being lower and longer.

The accounts handed down of Mediterranean vessels indicate that these far excelled northern craft in point of size. The Spaniards are said to have built huge ships after the model of those of their Arabic neighbors, and to have been distinguished for the size of their vessels till their loss of sea-power in the sixteenth century. The government galleys of Venice during the Crusades are recorded to have averaged 500 tons of cargo "under hatches, besides a large cargo upon their decks." The transports of the Mediterranean cities carried, according to accounts, from 800 to 1000 persons, including the crew. These numbers will, perhaps, not serve us as a just criterion of the size of the vessels; for the indiscriminate way in which passengers were crowded in cabin and hold would increase the capacity of the ship relative to its size, if anything like a modern standard of comfort or safety were used. A ship furnished by Venice to Louis IX, in 1268, measured 108 feet long over all, and carried 110 seamen.

The method of propelling vessels was by means of both sails and oars. A single mast with a square sail seems to have been customary before the thirteenth century. In the contract for Venetian vessels to be furnished to the king of France in 1268, it was provided that the larger vessels were to have two masts and two square sails each. The Venetians also had vessels during this period with three and with four sails. Vessels did not depend on sails alone, unless they were very small craft, but were furnished with oars according to the size of the ship. The larger vessels had three rowers on a bench, each with a separate oar, the oars passing in a bunch through the same oarlock port; the smaller had the oars in pairs. The rowers' benches were ranged from stern to prow, at one elevation as a rule, although in the late thirteenth century there were galleys with two or three banks of oars. Sanudo the Elder, writing in the early fourteenth century, states that a galley had 60 benches, 30 on each side, worked by 120 rowers. Felix Fabri, in the late fifteenth century, voyaged in a galley which had 60 benches, with three

rowers to a bench. The number of benches and rowers varied with the size of the vessel, and with the speed required, the number of oars sometimes reaching 200. The toil of propelling the vessels was tremendous. Yule has concluded that the oars were worked by freely enlisted men until after the period of the Middle Ages. This statement is made in regard to Venetian galleys by other authors also, Venice not employing convict labor at the oars until 1549. Felix Fabri, sailing in 1483 in a Venetian galley, learned that the "galley slaves are for the most part the bought slaves of the captain, or else they are men of low station, or prisoners. "Whenever," he adds, "there is any fear of their making their escape, they are secured to their benches by chains." It must be inferred from this that galley slaves were not unknown before the sixteenth century, even though not made use of by governments. The description of excessive cruelty in the treatment of the rowers given by Felix Fabri makes it hard to believe that, unless his picture is exaggerated, freely enlisted men would have entered such a service. Yet he says that merchants "sometimes became voluntary galley slaves in order that they might ply their trade in harbors."

In the tenth and eleventh centuries ships were of simple contruction, the larger ones having deck and forecastle. I have found no mention of vessels with cabins before the thirteenth century. In the early part of that century cabins were constructed in certain English ships for the special use of the king and queen. Of the vessels furnished by Venice to Louis IX in 1268, the two largest had several cabins in bow and stern, and each had two decks five and one half feet high. In the early fourteenth century, the Catalans were using ships with three decks each, probably running the full length of the vessel. The "berths" were spaces the length of a man and the width of a cot, marked off on the floor with chalk and assigned to the passengers "for sleeping, sitting, and living in." Between the benches of the rowers, on the upper deck, was a space used for the storing of chests of merchandise. Below this deck was the cabin, a spacious chamber without light or air except through the hatchway, where Felix and his companions dwelt in their six-foot plats, but which in a galley of burden was used for stowage of cargo.

Vessels were not very distinctly classified as to use. The "large and strong" ship in which Saewulf sailed to Joppa in 1102, and many others lying in the harbor there, were burdened "with corn and merchandise, as well as with pilgrims coming and returning." There were vessels especially constructed for the transportation of horses. They had a door in the stern through which the horses were admitted, and which was then closed and calked, "being under water when the vessel was at sea." The distinctive war vessel was not generally known, vessels being employed for war or commerce as occasion demanded, and

frequently for both at once, as it was not uncommon for a merchant ship to meet a pirate or other hostile ship. Throughout the Middle Ages merchant ships were depended on for war purposes, being requisitioned by the government when needed. All that was required to put them on a war footing was a fuller equipment of men and arms. Yet from early times there was this much distinction, that vessels meant primarily for burden were often built with broad hull, and called "round ships," while "long ships," lower and swifter, were meant primarily for war.

Life on a medieval ship was regulated by strict laws and severe government. There prevailed a different régime on shipboard from that on land. The vessel was a little world in itself, with its special customs, courts, and penalties; bargains and contracts made on the ship could not be enforced on land, and quarrels among fellow passengers or crew were not to be carried ashore. Coulton quotes an extract from an account of a Hanse voyage written in 1590, which, he says, represents features of ship life handed down from very early times. When half a day out the skipper called all on board together, and said to them: "Seeing that we are at the mercy of God and the elements, each shall henceforth be held equal to his fellows, without respect of persons. And because, on this voyage, we are in jeopardy of sudden tempests, pirates, monsters of the deep, and other perils, therefore we cannot navigate the ship without strict government." When they came within half a day's sail of their port, they were again called together and instructed that whatsoever had passed and befallen on shipboard all this time, each man should "forgive to every man his fellow, overlook it, and let it be dead and gone."

The customary regulations on shipboard in medieval times, as set forth in the "Laws of Oléron," were derived directly or indirectly from the Rhodian maritime code. As the Mediterranean maritime codes came generally from the same source, these Laws of Oléron must represent the customs and ideas not only of England, but of other seagoing peoples of the time. They became the basis upon which the Hanse towns and Baltic nations erected their system of maritime justice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By the code of Oléron, harbor regulations were well defined, provision being made for proper mooring, the use of buoys, and other means of promoting safety. Harbor pilots were held severely to account, and any loss sustained through inexpert or treacherous piloting must be paid for by the pilot, with his goods if he were possessed of enough but, falling short, with his head. The master of the ship was obliged to consult the ship's company as to what they thought of wind and weather, before starting out on a voyage. If he failed to do this, and damage was caused by the elements, he was held responsible. If there were any merchants on board, they, as well as the ship's company, had to be consulted by the master before any act was undertaken affect-

ing the ship's course, or place of stopping. By Mediterranean rules, a merchant, or a group of merchants, chartering a vessel for the shipment of goods, and embarking upon it themselves, had almost complete authority upon it, the majority, in case there were several, governing the management and movements of the vessel, the master being responsible for damages only if he acted contrary to the advice of a majority of the merchants.

The loading of a cargo was carefully prescribed by the laws of Oléron. It was performed by "stowers," who were to be paid for their work by the merchants. They were "to dispose the cargo properly, stowing it closely, and arranging the several casks, bales, boxes, bundles, in such a manner as to balance both sides, fill up the vacant spaces, and manage everything to the best advantage." Men called *sacquiers* (sack carriers) were employed to load and unload grain, salt, and fish, to watch that the merchant was not defrauded by the ship's crew. The Italian republics had strict rules to prevent the overloading of a ship. The capacity of the vessel was measured by inspectors at the time of launching, and her sides were marked by a painted line, above which the water was not allowed to rise. Nowhere in Europe was the technique of loading and unloading a vessel so highly organized as in Venice. The famous Arsenal is described by a traveler as "like a great street on either hand with the sea in the middle." Warehouses, each with its special kind of materials and goods lined the long waterfront. A galley making ready for sea was towed from warehouse to warehouse, from each of which stevedores handed out bales, cordage, arms, food, etc., "and so from both sides everything that might be required, and when the galley reached the end of the pier she was equipped from end to end." In like manner an arriving galley was unloaded.

When in storms at sea it seemed expedient to throw a part of the cargo overboard, the master had to ask the advice of the merchants, but was not required to conform to it if he felt that the ship's safety demanded his disregarding it. Any loss incurred by the merchants through this "ejection" of cargo was, by English law, made good to them from the property on shipboard of master and seamen, and the master lost the freight on the goods thrown into the sea.

The increased dangers of the sea at certain seasons of the year, as well as the constant dangers of piracy, caused the organization in Mediterranean ports, from about the middle of the crusading period, of two great fleets annually, for the trip to the East. One made the voyage near Easter time, and the other in the summer after St. John's Day (June 24), though the time of starting might vary. Merchants much preferred this way of voyaging, especially if they were transporting very valuable wares. It was usually planned to avoid the sea in stormy

seasons. Ludolph von Suchem suggests some features of Mediterranean travel in 1350:

> The ship always flies, as it were [he writes] from west to east with a fair wind, making more way in the night than in the day, and traveling fully fifteen miles in every hour of the day. . . . Great ships going from the West to the East are wont to return in the months of September and October, but galleys and vessels of that sort begin their voyage thither from hence in August, when the sea is smooth; for in November, December, and January no vessels can cross the seas because of storms. Howbeit, no vessels can, except very seldom, return without toil, fear, and tempest.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was impossible for the ships of the period to make the voyage from Italy to the Baltic and return in the same season.

The fear of shipwreck was augmented by a common-law practice known as the law of wreck, which persisted throughout the Middle Ages. Vessels, as we have seen, were seldom in the course of their voyage far from shore, and wrecks were frequent. One of the trials of a mariner's life was this custom of wreckage by which all the goods washed from a wreck, or which were in a stranded vessel, became in whole or in part the property of the owner of the shore. The lord who owned a dangerous stretch of coast was likely to reap a goodly harvest in the sailing season. A lord on the coast of Brittany boasted of a dangerous rock on his shore as the finest stone in his crown. Mariners were sometimes lured by lights placed upon the rocks by peasants, and it can be imagined that this was often done with the connivance of the lord. The French were very active as wreckers on the coast of the Bay of Biscay. In most of the Mediterranean states there were severe laws against those who tried to plunder a ship in peril, and any one convicted of such an offense was thrown into the sea, and then dragged out and stoned to death, "just as a wolf should be stoned to death." The law of wreck was early recognized as an injury to commerce, but it was very slow to lose its rigor. Prutz says it was in the crusading states that the law was first abrogated, in regard to Christian mariners only at first; later it was applied to Mohammedans also. From early in the twelfth century there are compacts between the various crusading states and certain commercial cities of southern Europe, which contain renunciations of the "strand right" by the former in favor of the latter. In 1170, the Eastern Empire agreed to punish any exercise of the strand law within its jurisdiction against the Genoese, and to compel a restitution of property thus lost. Many instances of special dispensation from the burden of the law of wreck, as well as complaint of the exercise and abuse of the custom, in the thirteenth cen-

tury show that it was still a considerable factor in the life of the Mediterranean mariner.

In the first part of the twelfth century there began in England a movement for the mitigation of this practice. Henry I ordained that if any person escaped alive from an unfortunate vessel, it should not be considered a wreck. A law of Richard I was leveled against the "accursed custom" and the abuse of it by rapacious lords, and provided that a pilot who wilfully directed a vessel toward a dangerous coast where it was wrecked, if in the pay of the lord of the land, should be hanged on the spot on a high gibbet, which was "to abide and remain to succeeding ages on that place, as a visible caution to other vessels that sail thereby." If the lord appropriated any of the goods of a wreck, he was called "accursed," and punished as a robber. Another article declared that when a lord was guilty of aiding the wreckers or connived with a treacherous pilot who caused the ship to be cast upon his shore, he was to be burned in his own house, the site of which was to be turned into a market-place "for the sale of hogs and swine to all posterity." In spite of these frightful penalties, the practice seems to have been continued in England as elsewhere. In 1236, King Henry III provided, in a charter "for the abolition of unjust customs," for the restoration of the property of a wreck in case a man escaped or a beast were found alive on board. A similar law was made in 1275, according to which a ship was not to be considered a wreck, if man, cat, or dog escaped from it alive. The Hanseatic League exerted itself to eliminate the law of wreck from the custom of the sea; in 1287, the merchants who frequented Wisby met and agreed that shipwrecked property should be restored to its owner, and the cities of the league were to be held to this rule under penalty of ejection *"ex sodalitate mercatorum."* That the custom of wrecking prevailed more or less generally, with the force of common law, up to the close of the Middle Ages, is indicated by an act of the Scottish Parliament, in 1430, providing that, in case vessels were wrecked on the coasts of Scotland, the restoration of the property to the owners or its confiscation by the king should be determined by the "law respecting wrecks in the country to which they belonged."

The loss of life and property by shipwreck was not the only peril of the seaman's life. Travel on the sea as on land was enlivened by the ever present dread of attack and robbery, and ships always went well armed, with such a casualty in view. In the ninth and tenth centuries piracy was the chief trade of all the northern nations. Venice at the same time was hampered in her growing commercial activity by the Croatian and Dalmatian pirates of the Adriatic, and the Saracens were harrying commerce in the western Mediterranean. The Venetians in 870 defeated the Saracen pirates who were attempting to enter the Adriatic, and before the close of the tenth century they had destroyed

the power of the Dalmatians, and fairly cleared that sea of piracy. But the nuisance, though abated in the Mediterranean and Adriatic, was by no means abolished. Professional piracy continued to be practised, and the seas were infested from first to last by such groups as the "Victoral Brothers" of the Baltic, who had for their motto, "God's friend and all the world's enemy," and whose power was broken by the Hanseatic League early in the fifteenth century.

Besides the lawless professional piracy practised against all ships indiscriminately, there was another form of the evil which was legitimized by the connivance or instigation of governments, and used as a means of warfare against a hostile state. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Genoa, Pisa, and Venice tolerated if they did not encourage piracy as a commercial weapon against each other. The mariners of the Cinque Ports were commissioned by Henry III in 1242 to make reprisals upon the French. The Hanseatic League, although the repression of piracy in the North and Baltic seas had been one of the objects for which it was formed, did not scruple on occasions to employ the aid of pirates when convenient, to injure the commerce of a rival. The practice of legalized reprisal under letters of marque very often developed into full-blown piracy, without particular regard as to nationality. It was common for commercial seamen of one country to turn corsairs and ravage the shipping of another country, or even sometimes of their own. Matthew of Westminster says "that in those days there was neither king nor law for sailors, but everyone called whatever he could plunder or carry off his own." The Cinque Ports took advantage of their commission to harry the French and made themselves so pestiferous in the English Channel in 1292, to friend as well as foe, that the government made efforts, without entire success, to suppress them. In general, however, the principle held good among corsairs that fellow countrymen were not to be disturbed. Northern maritime commerce flourished in the reign of Canute, because the people of his Danish empire, being fellow subjects, did not prey upon each other's shipping. The corsairs of the Mediterranean cities of Europe refrained from injuring their compatriots.

Governments were slow to recognize their responsibility for protecting their subjects on the high seas, and slower still to acquire the power of doing so effectively. The half-respectability of piracy, as well as its usefulness in time of war, made rulers lenient toward it when practised by their own subjects, and more or less helpless in exacting redress from the pirate subjects of other states. The story of Alf, the Norwegian nobleman, shows us how difficult the problem sometimes was. The sea, like the land, did not lack its robber baron, and Alf was famous as a Baltic pirate in the thirteenth century. At one time thirty cogs belonging to German merchants were scouring the sea for him. He escaped

and returned home, where his sovereign raised him to the rank of earl, and looked upon the pursuit of Alf by the German merchants as an act of hostility to himself.

Security upon the seas rested generally, in the early days, with the merchants themselves. They formed associations by means of which they could send their ships in fleets, the vessels being armed against attack by pirates, and sometimes having convoys of vessels specially armed and manned for war. Lively engagements often took place, and if the merchants were defeated and lost ships and goods, they had recourse to reprisal, and a sort of private warfare ensued. When governments began to interest themselves more in the security of the seas, they sought to regulate this practice of reprisal by providing that redress should first be demanded through governmental channels, and only on the failure of such action was the plundered merchant to take the matter in his own hands.

The Italian maritime city republics, whose prosperity and even existence depended upon commerce, interested themselves from before crusading times in ridding the sea of pirates and in regulating and safeguarding the passage of their ships. They were the first states to assume sovereign jurisdiction over neighboring seas, Venice laying claim to the whole Adriatic before the close of the thirteenth century. This assumption, while due in the main perhaps to other motives than protection, involved the responsibility for making those seas safe, and in fact did much toward that end.

As medieval life became more settled and more civilized, the mechanism of business improved. Bartering and peddling vanished except in the more rural regions and established markets and fairs came into being, as they had been before in the Roman Empire. Fairs and markets in the Middle Ages played a far greater economic part than they do today. They were the chief and often the sole means of distribution of local products and purchase of necessities from the outside. So lucrative was this right of market that in Carolingian times it was a crown prerogative. In the ninth and tenth centuries the baronage, wherever they could, usurped this prerogative and asserted it as a right of local sovereignty. Many monasteries and bishoprics enjoyed it by royal grant, however. As the feudal form of government became more settled in the twelfth century the great feudatories deprived the small baronage of the right of fair but usually left them the right of local market. Thus the fair passed under the political administration of the high nobles, while the market remained under manorial jurisdiction.

Market right in the Middle Ages was a feudal right. The market was part of the fief. It was a domanial institution, confined to the manor or collection of manors of a single lord. Such local markets often must have been close together and served a small locality. The *Sachsenspiegel,*

the local code of Saxony compiled in the thirteenth century, but of earlier origin, forbade markets to be within less than a mile (German) of one another. Ordericus Vitalis, a Norman chronicler of the twelfth century, instances a countryman driving home a cow from market, and elsewhere speaks of "the common talk of the vulgar in the market-places and churchyards about the death of William Rufus." The churchyard was frequently the market-place, and Sunday afternoon a common market day. Thus Guibert de Nogent, another writer of the twelfth century, writes: "On Saturdays the country folk would flock in from divers parts round about for purposes of trade, carrying around for sale beans, barley, or any kind of corn, and in the town the stalls of cobblers and other craftsmen were open." If a peasant found a buyer who wished a larger quantity or amount of grain or cattle than he had brought to market he would often take the purchaser home with him to view the stock on foot or the grain in his barn. What kind of merchandise was offered for sale in these local markets? First of all, provisions. The market, therefore, had a bucolic character and was much frequented by the peasantry of the region. As life developed, as taste became more refined, the market became quasi-permanent. It became a weekly institution where on certain days of the month—the second Wednesday, the third Thursday, etc. —special markets were held, for grain, wood, wine, horses, cattle, etc.

As the great feudatories extended their sway and as territories became more consolidated, naturally the seats of the mighty became the most important centres of trade; and as many of these in turn developed into towns, at last the towns became the chief places of commerce and trade, where the princes, as Philip Augustus in Paris, erected *halles,* stores, warehouses. "The establishment of a market," as Maitland has pointed out, "is not one of those indefinite phenomena which the historian of law must make over to the historian of economic processes. It is a definite and legal act. The market is established by law, which prohibits men from buying and selling elsewhere than in a duly constituted market. To prevent an easy disposal of stolen goods is the aim of this prohibition. . . . He who buys elsewhere runs a risk of being treated as a thief if he happens to buy stolen goods. . . . A by-motive favors this establishment of markets. Those who traffic in safety may fairly be asked to pay some toll. . . . Perhaps also the use of . . . weights and measures known and trustworthy is another part of the valuable consideration." [1]

When the towns were formed, these markets became more numerous and assumed an importance much greater than in days previous. In the twelfth century the enormous stimulation of trade caused so great an increase in the number of markets that we find complaint of their excessive number. However, one must discount this dissatisfaction in some

[1] Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond,* 194.

degree, for it was chiefly voiced by the clergy, who resented the competition of secular commercial activity due to the rise of the towns. An energetic letter of Pope Eugene III to Henry II of England, protesting that the market of the bishop of Bayeux was being ruined by the new town markets which the king had authorized, is illuminating on this head. In the twelfth century revival the Italians—Venetians, Lombards, Genoese, Pisans appear as the first conductors of "through" traffic from one country to another. But, as we have seen, the Provençaux, the Catalans in the south, and the Flemings and Germans soon got into the game. Von Below has shown, so far as Germany is concerned, that the texts do not enable us very often to draw an exact line of separation between the wholesale merchant and the retail dealer. If in one place wholesale commerce is in the hands of foreigners, who seek the authorization of the municipal authorities to sell at retail, in another place we find it is active and exploited by the citizens themselves, the distinction being a vanishing one between the two kinds of merchants. The small trader shared in and was interested in wholesale importations, exactly as the big merchant disposed of his goods indifferently at wholesale or retail, either within or without the town.

The three chief distinctions between fair and market were: (1) the fair was under higher feudal jurisdiction than the market; (2) it was not domanial, but served a far wider public (the greatest of the fairs were international in scope); (3) it was seasonal, not weekly or biweekly. It should be added that merchants resorting to fairs were assured not only special safe-conducts which provided special penalties for violation of the merchants in person or goods, but also reduction of tariffs and tolls, conveniences for sale, and special courts for adjustment of disputes and to enforce collection of debts. In England this court was known as the court of piepowder, from Norman French *pied de poudre*, "dusty foot." The opening day of the fair was always an important fête day (*feria*), whence the word "fair."

Every country and every great fief had its fair. In the *Chronicle* of Lambert of Ardres is an account of how Count Baldwin of Guisnes established a fair, in which the distinction between the two institutions is clearly expressed. He writes:

> The market also which in the days of his predecessors had been at Sutkerka not for any special cause but because of chance, he changed to Alderwicum, but following the advice of the Church did not change the day; where assembled and came to reside those living round about as citizens. Also the count of Guisnes, as much for heavenly glory as for a virtuous deed, to all the people, as much merchants as other peoples, because of the abundance of merchandise which came there from all parts, ordered to be held each year in that place during the feast of the solemnity of Pentecost a public fair, and this decree he confirmed by oath. The villa he surrounded by a double ditch and rampart in the midst of which he

built halls and necessary buildings, and as was fitting he built with diligence and reverence a chapel at the entrance of the first enclosure, to the honor of St. Nicholas (the patron saint of merchants): where he placed a holy man named Stephen as chaplain, with sufficient books and various ecclesiastical ornaments, to the glory of the town.

In these markets foreign merchants and strangers to the town entered into competition with the local trade. Thus at Paris on Saturday, which was "great" market day, the drapers of St. Denis, Beauvais, and Cambrai came to sell their cloths; they had a special room in the Place des Métiers, only it was provided that all these merchants must not sell until the clock gave the signal for the opening of the market, and when the clock sounded the hour of closure all sale had to cease and the foreign merchants retire. Permanent commerce, i.e., everyday commerce, was the privilege of the local bourgeois. On the "great" market day of Paris, merchants who had stores in the city had to close them and sell in the market under penalty of a fine of forty sous, which was doubled for each offense. Merchants and artisans were compelled to go to the king's market and were forbidden to sell in their shops. Only a few *métiers* obtained the privilege of selling at home on market day; and they paid the king a fee of forty sous annually for the privilege. But as a rule the obligation to sell in the market was maintained. These measures were taken for fiscal interests chiefly. It was easier to make the merchants pay their dues in the market than to go around and collect them. In Paris the market was royal. In these *halles* the king rented the stalls; and therefore had an interest in seeing that the *halles* were thronged on market days. In France, in the reign of St. Louis the crown claimed the right over markets as part of the regalia. It asserted the principle that no one could start a market anywhere in the kingdom of France without the king's consent, and what is said of markets is also true of fairs. When application was made to the king for the establishment of a market, an investigation was made by his agents, bailiffs, or seneschals. If the investigation was unfavorable the request was refused. In 1265 a decision of the *Curia Regis* abolished the market created by a feudal lord.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the awakening of commerce and industry enormously increased the number of fairs, so that every country had many. Most of these, of course, were relatively local in nature, but still served a wider zone than the old markets. The towns quite naturally became the important seats of the fairs. The most famous fairs in Italy were at: Pisa, Venice, Genoa, Pavia, Modena, Padua, Milan, Bergamo, Viterbo, Piacenza, Bari, Capua, Gaeta, Salerno, Manfredonia, and Brindisi. Significantly, Rome had none. In Germany we find: Cologne, Erfurt, Naumburg, Brunswick, Leipzig, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Regensburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main and Frankfort-on-the-

Oder. In Flanders and the Low Countries were: St. Omer, Bruges, Courtrai, Lille, Thourout, Douai, Cambrai, Orchies, Ypres, Alost, Audenbourg, Axel, Malines, Poperinghe, Mons, Ghent, and Antwerp. France was thick with them, among the most important in Normandy being Rouen, Caudebec, Elbœuf, Harfleur, Caen, Evreux, Montmartin-sur-Mer (Cotentin), Avranches, Mont St. Michel, Coutances, Carentan, Valognes, Bernay. In Brittany were St. Malo, Rennes, Pontorson, Guingamp (whence the word gingham) Tréguier, Quimperlé, Plouescat. In the Ile-de-France one finds: Paris, Dreux, St. Denis, Orleans, Puiseaux, Morigny, Étampes, Mantes, Montlhéry, Melun, Beauvais. In Anjou: Verger, Beaupréau, Marillais, Brissac, Saumur and Angers. In central France: Bourges, Nevers, Poitiers, Angoulême, Gourville, Périgueux, Chalon-sur-Saône, Dijon, Auxerre, Autun, Tonnerre, Beauvray, Tours, Chartres, Château-du-Loir, St. Aignan, Chinon. In the English provinces, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Agen, Châtillon. In the Midi far the most famous were the fairs of St. Gilles and Beaucaire. Among Spanish fairs of importance were Medina del Campio, the greatest, Seville, Cuenca, Valladolid, Segovia, Toledo, and Burgos. In England the fairs of Stourbridge and St. Ives were very famous; others were Chester, Winchester, Boston, Stamford, Portsmouth, Abingdon, Northampton, Bury St. Edmunds.

Paris, in the Fair of St. Denis, possessed the very oldest fair whose history can be traced without interruption in the Middle Ages. It was founded by Dagobert I in 630 and was held for the four weeks following October 3, the day sacred to the memory of St. Denis. Thus it was an autumn fair. But when commerce and trade began to increase about the time of the Crusades and Paris to grow in population and political importance under the Capetian kings, the monks of St. Denis wanted a summer fair also. Hence in 1124 Louis VI set aside the tract of ground north of Montmartre for a new fair called the Foire du Lendit.[2] It began the second Wednesday in June and ended on St. John's day (June 24). Religious formalities always accompanied its opening, a sermon being preached to the people by the bishop of Paris, who received ten *livres parisis* from the monks of St. Denis for the service. The Lendit Fair was popular with the merchants of Paris, Normandy, and Flanders. In fact it was the chief rendezvous of the merchants of North France. The chief articles of sale were cloths, leather, parchment, furs, and horses. The abbots of St. Denis derived a revenue from the rent of stalls and were responsible for the police of the fair. In the fourteenth century the crown, however, began to trespass upon the abbatial privileges and extended royal jurisdiction

[2] The word was derived from the Latin *indictum*, which originally signified a religious gathering at a fixed (*indictum*, Old French *endit*) time, and by extension a fair, a *feria* or holy day being also a holiday.

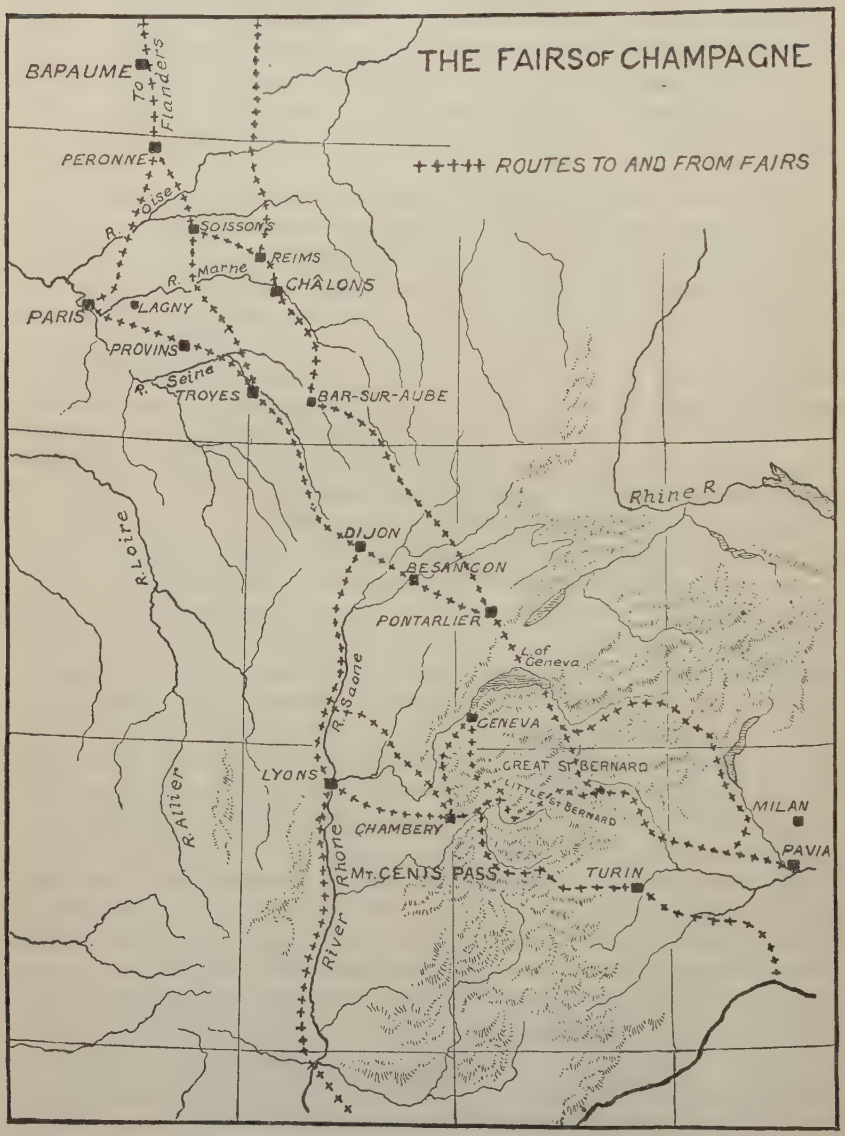
over the fair. The *Foire du Lendit* is almost as famous in the chansons as those of Champagne, especially in the *Chanson du pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem,* the *Fierabras,* and the *Dit du Lendit.*

We have the right to insist upon the commercial, legal, civilizing part played by the great fairs in the Middle Ages. A great quantity of articles—wheat, linen, silk and cotton goods, alum and dyestuffs, arms and metals, and many other objects besides, fed a traffic on land and sea which far surpassed the limits of urban and mere market economy. Is it necessary to recall the character, not only national, but even world-wide, of the wool trade of England and the vast field of expansion, the extent and the power of the cloth trade of Tuscany and of Flanders in this epoch?

Far and away the most famous fairs in medieval Europe were those of Champagne. Lying to the east and southeast of Paris was the remarkable collection of fiefs ruled for most of three centuries by the counts of Champagne, a line or succession of rulers rivaling the strong royal house itself in its best days in energy, wisdom, power, and affluence. Of the five counties ruled by these powerful seigniors, those of Champagne and Brie formed the most important part. Physically undivided, they occupied the great elevated plain beginning a few miles east of Paris, extending from the valley of the Seine and the Oise to the border of Germany. To the south lay the great duchy of Burgundy, to the north the counties of Hainaut, Brabant, and Flanders.

A glance at the map is sufficient to convince one of the wonderful natural advantages of the Champagne country. This great fertile plain of France is blest with one of the most marvelous river systems, or rather groups of river systems, to be found anywhere in the world. Through it flows the upper Seine, giving outlet to Normandy and the Channel coast; along its eastern border from south to north flows the Meuse on its way to the Low Countries and the North Sea. A few miles to the southeast, across what was in the Middle Ages the duchy of Burgundy, are the Moselle and the Saône, the latter the chief tributary of the Rhone and hence an important outlet to the Mediterranean and the whole world of medieval commerce. Almost as close on the southwest and flowing through the county of Blois, also a possession of the counts of Champagne in the Middle Ages, is the Loire, chief waterway to the western sea. Two other rivers, the Marne and the Moselle, furnished an almost complete water transportation from east to west through the Marne gap, thus connecting the Rhine and the Seine. The Great and Little St. Bernard, the Mont Cenis, the Mont Genèvre passes of the Alps, supplemented by the admirable river system, connected Champagne with North Italy. And those Italian merchants who did not cross the Alps, like the Genoese, Pisans, Sienese, found the way to Champagne as easy up the Rhone and the Saône.

Another striking fact concerning the Champagne country is its central location. Lying midway between the thriving towns of the Low Countries, the English wool-growers, the fisheries of the North Sea, and the bankers and merchant importers of Italy and Languedoc on the south, between Germany on the east and all of the realm of France



to west and south, it is no wonder that Champagne became the meeting-place of the nations in the new age of commerce and industry opening up in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Champagne was the focal point of central European trade where all routes from north and south, from east and west converged.

Moreover, in addition to being middleman and place of distribution of all of this commerce, Champagne was a goodly land in itself. For ages its well watered and well drained valleys have been famous for rich yields of grain and wine, live stock, wool, and dairy products. Its climate is moderate and mild. Thanks to its natural fertility and intelligent government, Champagne very early became the home of a numerous and happy population. The counts of Champagne were eager promoters of the material welfare of their territories. The records abound with evidences of their surveys of woods and waters, the drainage of marshes, the peopling of thinly populated areas. They were notably active in seeking to exterminate wolves, whose considerable presence testifies to the existence of much forest land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in a region now almost destitute of timber.

The precise date of the foundation of the famous Fairs of Champagne is lost in obscurity. Probably as far back as there has been a movement of peoples and goods across the continent, just so long has there been a mart at this point. Roman records show that there was a fair at Troyes in the fifth century. But no organic connection can be shown between Roman fairs and the great Champagne Fairs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A French chanson makes Charles the Bald the founder of the Champagne Fairs. But we must cast this theory aside. The fair at Provins is said to have arisen in the ninth century. Tradition relates that because of fear of the Norsemen the relics of St. Ayoul were carried from their resting place at St. Benoît-sur-Loire to Provins, where Count Etienne conceded and confirmed a fair for the benefit of the church of St. Ayoul. The earliest certain date is 963, when a fair at Châlons-sur-Marne is mentioned. Another was at Lagny-sur-Marne in 996. The slave dealers of Verdun were at the Champagne Fairs in 996. The fairs of Bar-sur-Aube and Troyes appear in 1114. How early Italian merchants appeared at them, we do not know. As far back as the reign of Philip I of France, Pope Gregory VII (died 1085) unwarrantably accused him of despoiling Italian merchants going to the Champagne Fairs.

A whole series of official documents authentically dated, beginning in the early twelfth century, proves conclusively that the Champagne Fairs were established and flourishing institutions at the opening of that century. These documents are of various kinds: grants from the counts to a near-by abbey or church of the taxes or revenues on certain kinds of merchandise, of a certain share of all revenues, or

permits to rent their houses to sojourners at the fairs. Papal bulls and various charters from ecclesiastical authorities, as well as grants from lesser lay lords, refer to the fairs and their importance. A charter of Count Hugh of Troyes in 1114 granted to the abbey of Montier-en-Der the taxes on horses and other beasts sold at the fairs of Bar. and another of the same year gave similar favors to the abbey of St. Pierre-de-la-Celle at Troyes. Charters of 1137 and thereafter show the fairs of Provins to be well established. In 1157 a charter of Count Henry of Champagne in favor of the church of St. Etienne proves the existence of the fairs of Lagny and shows their organization and protection to be a thing well developed and of long standing. From 1157 on the charters of the Fairs of Champagne and Brie are frequent. By the middle of the twelfth century they were in a highly organized state and long before the end of the century their fame was international, and their activity and magnificence of wealth became an object of universal admiration.

The Fairs of Champagne were really a series of fairs, and in the later days at least, the tendency was toward a constant increase of their number. Yet from the beginning certain centres were preëminent, and the fairs held at these places were of an international character. Six fairs in particular, of the more than fifty markets existing at one time or another, had assumed such prominence as to become known as *the* "Fairs of Champagne." One of these was at Bar, one at Lagny, and two each at Provins and Troyes every year. Other fairs were held, even at these places, and in later years repeated grants were made for markets and fairs at other towns in Champagne, but these six remained the leading fairs. The most important of the lesser places were Epernay, Vitry, Nogent, and Châlons. Once the natural advantage of these special points became apparent the counts set them apart by special legislation, regulation and safeguards, so that soon all outside interest was concentrated in them. Other fairs might have local importance as markets and exchanges, but none could hope to win great international patronage.

At first the duration of the fairs was rather short, but by repeated grants and concessions they were extended until each of them covered a period of something over six weeks, so that, with the intervals required for settling up affairs and moving on to the next stand the six fairs gave Champagne an almost continuous market throughout the year. The fair of Bar-sur-Aube in 1160 lasted but fifteen days, but by 1250 it was somewhere around five weeks long, and ultimately it was still longer. Something of the same kind of process occurred in the cases of Provins, Troyes, and Lagny, only much earlier. In the heyday of the fairs that of Lagny commenced on January 2; on Shrove Tuesday the fair of Bar was opened; the May fair of Provins commenced the last

of April or early in May, depending upon the fair of Bar, which followed the movable calendar of the Church. The fair of St. John, or the "hot" fair of Troyes as it was called, opened the Tuesday after a fortnight from the nativity of St. John (June 24), in any case during the first two weeks of July, and lasted until September 14. The fair of St. Ayoul of Provins began on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14) and lasted till All Saints' Day (November 1). It was held in the lower city, while the May fair of the same city was held in the upper city. Finally the fair of St. Rémy, or the "cold" fair of Troyes, began on November 2, and practically closed the year, lasting until the week before Christmas.

Of these fairs, that of Lagny belonged to the monks of St. Pierre de Lagny, and the proceeds of the first seven days of the autumn fair, or fair of St. Ayoul of Provins, were the perquisite of the monks of St. Ayoul. The rest belonged to the counts of Champagne, save as they granted portions of them to others for a time. All were dependent for support and protection upon the administration of the counts.

The order of business in the fairs seems to have varied somewhat in early years, but tended to become fixed and uniform for all the great fairs as the regulation of the counts was extended over them. Eight days of entry at each fair were allowed the merchants in which to arrive, install themselves, unpack and place their goods on exhibition. During this time no taxes or dues were collected from them. Then came ten days of the fair itself, called the *foire de draps* or fair of woolens. During this time only cloth was to be sold or bought in the premises of the fair. On the evening of the tenth day of the *foire de draps* the cry of "Haro, Haro!" was sounded by the sergeants throughout the city and the cloth disappeared. The next day the fair of hides, peltries, and furs opened, and it likewise occupied ten days of the fair. When the cry of "Haro" closed this fair, there began the fair of *avoir de poids,* or things sold by weight and measure, which covered an innumerable variety of articles. This was also the time of paying fees to the officials and government of the fair. During most of this time the fair of horses and other beasts brought from near-by places and even remote counties of France went on. Four weeks from the close of the cloth fair the final cry of "Haro" closed up the booths of the money-changers and the fair was over. Five days of grace were allowed for the completion of inventories, settlement with the count's officials, obtaining "letters of change," and having the seal of the fair placed on all important contracts to insure their validity. The ringing of the bell each morning was the signal for the opening of the booths, and when it rang at nightfall they were closed. There was no selling except between these hours.

In appearance the fair differed very much from the markets of Paris and many other cities, in that the fair instead of being confined to a

single hall was spread all over town. These towns had their own local markets for fish, meat, and other staples of local consumption, but the fairs occupied the towns, dominated them socially and economically, and it was natural that the town should largely be given over to them. In particular at Provins, the two fairs occupied at one time or another both the upper and lower town.

The counts provided commodious halls and great storehouses in each of the towns. At Provins these magazines were largely underground, connected by subways, making a veritable subterranean city. Many communities or groups of communities trading at the fairs owned their permanent halls in one or more of the four towns. These houses, booths, stables, and storehouses served as hotels and places for displaying and selling goods. In the great throng were merchants from the chief provinces of France—Normandy, Flanders, Languedoc, Picardy, Provence, and foreign merchants from Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, England, Spain, Portugal, and even Poland. German merchants are first mentioned in 1178. The Sienese were frequent visitors. The merchandise was as varied as the merchants. It consisted of cattle and produce, cloth of every kind—silks from the Far East, woolen goods from Flanders and Tuscany, linen from Brittany, canvas from Cahors, furs from Scandinavia and Russia, iron and leather goods from Germany, wines from the south of France and Spain, and a complex variety of condiments and spices brought by Italian and Provençal merchants from the Orient.

Of the goods exchanged at the Fairs of Champagne, cloth, and especially woolen cloth, stood first in importance. Not the least of the sources for this commodity were the Champagne towns themselves. Provins early became well developed in this industry. In 1230 it is said that in this town of 5000 hearths there were 3000 loom workers, with fullers and carders for the manufacture of wool. Cloth of many kinds from the very finest to the coarsest and for every purpose was woven. Dyeing was far advanced. The gilds were highly organized and the business of cloth-making was minutely regulated by the counts and the kings who succeeded them. At Troyes, Bar, and Lagny there were cloth industries, though not so extensive as at Provins. At Châlons-sur-Marne and Rheims were weaving industries. From many towns in France came woolen goods, among them Rouen, Arras, Beauvais, Paris, St. Denis, Toulouse, Montpellier, and Limoges. From Flanders—Malines, Ypres, St. Omer, Diest, Ghent, Valenciennes, Lille, Bruges, Namur, Douai, Dixmude, Cambrai, Louvain, and other places—came still more. Linens came from the four towns of the Fairs and Rheims, from Germany, especially from Ulm, and very famous ones from Burgundy, as well as from Besançon and Lorraine. Silks from far-off countries, and especially from and through the Italian towns, were important.

Lucca's silk products had a great reputation at the Fairs, as they did throughout the western world. Besides, there were other textiles of a rarer sort. From the Levant, Syria, Persia, and Egypt came wonderful cloth of gold and silver for the vestments and garments of the great folk and for the ceremonial robes of the priesthood.

Abundance of hides, furs, peltry, came to all of the Fairs, but especially to the fair of Lagny. Some hides, especially sheep skins for which it was famous, were furnished by Champagne itself. Cordovan leather came from Barcelona or Lérida in Spain or from Montpellier, Aurillac, Limoges, and Toulouse in southern France; for this famous product was imitated more or less successfully in many places. Paris itself sent some hides to the Fairs of Champagne. Peltries and furs came from every direction and were of many and varied types, skins of sheep, goats, rabbits, hares, squirrels, the lerot (a species of dormouse), ermine, marten, otter, civet, sable, deer (this not valued highly), beaver, cats both wild and tame, fox, polecat, wolf, and others.

Under the name of *avoir de poids* were sold every kind of spices from the Orient, drugs of all kinds, dyes such as indigo and cochineal, the latter from Provence, salt, silk, hemp cord, ointments, lard, tallow, honeycomb, sugar, wax, dates, lemons, and fruits.

Provisions and drinks included many things. Many of these were of local production and were brought to the fairs for the necessities of the inhabitants and the crowds of strangers drawn to the fairs. Provins alone had two great halls for the selling of wheat and taking of tolls thereon, one in the lower and one in the upper town, and two halls for butchers and two for fish stalls hardly sufficed for her needs. The butchers' halls each contained an abattoir as well as stalls for the sale of foods. Among the foodstuffs sold were cereals and vegetables—wheat, beans, peas, cabbages, garlics, leeks,—cattle, sheep, hogs, and kids, and the flesh of each. Salted and fresh-water fish of every kind were sold in the great fish stalls. The cheese of Brie was already renowned in the Middle Ages. Though much of this foodstuff came from Champagne and Brie, evidence is not lacking that much also, particularly such things as cattle on hoof, came from Flanders, Brabant, and Hainaut as well as adjacent French counties. Native and foreign wines played an important part in the grand exchange of the fairs, as the numerous tolls and taxes placed upon them would indicate. The wines of Champagne were famous in story and verse, as was *cervoise,* or beer brewed there and consumed principally in Flanders and Picardy. The tariffs contain many references to this merchandise.

The Champagne Fairs powerfully stimulated the local economic activities of the region. Sheep-raising and the manufacture of woolen goods became an important industry of Champagne; iron-working was largely carried on along the upper Marne and in Lorraine; a whole quarter at

Troyes was occupied by the tanners; the dyers of Provins, the fullers of Bierges, and La-Ferté-sur-Aube, were famous. Rheims made woolen cloths, bunting, serges.

Gold, silver, precious stones, iron, steel, incense, wood of various kinds, charcoal, raw wools and silk, silk floss, hemp, linen, cotton (to be mixed with wool, silk, or linen), salt and other articles are enumerated by Bourquelot as of chief importance and frequently mentioned in the tariffs. Beasts of burden—horses, mules, and asses—came in great numbers and at each of the Fairs was a great square for the sale of them which went on during most of the time of the fair. A portion of the *tonlieu* from these sales of beasts was frequently given to the local abbey.

Manufactured objects of various kinds besides those already mentioned as being at the Fairs were pots and pails of copper and brass, especially the latter, from Dinant; firkins and tubs from Alsace; vases of various metals, basins, kettles, and caldrons. The *"pots et pailles"* of Dinant were famous. Saddler's products, haberdashery, and even old clothes found a market at the Fairs. Tassels, purses, headdresses, gloves, hats, hose, mirrors (not glass but bits of highly polished metal), baskets, cushions, parchment, wheels and carts, and cutlery were on sale. Of cutlery, Provins itself became in later days a leading centre. Jewels, precious stones, and the work of goldsmiths and silversmiths were bought at the Fairs, as many a literary reference shows. Ink stands or ink horns, beads of amber, bells for cows, horsewhips, steel anvils, whetstones from Ardennes or England, wooden spoons, and many other articles were there to find buyers.

A study of the weights and measures and the kinds of standard of money used at the Champagne Fairs would be too complicated to enter into here. Measures in particular varied very much in various parts of France and many different units were used. Almost every province had its own system. The hogshead, the *setier,* which was generally one-twelfth of a hogshead, and the bushel for grains, with the hogshead for liquids, were the most common measures. But the weights and measures of the Champagne Fairs tended to set a standard for the country. One standard has survived to this day—troy weight, so named from Troyes. Of course there were many subdivisions of each measure. The variation of weights was not quite so wide as that of measures, but the same lack of uniformity is to be observed. Here again the weights of Champagne came to be a standard over a wide area. The weights were originally the property of the counts, but were frequently granted in part or in special fairs to abbeys or other organizations as a sort of revenue, since the goods sold must be weighed and a fee paid for the service. The *aune* was the measure for cloth. This was a measure that varied widely but in Champagne came to mean nearly three feet and eight inches. The

aune of Provins, still preserved in the form of an iron ferrule formerly in the care of the monastery, measured three feet, seven and one-quarter inches. It tended to become the standard, even being adopted in Burgundy. The memory of it survives in the "cloth-yard."

The part played by the counts of Champagne in the development of the Fairs at international marts was important. This remarkable line of rulers remained unbroken from 1010 until 1284, when the heiress of Champagne married Philip the Fair, who in 1285 became king of France, thus joining the administration of the counties of Champagne and Brie to that of France. This long line of Étiennes, Henris and Thibauts, aided and supported by able and broad-minded wives, with occasionally a woman ruler, conceived and carried out a statesmanlike plan of internal regulation and external support and protection for these Fairs. Feudal annals present few such instances of breadth and consistency of view.

The glorious period of the Fairs of Champagne was under the rule of the brilliant count of Champagne known as Henry I, the "Liberal" (1152–81). In the third year of his reign he issued a notable ordinance in restraint of private war, and formally assured the security of the peasantry and merchants within his dominions. He was seconded in this policy by the archbishop of Rheims, who was a brother of King Louis VII. Under Henry's rule the fairs of Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube, Provins, and Troyes acquired an international importance.

The Fairs gave the towns what renown they had and it was fitting that the town should be given over to the fair. As one of the chief sources of revenue to the counts and the principal object of their solicitude, it was but natural that the fair in its administration should overshadow the local arrangements or even completely displace them during the period of the fair. Since under the regulations all fees not otherwise disposed of belonged to the count, and since merchants established outside the limits of the fair paid no fee, it became vital to make the limits of the fair approach those of the town, so that there could be no advantage from staying outside the fair. The control of the town by the count's officials became analogous to the control of other towns by merchant gilds. Not only were the boundaries of the fair thus definitely laid out, but even the locations of merchant groups, individuals, and the very goods themselves were controlled by the count's officials. The minutely ordered daily, weekly, and monthly programme described above was part of the same scheme. All of this was for the purpose of police supervision and to the end that nothing due the count should escape his officials.

For this administration an elaborate system of officials was developed. Of these the "guards of the fair" seem to be the earliest. The first documentary record of them is in 1174; after that they appear in records throughout the history of the Fairs. Generally the guards were two in

number, though in 1225 there appear to have been three. They were paid a fixed salary, a thing unique for such officials, and showing how careful was the personal attention of the counts. Their functions were manifold, comprising the judicial, the execution of the police power, and the promulgation of regulating ordinances, in a word, the general direction of the Fairs of Champagne.

The clerks of the Fairs, often called the "lieutenants of the guards," are first mentioned in the second half of the thirteenth century. They were originally persons of note called occasionally to take the place of guards who were absent or removed from office. Somewhat after the fashion of the old Frankish Mayor of the Palace, the lieutenants of the guards tended to absorb the functions of the guards until finally they became the real directors of the Fair. The chancellor, or "guard of the seal" of the Fairs had the important function of attaching the count's seal to all important contracts made during the Fairs. This seal guaranteed the validity of the contract and assured the contracting parties that the power of the count would be used to enforce it. The sergeants of the Fairs were the police officers chosen by the guards and chancellor to maintain order and peace in the Fairs and to execute the multifarious orders of the guards. The number of these varied, but in the best days of the Fairs it was necessarily a very respectable force. In 1317 it consisted of 140 men, 120 on foot and 20 mounted. After 1344 the number was reduced to 100, but by this time the Fairs had gone far towards their decline. Something like 40 notaries were needed to act as recorders and draw up contracts for the merchants.

Besides this organization of the counts, the local mayor shared in the administration. Church officials, especially the Benedictines of St. Ayoul of Provins and the abbot of Lagny, exercised a wide jurisdiction, fiscal and judicial in particular, over the part of the Fairs committed to their keeping. Certain classes of cases were exempted from the jurisdiction of the count's courts and these were handled in Church and local courts. The *baillis* of the king and later the *prévôts* often shared with the count's officials in local supervision.

The courts of the Champagne Fairs call for at least a passing notice. Somewhat after the fashion of the Court of Pie Powder of the Normans, there were local courts in the Fairs for the settlement of disputes that arose. These were in the hands of the guards of the Fairs and their assistants, with the Church officials, or in rare cases apparently in the hands of local officials. At Troyes what was known as the *Cour des Grands Jours de Troyes* was attached to the count's administration and became a sort of court of appeals for the Fairs of Champagne and Brie. From this court appeal was had to the supreme court of the realm, the Parlement of Paris.

Outside the limits of the counties of Champagne and Brie the activity of the counts was still further responsible for the growth of the Fairs. By treaties and conventions with the many countries through which the merchants trading at the Fairs passed, a large part of the usual tolls of passage was remitted for traders to Champagne. The power and fame of the counts served to protect the merchants even where there were no treaties. Further, the counts endeavored to protect their clients, not only from feudal exactions, but from robbers and brigands of all sorts. When this *conduit des foires* was violated along the road the counts did not hesitate to protest most vigorously to the governing powers of the offending community, even though it were to the Capetians themselves, as in the well known case of Thibaut the Great, who in 1148 protested to Suger because the money-changers of Vézelay had been robbed in the county of Sens with the connivance probably of the son of the viscount of Sens. A powerful weapon in the hands of the counts was the threat of exclusion of the merchants of an offending community from the Champagne Fairs until redress had been made by the offending individuals or some one else for them. This was used to enforce the collection of debts and thus the merchants dealing at the Fairs were compelled to make good the guaranty of the count. Even when not used as a threat, this power to exclude communities from a share in the rich business of the Fairs was sufficient to compel obedience.

But the *conduit des foires,* while it served to protect the money-changers and merchants from violence and from many of the tolls along the road, could not wholly bring free trade. Powerful seigniors could not be expected to forego such rich sources of revenue. A notable instance of this was the system of *péages* collected by the kings of France on the border line of the Low Countries, at Bapaume in Artois, and at Péronne, Roye, Compiègne, and Crépy-en-Valois. Of these points, by far the most important was Bapaume, and frequent charges were made that the royal collectors at that place monopolized the tolls on merchants coming into France. The enforcement of these tolls was a serious blow to the Champagne Fairs, where the bulk of Flemish goods was destined to be sold and in 1262 we find bitter complaint of the French king's extortion at Bapaume. In 1293 Philip the Fair, then in authority over the Champagne Fairs through his marriage with the heiress, issued an order exempting Hanseatic merchants if they were bringing to the Champagne Fairs goods from Germany, but compelled them to pay if they carried Flemish goods. This legislation of the French kings in the thirteenth century in restraint of Flemish trade is very interesting to observe. They ardently coveted possession of the rich and populous territory of Flánders and adopted this method of restraint of commerce in order to starve Flanders into submission. By the end of the thirteenth century "trade"

had entered politics, and we can discover evidence of tariff wars and intimations of the future great mercantilistic policy of the seventeenth century.

The merchants trading at the Champagne Fairs did not usually travel alone but grouped themselves in some sort of organization, choosing a leader or "captain" who performed the duties of director of the body, and consular duties in dealing for the company as a whole and obtaining commercial privileges from the count of Champagne or other rulers. Such a group was that composed of the merchants of Languedoc and Provence in the thirteenth century, who called themselves the "Society and Community of the Merchants of France." Montpellier had the privilege of naming the captain, who was put on oath as the "Captain Consul of France and Merchants Trading in France." Similar organizations existed among the Lombard and Sienese merchants.

No port in the world whose commerce was worth much failed to touch in some degree these great inland markets. Naturally the progressive industrial and commercial towns of Italy and southern France and those of Flanders made the greatest use of the Champagne Fairs. Thus there came to the Champagne Fairs a cosmopolitan crowd of every race, language, and costume, from Scotland to Sicily and from Castile to Damascus. Egyptian, Syrian, Armenian, Greek, Italian, Frenchman, Spaniard, German, Hollander, Brabanter, Fleming, Englishman, and Scot mingled and jostled each other through the great halls or added their voices to the eager, humming babel that rose and fell around the pillars where the bargaining and chaffering was going on. And the omnipresent Jew from everywhere added his individuality to the throng.

The Champagne Fairs had a profound influence upon the conduct and technique of business. As the Fairs emerged from obscurity a money economy was more and more established. Various kinds of money were used, corresponding in diversity almost to the heterogeneous throng that gathered to Champagne from the ends of the earth. Money of Tournay, of Paris, of Poitou and other parts of France, "easterlings" from England, bezants, and every sort of Italian coin appeared. In Champagne itself were many different coinages, lay and episcopal, but the most famous were the coins of Provins, which made a standard for the Champagne Fairs. An interesting fact is that the monetary system was well developed along the line of "money of account." The denier with its subdivisions was actually struck, while the sou and livre were theoretical coins used in accounting and credit. In the fourteenth century, Pegolotti, a Florentine who dwelt in Cyprus but traveled much, "judged it necessary to prepare a table of moneys and of weights and measures in use at Alexandria, on the one hand and in ten places in Italy, in Provence and the Fairs of Champagne."

The assembly of so many merchants at the Fairs naturally drew much money to Champagne. In addition men took this opportunity to carry on transactions having no connection with commerce—the payment of debts contracted in distant lands, even arrearages in rents. The payment of tolls and charges of all kinds created further demands for money. Hence there were many reasons why money should flow to Champagne. Exchange of goods and money was facilitated by the important institution of the *changeurs* who performed the operations today done by bankers. This institution was of very early origin. In fact it grew up with the Fairs. Documents of the thirteenth century often mention the money-changers. In the fourteenth century, under the kings, they were officially recognized as public officers. Their establishments at the Fairs were simple booths, containing each a table covered with a checkered cloth, a pair of scales, and leathern bags filled with coins or ingots. Their business was to change money, for which they received a regular rate of exchange, to receive deposits, to loan money on interest, and to issue *lettres de foires,* or bills of credit, in order to obviate the danger and trouble of transporting bodily the ever increasing quantity of metal money. They were allowed to take interest on their loans, and loaned money often to the counts and countesses themselves. The Italians from Lombardy, a strongly organized group, were the earliest to seize any large part of this business, and they were long the most noted of the *changeurs* at the Fairs, but others came, especially the Cahorsians and the Jews.

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Closely connected with the ordering of the Fairs is the question of the revenues. It will be remembered that the fair of Lagny and the first seven days of the fair of St. Ayoul of Provins were given over to the local abbeys. Of the rest of the fairs which belonged to the counts, it was customary for them to make certain specific grants to local orders, monasteries, Templars, or others. Sometimes the special grant was the right to a certain *tonlieu* or tax on beasts sold, or on certain other articles. Sometimes it was the right of weighing or measuring. In the main the revenues of the cloth and peltry fairs, as well as from much of the *avoir de poids,* the counts reserved for themselves. The variety of fees and tolls paid by the patrons of the Fairs is a monument of ingenuity. One of the most important as well as the most common was the *tonlieu* or tax made on each sale, a small fee prescribed for every sale and collected at the time of the transaction. Theoretically it was paid, half by the seller and half by the buyer, but probably as a practical thing the buyer paid all. In addition there were fees for the rent of houses, fees raised on the habitations and stalls of merchants, fees for entry and departure, for stallage, for *salage* or the preservation of food by salt, for measuring and weighing everything, special taxes on wines, special taxes on the Jews and Lombards, fees for the attaching of the seal of the Fairs

to contracts, besides fines and defaults, which tended to increase under the kings.

To the foreign merchants from many lands were added the local merchants of the various Champagne towns, the small retailers and peddlers, who came to replenish their stocks. The neighboring lords and their families came to see and to buy and enjoy the diversions of the Fair. The monks from the abbey and secular clergy mingled with the throng. No doubt many an artisan and many a runaway serf from the neighboring manors was drawn hither by the strange sights and sounds and the gay-colored crowd. Mountebanks, jugglers, and musicians of every description vied in their efforts to attract the crowd, men with trained monkeys, dogs, or dancing bears, wrestlers, wandering minstrels singing ancient lays, fakers without number were there to entertain and astonish the populace. There were gathered as in modern fairs the thief, the pickpocket, the cut-purse, the thug, the prostitute, beggars. Often the sergeants were hard pressed to maintain order in this heterogeneous mob. "In the evening when the trumpeters with their escort of torch-bearers had sounded the curfew, the vagabonds, the drunkards, the thieves, the whole world of beggars, of male and female debauchees for whom the Fair was a rendezvous, gave them more trouble than the crowd during the day." Many of the *fabliaux* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as the story of *La Bourse pleine de sens,* the *Dit des Marcheanz,* and the romance of *Hervis,* another fragment of the *Lohcrain* cycle, throw interesting light upon the life and activities of the Champagne Fairs.

The Fairs of Champagne and Brie seem to have begun to decline even during the latter days of the counts, partly because of the creation of onerous fees and partly because of the coercive commercial policy of the kings of France. The chief cause of decay was the constant increase of royal taxes and imposts indirectly imposed upon the Fairs. As early as 1262, as we have seen, the Flemish merchants had threatened to forsake the Champagne Fairs if the tolls charged them at Bapaume were not lowered. The marriage of Jeanne, heiress of Champagne, to Philip the Fair in 1284, which brought Champagne and Brie at once under the actual control of the French crown, was a body blow to the Fairs. The notorious fiscal measures of the French king soon led to such oppressive taxation that the merchants began to avoid them. In 1296 the Florentines removed to Lyons. In the same year Philip IV began his war with Flanders, and the long involvement of Flanders in the war between France and England thereafter seriously injured the Fairs. Finally, when the Venetians opened the famous all-sea galley route to Bruges and London *via* the straits of Gibraltar and the Channel in 1317 the Champagne Fairs received almost a death-blow. They shrank to mere provincial markets.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE NEW MONASTIC ORDERS—CLUNIACS, CISTERCIANS, PREMONSTRATENSIANS, FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS

The influence of monasticism reached its height in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, and indeed, was so great that a somewhat close study of the institution in this period is necessary. Even contemporaries were struck by the wide and rapid spread of monasticism then. This multiplication of new orders is a singular testimony to the faith of the Middle Ages. For every new order without exception was founded to reform the corruption of the older orders. "The history of monachism is one long record of corruptions and reforms." So the Cluniacs followed the Benedictines in the tenth century, the Cistercians followed the Cluniacs in the twelfth, the Franciscans and Dominicans followed all three of the previous great orders in the thirteenth. The remedy for monastic corruption always was more monks—the founding of a new order to redress the evils of the former, to reintegrate the system. It rarely seems to have struck the medieval mind that perhaps the proper remedy was not more, but fewer monks; any more than today, with the evils of unrestricted democracy so evident, few suggest the remedy of endeavoring to make the world less democratic.

Yet now and then one finds a voice of protest raised against the increase of monasticism. "The world is full of monks and monasteries," wrote a German thinker in the twelfth century. "To what use?" Dialogues between monks and seculars as to the relative merits of the two classes of clergy, and virulent tirades against monasticism are not uncommon in medieval literature. But usually one must discount their arguments because there was political, social, and economic rivalry between the two clerical classes amounting to bitter antagonism. Each competed for possession of land, each intrigued with and against the reigning feudality and feudal kings. The orders were not slow to utilize the popularity which they enjoyed. Statistics of the number of monasteries founded in each century are illuminating and suggestive. The following figures pertain to France in the Middle Ages: fourth century, 11; fifth century, 40; sixth century, 262; seventh century, 280; eighth century, 107; ninth century, 251; tenth century, 157; eleventh century (the age of Cluny), 326; twelfth century (the age of the Cistercians), 702. At the end of the tenth century there were 543 abbeys in France. From the time of the Franciscans and Dominicans there is a sharp fall-

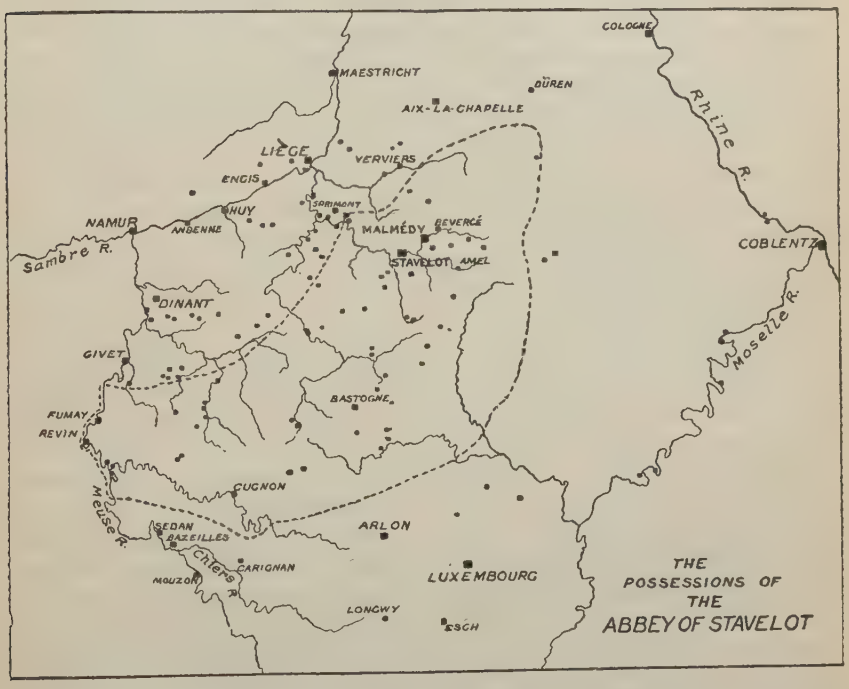
ing off in the number of new monasteries. In the thirteenth century we find 287; in the fourteenth century (the period of the English wars in France and the beginning of the Great Schism), only 53. In the fifteenth century the number drops to 26. No wonder that Trithemius in 1493 complained, "Once princes erected and endowed cloisters; today they plunder and destroy them"; and later in 1496 mournfully wrote: "The days of building cloisters are past. The days of their destruction are coming." Forty years afterwards Henry VIII abolished the monasteries in England.

Sharing in the feudal world, an abbey was a lordship, vassal or suzerain, but suzerain in its own rank, possessing vassals and having serfs by whose labor on its lands it was enriched. The abbey of St. Riquier, which did not pass for being very rich, had 117 vassals holding in fief of it; it owned 2500 houses of the town in which it was situated, or rather of the town which had grown up around it, whose tenants paid a money rent and in addition were required to furnish 10,000 chickens, 10,000 capons, 75,000 eggs, and 400 pounds of wax to the monastery. "The inventory of the rents and dues owing to the abbey of St. Riquier shows us, as early as 831, a numerous population of lay artisans grouped in streets according to their trades around that abbey, and in return for lands which are granted to them, furnishing some, tools, others, binding or clothes or articles of food."

No medieval institution was a greater object of popular piety than the monasteries. Not unusually they were enormously endowed at the time of establishment. The nunnery of Gandersheim, the favorite foundation of the Saxon house, was started in 956 with an endowment of 11,000 manors; Hersfeld in thirty years accumulated 2000 manors scattered in 195 localities; Tegernsee in Bavaria, before Duke Arnulf despoiled it early in the tenth century, owned 11,866 manors; Benedictbeuren, which suffered the same fate, owned 6700 manors. Fulda possessed 15,000; Lorsch, 2000; St. Gall, 4000. As early as 787 St. Wandrille possessed 4264 manors; St. Bertin owned more than 100 villages in the ninth century; St. Riquier, 2500 manors; Charles the Bald endowed Avenay with 1150 manors for the support of 40 nuns and 20 clerks. In 1023 Henry II deprived St. Maximin of Trèves of 6656 manors and still left it rich. By 1030 it possessed over a thousand manors scattered in 140 localities. By the twelfth century Fulda had so far picked up again after deprivation that it had 3000 manors in Saxony, 3000 in Thuringia, 3000 in the Rhinelands around Worms, and 3000 in Bavaria and Swabia. St. Ulrich, accounted as very poor indeed, owned 203 manors, on each of which was located from one to six villages.

On the other hand, there were many small monasteries occupied by a mere handful of monks. But the tendency was for the smaller to disappear through absorption by the greater abbeys—Cluny largely grew

in this way—or engrossment by a local feudal noble to whose depredation their small size and isolation exposed them. The isolation of such small houses is remarkably illustrated in an incident related by Hermann of Tournay. The abbey of St. Martin in Tournay was a rich one and possessed a charter given it by Charlemagne. During the Norse invasions in the ninth century, in order to preserve its treasures and manuscripts from their ravages, the abbot of St. Martin sent them away



to Ferrières in the diocese of Paris. At that time Ferrières was an important house and made distinguished by the scholarship of its famous abbot Lupus. But the ravages of the Norsemen in the basin of the Seine, combined with the feudal anarchy of the tenth century, impoverished it, reduced its numbers, so that it ceased to be generally known. St. Martin lost trace of its charter and even was ignorant of where Ferrières was situated. Nearly two hundred years later it so happened that a monk of Courtrai, who had visited Ferrières was one day at St. Martin's and remarked to the abbot that he had seen a charter of Charlemagne belonging to St. Martin's at Ferrières. But the visitor got away before the abbot could ask him where Ferrières was. More years elapsed. Finally at the council of Rheims in 1119 the abbot fell in with a clerk from Paris who revealed its location and the lost charter was at last reclaimed

and restored. Imola, though it had a bishop, and was located on one of the principal roads of Italy not far from Bologna, was not well informed about public events. Thus for more than two years after the accession of Henry V in 1106 it was believed that the emperor was named Charles.

Monastic life possessed great allurement for the medieval mind, especially for men who were studiously inclined or who shrank from the violent civilization of the feudal period. Guibert de Nogent in his *De vita sua,* one of the very few medieval autobiographies, has described this charm in eloquent language. The quiet life of cell, library, and scriptorium, the opportunity to read and to study, the sheltered walks in cloister and garden, excited the derision or contempt of lustier men-at-arms, who ridiculed the literary and academic labors of the monks. Ordericus Vitalis bitterly records this contempt of the feudality for what they did not understand and what was far superior in worth to their own violent activities. In the epic poem *Girart de Roussillon* this contempt of the warrior class for the cloister is very pronounced. One of the characters swears that if he finds a coward among his sons he will make a monk of him.

The anecdote points to an evil in monasticism not sufficiently perceived. In the Middle Ages a man had to be either hammer or anvil. The outside world was rude and lusty, no place for weaklings, either physical or moral. Hence the path to a monastery was for many the line of least resistance. The weak, the timid, the infirm, found shelter within it. The average mental and moral quality of most monasteries was probably low, and it was this condition which largely accounted for their constant deterioration and constant efforts at reform. Sometimes too, an energetic man might be made a monk against his will because it was a matter of family pride or family property interest to have a member of the family a monk. Such an inmate was bound to be dissatisfied or rebellious. A medieval satire tells the fable of such a monk sent on an errand by the abbot into the outer world. "He returned in the evening mounted on a foaming steed. He wore a bearskin on his head, his gown was cut short and divided behind and before to make riding easier. In his embroidered military belt he carried bow and quiver, hammer and tongs, a sword, a flint and steel, and an oaken club. He wore wide breeches and as his spurs were very long, he had to walk on tiptoe." From the pen of such a worldly brother we have an interesting little work entitled *The Delights of Chivalry.*

Contrary to what is generally thought, most monks in the Middle Ages were not priests entrusted with the cure of souls or spiritual duty to others.

As monks they neither preached nor heard confession, nor administered

sacrament, nor exercised any spiritual function whatever. They were laymen and nothing else but laymen, bound, indeed, by vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; vows spontaneously assumed and such as any layman might take upon himself now, and yet in so doing would not cease to be layman. . . . They were associations of laymen appointing their own chaplains and possessing ecclesiastical property, but not ecclesiastics on that account. . . . Though these monks were in fact laymen and nothing more than laymen, . . . their purely laical character was forgotten by the world and their lay employments considered by their enemies as irreconcilable with the strictness of their profession. Yet what it may be asked, was the essential difference in itself as distinct from its consequences, whether a monk labored in the fields as St. Augustine commanded, or superintended those that did? whether the abbot, as in earlier centuries, handled the trowel and stooped his back to mortar, or arranged with his tenants and others for the performance of such drudgery by deputy?[1]

The Benedictine Rule had approved of actual manual labor for all monks. But the old ideal of labor was soon obscured. The monks in feudal times had ceased to labor with their own hands. Their revenues derived from leases were sufficient for their wants. Labor was performed vicariously by serfs. This change was inevitable as the monasteries increasingly became peopled by sons of the feudal aristocracy to whom manual labor was repugnant. Men from this class devoted themselves to teaching, copying manuscripts, or administration.

Only in times of intense religious emotion, as during revival seasons, do we find monks in a sort of self-humiliation and for a short time performing actual manual labor. William of Jumièges records with some surprise, of the monks who founded the great monastery of Bec, that "you would have seen them after the office of the church going into the fields to spend the day in agricultural labors, the abbot carrying the seed on his head and holding tools in his hand, some clearing the land, others fertilizing the ground, no one eating his bread in idleness, and then all returning to the church at the hour of divine service." Again one Julian, in visiting a monastery, reports: "I found there some old men writing. I asked them where the abbot was and they replied: 'In the valley beneath the monastery. He is cutting grass'!"

But the blame for constant deterioration of the morals of the monasteries is not wholly to be attributed to internal conditions. The feudal conditions of the outside world had a large influence upon them. From the inception of the movement, monasteries were private foundations; that is to say, the proprietary class endowed them with lands and retained thereby a large measure of control over them. The local magnate often was a "lay abbot," enfiefing the abbey's lands and using a portion of its revenues for his own advantage. Hincmar of Rheims in the

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera,* IV, introd. xxxiii, lx (Rolls Series).

ninth century wrote of Hugh the Welf, lay abbot of several rich monasteries: "Tonsure is the only thing which distinguishes him from the life of the laity." Kings, nobles, bishops, founded monasteries out of mixed motives of piety and self-aggrandizement. For, once established, the monastery's endowments increased rapidly owing to the largess of the pious who gave or bequeathed it lands, and the revenues derived from these increments in part accrued to the original founder or his family. Thus, the founding of a monastery in the Middle Ages was a lucrative form of investment. For the founder was the overlord. Abbeys created by laymen were the hereditary property of the founder's descendants, their revenues formed part of his estates, they were bequeathed, devised, partitioned among his heirs. The only restraining fact was that they could not be wholly secularized or abolished.

In the darkest and most violent days of feudalism the monasteries, in common with all other institutions, declined. Ruined by the invasions of the Northmen in France and the lower Rhineland, by the inroads of the Hungarians in Germany and North Italy, by those of the Saracens along the Mediterranean coast and far up into the Alpine passes, by the trespass of the feudality upon their lands and the seizure of their property, many of their inmates fled the cloister and resorted to a life of pillage like that of the baronage. The serfs upon the monastery lands had run away or perished in the anarchy, and those that were left were often numerically so reduced that the monks themselves were compelled to till the glebe farms. In the tenth century complaints are common against the monks, who are accused of licentiousness, of neglecting their vows, of eating meat on fast days, of drunkenness, and of refusing hospitality. The plight of the monasteries was so bad that they seemed incapable of reforming themselves.

From this depth the monastic reform movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries rescued them. New orders arose, like the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, the Carthusians. And with their rise Europe entered upon not only a new spiritual, but a new temporal improvement. Manors, fields, forests, vineyards, pastures, mills, dairies, were showered upon them. The abbeys opened regular markets for the sale of their produce; their shops manufactured wooden, leather, textile, iron, and copper materials. The abbots, like lay nobles, even coined their own money. Guibert de Nogent has vividly described this monastic revivalism:

> When nowhere but in the oldest monasteries was there room for many of the monks, new structures were begun everywhere, and as they flocked in from all sides, great store of provisions was made. And when the means did not exist for building on a large scale, they arranged for food and shelter of the monks by twos and fours in the neighborhood. Consequently in manors and towns, cities and garrisons, and even in the very woods and fields, there suddenly appeared swarms of monks spreading in every

direction. . . . Therefore the nobles became eager to submit to voluntary poverty and, scorning their possessions, to give them up to the abbeys they entered, and ever in a pious kind of hunting they strove to capture others to do the same. Moreover, the noble wives of well-known men forsook marriage and putting from their hearts the love of children, bestowed thereon their wealth. . . . And those men or women who could not wholly surrender their property supported those who had done so, by many a gift from their substance.

The establishment of a monastery was usually an act of colonization of waste, forest or swamp lands, in remote regions, whether in the interior of a country or upon the frontier. The bulk of land so redeemed was waste and wild land never before subjugated by the axe and the plow. It was virgin area now only acquiring value under pressure of increasing population. The natural resources of a locality, of course, often particularly conditioned the kind of exploitation employed. Swamp and marsh lands were convertible into fat and fertile meadows and fields; forest land provided timber, charcoal, and if of oak or beech, pasturage for swine; rivers, lakes, and seashore provided fish and seaweed for fertilizer. In maritime Europe a stranded whale was usually the prize of the local abbot. Bury St. Edmunds paid four thousand ells as rent for certain lands.

The beginnings of a monastery in Brittany are thus described: "Conuoion, accompanied by five brethren who desired to live in solitude, left the episcopal residence. After having searched for some time for seclusion, Conuoion selected a place at the confluence of the Oust and the Valaine, where high hills served as protection." A Norman historian relates how in 1100 one Bernard withdrew from the abbey of St. Cyprian in Poitiers because it had ceased to be a quiet place and "after much journeying he and his monks settled on some land pertaining to the bishop of Chartres in a wooded region called Tiron. Soon

a multitude of the faithful flocked to him, and in the new monastery practised the occupations which each had learned. In consequence there readily assembled about him workmen, both smiths and carpenters, sculptors and goldsmiths, painters and masons, vine dressers and plowmen, with skilled artificers in various branches of industry. Thus where lately robbers sheltered themselves in a frightful forest, a stately abbey was by God's help quickly reared. . . . Count William made a road to the monastery by a sharp and difficult ascent to the steep hills, cutting the rocks with hammers and pickaxes and other iron tools, and with the fragments laid the base of a causeway along the river.

Elsewhere the same chronicler narrates how "the venerable Vitalis retired into solitude and remarking the village of Savigny near Mor-

tain, where he found vast ruins of some ancient building, erected a monastery to the Trinity." The annalist of Zwifalten relates how, in the twelfth century, all Germany was covered with thick forests. "But after the servants of God had become powerful here, they began to hew down the unfruitful trees and to root out the thornbushes. They turned the wooded land into fruit farms, erected houses and domiciles for man, seeded the fields, and planted vineyards. . . . They built an aqueduct, set all kinds of fruit trees and established gardens in the woods with its budding trees." Conrad III in 1147, confirming a gift of Ludolf of Rümelingen to a monastery, makes the statement: "I add thereto some waste land belonging to the crown, namely, a wood . . . and will that the monks of the said house of God root it out, hew it down, cultivate it, and settle husbandmen there, who shall cut it down and root it out, until they can employ it for their daily use."

The great forests of Europe before the thirteenth century, when their denudation began to excite some alarm owing to the increasing cost of building timber and charcoal, were regarded as an enemy to be hewn down. Men treated them exactly as the pioneers in America treated the forests. The abbot of St. Mary's in Trèves wrote to a correspondent: "I believe that the forest which adjoins Fellarich covers the land to no purpose and hold this to be an unbearable harm; therefore I have allowed the inhabitants of Tomblet to clear the forest under the condition that they deliver to me and my successors annually for this three kegs of wine." One cloister, that of St. Trudo, still had thirteen forests early in the eleventh century. By 1120 practically all were destroyed.

The "new monasticism" of the feudal age wrought an economic revolution in agriculture by the reduction of forest and the redemption of waste and swamp. In this practice the Cistercians played a preëminent part. Founded in 1098, the new order set itself against the luxury of the Benedictines and Cluniacs. The Cistercian Order, with its austere practices, its simple and plain churches with bare whitewashed walls devoid of decoration, its avoidance of rich adornment and imposing ritual, came as a protest against the extravagance and magnificence of the Cluniacs. St. Bernard time and again in his letters inveighs against the current display of his time. Similarly in the next century St. Francis wanted to pull down the new and imposing church structures at Bologna and Assisi. The Cistercians and the Friars were the puritans of the Middle Ages. Stained glass, elaborate ritual, grand processionals, to them savored of worldly pomp. The Cistercians resolved to restore again the dignity of toil, to keep themselves unspotted from the world.

The question of land ownership early arose. The Benedictine Rule had originally prohibited acquisition of "lands beyond the actual precincts: granges, serfs, mills, or any possessions a seignior might have." This regulation, however, had become obsolete during the feudal age. An at-

tempt was made by the Cistercians to restore it and to assure the new order independence of seigniorial authority from the beginning. The solution was a new departure in monastic organization. In order both to remove temptation to worldly wealth from the monks and to avert extension of proprietorship over the community, it was ruled that the lands of the house were to be just sufficient for sustenance, but not great enough to provide riches.

The Cistercians deliberately sought out remote and isolated regions in Europe, and these naturally were in forest or marshy localities, for the better farming regions had long since been acquired by the earlier orders and the bishops. Hence we find Cistercian houses established in the wilds of Northumberland, which William the Conqueror had so wasted, in the moors of the Biscayan coast of France, in the gorges of the Vosges and the Alps, and above all in the far eastern frontier lands of Germany. Second to them in colonization were the Premonstratensian canons, who followed the same policy. "Give these monks," wrote Gerald of Barri concerning the Cistercians, "a naked moor or a wild wood; then let a few years pass away and you will find not only beautiful churches, but dwellings of men built around them." Undrained valleys, unreclaimed wastes, the hush of dense forests were the favorite haunts of the order.

> Seeking out the desert places of the wilderness [writes a contemporary observer] and shunning the haunts and hum of crowds, earning their daily bread by manual labor and preferring uninhabited solitudes, they seem to bring back to one's eyes the primitive life and discipline of the monastic religion, its poverty, its parsimony in food, the roughness and meanness of its dress, its abstinence and austerities.

Of the Cistercians of Yorkshire it is said that "they turned the waste land into good land; they planted the trees; they improved the streams; they made corn grow where thistles had sprung unchecked; they filled the meadows with cattle and stocked the uplands with sheep." This disposition on the part of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians to seek out places of settlement in undeveloped lands rather than to establish themselves within the older historic regions, made these two orders preeminent as colonizers.

It is a very striking fact that as the Elbe was the frontier between the Old and the New Germany, so it was a dividing line between these new orders of monks and the Benedictines. Except for Bohemia and Poland not a Benedictine foundation existed east of the Elbe River save a few convents of nuns. The old order of things had passed away. With the conversion of the Slavs even missions had become obsolete. The great Northeast had been conquered, and the land lay open to settle-

ment and exploitation. The future of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians lay along the line of agriculture, forest and swamp redemption, cattle-raising, and trade. Their monasteries in this New East were farm schools, not mission stations nor places where letters and the arts were cultivated. They left "higher" culture to the Benedictines, who vegetated within cloisters and fastidiously shivered at the very thought of the rough life of the German border.

Land was given the Order generously. Lavish grants were common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Once possessed of the land, the Cistercians had no great cost of upkeep, for they were exempted from all taxes on land, whether unimproved or improved, as well as from taxes upon their flocks and herds and work animals.

Moreover, the rule of Citeaux imposed actual manual labor upon members of the Order and discountenanced the work of serfs as an abominable evasion of the principle that physical work was good for the soul as well as for the body. Its puritanism even went so far as to prohibit the possession of feudal fiefs in order that the monasteries might be kept aloof from feudal entanglements. The more secluded the spot, the harder the struggle against nature, the more alluring the locality to the Cistercians. A novice of Clairvaux wrote enthusiastically of finding the monks there employed "with hoes in the garden, forks and rakes in the meadow, sickles in the harvest fields, and axes in the forests."

It was not long, however, until with the Cistercians, as with the earlier Benedictines, the hard manual labor in every house came to be performed by lay brothers, and the monks only labored vicariously. The Rule of St. Benedict had permitted the introduction into the monasteries of laymen who, without being "religious" in the sense in which that word is used by the Church of Rome, yet lived there. Among these, two classes were distinguished: those capable of theological instruction were educated and in time became full-fledged monks; the rest (*illiterati, idiotæ*) formed an inferior category of monks who performed menial tasks. Finally a new class of *conversi,* or lay brothers, was admitted as house and farm servants (*famuli*). They were taught the creed, the paternoster, and the "Ave Maria"; they were forbidden to marry, and silence was enforced among them. They were entitled to food, clothing, and shelter from the monastery, in return for which they labored long and hard either on the farms, in the forests and quarries, or in the shops. They were a species apart from the agricultural and industrial serfs.

These *conversi* acted as a medium between the monastery and the outside world. The institution was foreign to the Benedictine Order. They first appeared in 1038 in the Order of Vallombrosa, founded by St. John Gualbertus. In Germany Hirsau first adopted the practice. They were subject to all the obligations and observances imposed upon the

illiterati, but they could not become priests. Their special function was with reference to the material affairs of the monastery. They farmed the granges, they did the heavy work in the interior of the abbey, and they plied those crafts which were necessary to the material life of the community. The *conversi* also acted as commercial agents, going to market with the produce of the abbey lands.

This combination of the ideal and the practical made the Cistercians eagerly sought after as colonizers in the waste lands. They were as truly pioneers in the eastward expansion of the German nation as were the Saxon, Eastphalian, Westphalian, and Thuringian settlers, who at the same time were flocking from the more thickly populated regions of older Germany into the newly conquered and sparsely peopled lands beyond the Elbe. They cleared the forests, they reclaimed the swamps, they drained the marshes, they built levees and dikes to confine the streams, and they made roads and bridges. When the redemption of the wilderness was accomplished they brought new settlers in from the "Old West," conducting these emigrants upon the journey and seeing that they were comfortably housed along the road in the numerous monasteries *en route,* which served as taverns or hostels.

Bishop Otto of Bamberg, the apostle to the Pomeranians, and a friend of Norbert, the Premonstratensian whom Lothar II made archbishop of Magdeburg, recognized the economic possibilities of Pomerania as a place of colonization for the overflowing population of North Germany, when on his first missionary trip.

> Monasteries might certainly be established in this country [writes Herbordus, his biographer]. An incredible number of fish may be obtained there from the sea, also from the lakes and rivers. For a penny one might get a huge quantity of freshly pickled fish. . . . As for wild animals, the country abounds with stags, deer, wild fowls, bears, wild boars, swine, and all kinds of wild beasts. Butter is also to be obtained from cows, and milk from sheep, together with the fat of lambs and rams, and there is great abundance of honey and wheat, of hemp and of poppies and all sorts of vegetables. If the land possessed the vine, olives, and fig trees one might regard it as the promised land in view of the abundance of its fruit trees. The bishop, being unwilling that the land should be without the vine, brought a case of cuttings with him on his second journey, and had them set out so that the land might bring forth wine.

The founding of Kloster Leubus in 1175 is the initial date in the history of Silesia. In that year Boleslav the Lanky of Poland, (1163–1201), aiming to colonize the upper valley of the Oder, invited the Cistercians to settle there. It was the farthest eastern post of German culture in the twelfth century.

As farmers the Cistercians surpassed all other orders. A brother

of the Order, writing at the beginning of the fourteenth century, describes in detestable verse but with genuine and justifiable enthusiasm the work of the Cistercians in civilizing Silesia. He pictures the country as a land of forest and fen inhabited by wretchedly poor and lazy Poles, who used the forked trunk of a tree for a plow, drawn by a pair of scrawny cows or oxen. The people lived without salt or metal or shoes and were pitiably clothed. Nowhere was a town to be found. Markets were held in the open air, where barter took the place of coin.

Although the German Cistercians were determined partisans of the papacy in the conflict between the popes and Frederick Barbarossa, owing to the influence of French Cistercianism over them, many German nobles, even when themselves of Ghibelline persuasion, were favorable to the German Cistercians, for they appreciated the nature of their services as colonizers. But Frederick I himself was less wise.

When Roland, the redoubtable chancellor of Hadrian IV, succeeded to the pontificate and became the formidable Guelf pope Alexander III, the emperor countered by putting up as anti-pope the cardinal Octavian, who took the name of Victor. The Cistercians naturally sustained Alexander, and for that reason Frederick decreed the exile of the Order from Germany. Where the Hohenstaufen arm could reach, their lands were assimilated to the royal fisc, their granges sacked, and the monks themselves driven out of the land, not to return until 1177, when peace was made between pope and Emperor. Then the Cistercians came back in flocks to Germany, where they were popularly hailed as *Friedensengel*, or angels of peace.

One is tempted to think, unless he knows past history, that the policy of conservation of natural resources is a wholly modern movement; that intelligent engineering perished with the Romans until it was revived in the sixteenth century; that the study of soils and geological conditions, the appreciation of economic botany, animal husbandry, plant culture, etc., were utterly unknown until relatively recent times. Swamp reclamation, crude ditching and draining, forest clearing, a little mining and a simple, if not wholly primitive, agriculture are usually believed to have been the limits of man's exploitation of natural resources in the Middle Ages.

But the history of the labors of the Cistercian monks in Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries belies this snap judgment. Almost without exception the Cistercian cloisters in medieval Germany were located in swamp or marsh regions, so that a system of drainage had to be worked out. The ruins of many of their foundations in North Germany still retain traces of these improvements. In the Harz and the hill country of Thuringia the tourist will come upon these remains. The swamps were drained, and the redeemed land (known as polders in Holland) was made fit for tillage and grazing. The water was impounded in reservoirs by

dams and walls and used for both irrigation and milling purposes. The ditches were used as fishponds.

As interesting as their use of engineering was the German Cistercians' effort to utilize the forest. Much of the face of the country was covered with dense forest. But instead of the former haphazard way of making clearings without reference to the value of the soil underneath, the Cistercians studied both the timber and the soil. They knew, or discovered, that where hardwoods grew there good land was to be found. They never wholly denuded the forest, but left patches of standing timber. Moreover, they studied plant life for food purposes, seed germination, grafting of fruit trees, and mayhap even cross-fertilization. We know that in 1273 Dobberan had a glass-roofed house for purposes of plant experimentation. When a brother went on his wanderings he always took with him plants and seeds and slips of trees and brought home whatever herbs and seeds he thought might flourish in the locality of his monastery. In this wise the culture of the grape was extended from the Rhinelands into central Germany. The monks of Altencampen imported the prized vine slips of the vineyards of Basigny around Morimond to Cologne, whence other shoots were taken to Walkenried in Thuringia, and thence to Pforta and Leubus.

The particular history of a few of the more notable Cistercian enterprises in medieval Germany may be of value as illustrating the nature and extent of their labors. One of the most famous of their achievements was the creation of the Goldene Aue, or Golden Meadows.

The traveler who today traverses by railroad the fertile region from Naumburg to Artern would not know that the broad tract, waving with corn in the summer wind, lying between Rosaleben and Artern, was once one of the most terrible swamp lands in all northern Germany. For these Golden Meadows are in the very bottom of the Thuringian Basin. Until the coming of the Cistercian monks hither in the middle of the twelfth century, this region was a wilderness of bog, morasses, and tree stumps. In prehistoric times a lake had been here. The lake had now degenerated to a huge marsh whose sluggish waters found a partial exit through the little river Helme into the Unstrut and thence into the Saale. It was in the shape of a three-pointed star, one extension reaching from Sachsenburg to Meuthen, another, Untere Helmerieth, from Brücken to the Unstrut, and the third, Ober Helmerieth, from Brücken to Sundhausen.

In 1144 Count Christian of Rothenburg an-der-Saale gave a portion of this boggy area near the village of Görsbach to the Cistercians of Walkenried and later much enlarged the tract by subsequent grants. At the same time the archbishop of Magdeburg exempted from payment of the tithe all the land which they might redeem. Within four years there was meadow where once there had been morass only. The monks

then turned their attention to the lower Rieth. In the last years of his reign Frederick Barbarossa, who had learned to esteem those whom he had once persecuted, gave permission to Jordan, a monk of Walkenried, to drain the whole region of the lower Rieth. Not many years afterward the monks of the Goldene Aue had mills in operation at Riethof, Bernigen, Görsbach, Windelhausen, and Kaldenhausen.

In Brandenburg the monks of Zenia had absolute control of the water power round about their monastery, with which they ran their mills. In 1269 they purchased the village of Burchstall, near Prettin, which had to be protected by levees. It was the monks of Zenia who discovered the valuable limestone quarries near Rudersdorf on the Spree, now in the environs of Berlin, and constructed a grange there for exploitation of the stone.

Count Adolph III of Holstein (1164–1203), whose father had been a pioneer in promoting Dutch and Flemish colonization of the marshlands of lower Germany, in 1186 established a colony of Cistercians from the monastery of Lokkum, near Hanover, which had originally been founded by Henry the Lion, in the marshes of the Trave River between Lübeck and Oldesloe. Before the end of the century this fenland became known (and is still locally known) as *"Die Heilsaue."* The Cistercian monastery of Dünamunde, at the mouth of the Düna, owned the island of Ramesholm in the estuary, and erected a mill there in 1226. Dargun in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, founded by Bishop Berno in the ancient land of the Wendish Circipani, after the Wendish Crusade of 1147, was much interested in fishery in the Baltic; in 1270 it was given freedom from tolls for twelve fishing smacks.

As early as 1154 Wolkenrode, in the Thuringian Forest, owned mills at Germer and at Graba, and in 1282 is found negotiating for three additional mills. From the numerous references to Wolkenrode's arable lands and her constant endeavor to acquire new fields it is evident that this monastery was largely engaged in the milling business. In 1229 a farm was purchased at Mühlhausen (the very name is significant) with the proviso that the Cistercians should have the monopoly of the making of beer and the sale of cereals in that locality.

The German Cistercians were both millers and maltsters on a large scale. Reinfeld in Holstein is a typical example of a Cistercian milling corporation. In 1237 four hides of land and a mill in Badow were bought; in 1258 another mill at Börzow, for 244 marks; in 1275 a *conversus* was sent to Nelitz to manage a mill there. In 1272 mention is made of a house in Parchim (near Neu-Brandenburg) which Reinfeld was using as a granary. The count of Schwerin at one time, being hard up for funds, sold the milling monopoly of the city to the local Cistercians for the sum of 1264 marks. It is interesting to notice that the deed mentions both water-mills and windmills. Dobberan in Mecklenburg bought the

mills at Parchim and Plau for 885 marks in 1282; between 1287 and 1292 those at Güstrow for 2050 marks; in 1298 the mill at Guvien for 310 marks, the deed in each case giving the monks a milling monopoly.

By monopolistically controlling such a local need as a mill the Cistercians controlled the cultivation of grain in the neighborhood round about. The farmer had no other way to dispose of his produce; and in order to prevent establishment of other mills which might compete with them in localities where they did not enjoy complete monopoly the monks "cornered" the water rights. The cloisters at Mecklenburg and Neuencampen successfully did this and farmed out the water rights for a good revenue. The damming of the streams sometimes worked serious damage to adjacent property owners. For example, as a result of the damming of the Plöne River, the Madü See (a lake twelve miles long and two miles broad in Pomerania) rose eight feet and inundated many farms round about.

Wherever natural salt springs occurred the Cistercians were not slow to get their hands upon them. The abbot of Altencampen, on a visit to the abbot of Neuencampen in 1298, discussed with him the exploitation of the salt pan at Lüneburg. Already Reinfeld, Dobberan, and Scharnebeck were working "claims" there, and between 1326 and 1329 Amelungsborn entered into the competition. In 1301 Riddigshausen paid 140 marks for right to work the salt pits at Magdeburg. By the middle of the fourteenth century nearly a dozen Cistercian cloisters were working the Lüneburg salt deposits.

In addition to grain-farming and milling the Cistercians everywhere were much given to stock-raising. Hay and fodder was raised and cut for cattle, meat was pickled or salted down, bacon smoked, sausage made, and the hides dressed and tanned. From these enterprises shoemaking, saddlery, and wool-carding naturally developed. In the far north of Germany along the Pomeranian coast and on the island of Rügen, where the cultivation of crops was limited by the cold, the great forests of beech trees afforded mast for feeding swine. In 1241 Barnuta, a brother of Wizlaw I, gave the little island of Koos, which was covered with beech and oak, to the monastery of Hilda in Rügen. Lokkum had a hog farm on the Büchenberg, near Detmold, where there were 133 swine.

The Cistercians seem to have developed animal husbandry to a high degree. In 1300 two armed nobles invaded the premises at Walkenried and drove off numbers of the horses and cattle there. In 1302 the count of Wernigerode and Gebhard von Arnstein robbed a cloister of horses, oxen, sheep, and grain. In 1309 Walkenried was again plundered. Johann von Beberstadt robbed Rüfenstein one night and took away thirty-four horses. A few years later it was again despoiled by the vagabond baron Dietrich von Echleben, and in the scuffle two of the lay

brothers were killed. Horse-raising was an important business among the Cistercians. As early as 1157 we find complaint that they had more horses than could be disposed of. Fixed regulations prevailed, governing their sale. All purchases had to be made within the monastery walls, and no colt was sold until it had grown four teeth. The contract of sale provided that the animal was to be used for *"Nutz-thieren, nicht zu Rennern, Ritterpferden oder Prachtrossen."* Himmelspforte, in the Barmin region, had on one of its large farms 80 head of cattle, over 60 hogs, and more than 800 sheep. The cartularies of the monasteries afford interesting evidence as to cattle and sheep, which were raised in large numbers. The abbey of St. Froidmond near Beauvais sold 7000 fleeces in a single year.

Even in older parts of Germany, like the Rhinelands, where a more intensive agriculture prevailed, the German Cistercians improved upon conditions and introduced new methods of farming. As early as 1140 their stock farms along the Rhine were famous, if we may believe the story told of Eberhard von Altena of whom it is told that in remorse for the number of men he had slain in war with the duke of Brabant he wandered away from home and after much traveling arrived at the Cistercian monastery of Morimund near the Rhine, where he became a shepherd and swineherd. A servant of the count, who by accident visited the cloister, recognized his former master and exclaimed: *"Graf Eberhard hütet die Schweine von diesem Klosterhof."*

Schmoller, in his classic monograph upon the weaving industry in Strassburg, gives high praise to the Cistercians for their promotion of this technical industry. But they not only promoted industry; they also helped to develop better commercial methods through regulations which governed the sale of raw wool, restraint of reselling at higher price, precautions taken against sale of imperfect or shoddy goods, etc.

In Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and the Plattland generally of northern Germany, flax was extensively grown and was manufactured into a sort of canvas cloth. This industry was an old one among the Baltic Wends which the incoming Germans adopted and increased. The peasantry wove a rough, unbleached homespun in their cottages, which they brought to the market to sell. But they had neither the skill, the apparatus, nor the technical methods for the making of high-grade textiles such as the monasteries were able to turn out through possession of fulling mills, dyeing processes, better looms, and, above all, better operatives.

Grape-culture and wine-making was also an extensive industry of the German Cistercians, especially in the Rhine and Neckar valleys. If the grape could not be grown in the locality of the monastery, ground was acquired elsewhere. In Tübingen, where the hills made grape-growing easy, the arbors were thick. Before 1193 Walkenried had planted the vine

at Bodenrode and built a press and a wine cellar; later on, it built a new cellar at Thalheim near Frankenhausen. In 1202 it purchased a vineyard near Würzburg for 150 marks. Each of these establishments was superintended by an expert lay brother. Walkenried had so many vineyards around Würzburg that in 1206 it purchased a site in the town, built a cellar, and opened a store for the sale of wine. At Pforte, where the valleys of the Saale and the Unstrut united, scarcely an acre of the surrounding hills was without its vineyard. We find reference made to vineyards at Borsendorf, Gernstadt, Hecherdorf, Odesrode, and elsewhere. The long arcade which extended from the monastery to the bridge at Almerich was covered with vines. It cannot be precisely ascertained what the extent of Pforte's wine industry was, but the fact that in 1202 Pforte disposed of two hundred tuns of wine in Flanders is interesting. The grape was more widely cultivated in medieval Germany than it is today. It was grown even in Brandenburg and Saxony. In Thuringia, as in Normandy, apple-growing and cider-making was a profitable activity of the monasteries. Here Kloster Georgenthal was famous for its orchards. In 1227 it accepted in liquidation of a debt from a local knight the manors of Haingrupe and Hundsborn, both abounding with apple trees. Pforte had apple orchards as well as vineyards.

Most of the land of the Cistercians, like that of other monks before them, was either rented out or else worked by "lay brothers." The rent was paid partly in money, partly in produce. These dependents of the cloister were subject, like serfs of lay proprietors, to various manorial dues, such as the *zins* (French, *cens*); they paid a death due or *heriot,* which was graduated according to circumstances. If the deceased were married to a serf woman not belonging to the cloister, his heir had to pay one-half of the estate to the monastery. If, however, the wife of the deceased were also a dependent of the cloister, only his best garment had to be surrendered. If the deceased had been a property owner, the house had to be given up as fee to inherit the land; if there were no dwelling upon the land, then half the land. The arm of the medieval Church was long and its heart hard.

As the economic system of the Cistercians prospered modifications ensued. In course of time it was found impracticable for the lay brothers to do all the work, and a new type of dependents grew up (*mercenarii*). These dwelt outside the monastery walls, though on monastery land. The original plot of ground was given to them, but any additional plot had to be leased. The *Lohnarbeiter* took no vows, nor was he bound to the glebe like an ordinary serf. If he was dissatisfied with the terms he was free to remove, although in practice he probably was seldom able to do so for the reason that he was often in arrears for the rent, so much so that his lot outwardly differed little from that of the real serf.

In addition to these servile or semi-servile dependents, there was another and higher class of what might be called pensioners (*familiares*). These were people who in their old age had wished to come to the monastery to live, and who had bestowed upon it their property, receiving an annuity from the cloister. They were recruited from the class of small free proprietors and lesser gentry, who found it hard to protect themselves against the pressure of the great feudality and sought the protection of the Church in this way.

The farms of the monastery were not a contiguous tract, but formed a complex of scattered possessions, frequently several miles apart, on each of which was a village of peasantry and a resident petty bailiff or steward. These holdings were acquired in one of four ways: they might have been formed by natural agglomeration of people around the cloister; they might have been former free villages which had been reduced to dependency (this was especially true of the Wendish villages); they might have been landed gifts made by local proprietors; or they might have been purchased by the monks.

In addition to these farms there were the granges, usually single and often isolated farms. The grange at Wintirbach in Lorraine was worked by four *conversi* and nine servants; we do not know the area of it, but there were 28 head of cattle and 20 goats upon it at one time. Riddigshausen in Saxony had three granges at Remtheim, Mascherode, and Ahlum. Buch about 1352 is found using its grange at Amelgostewitz as a central storehouse and trading-post. Here were a monk who acted as priest and manager, a cook, 2 lay brothers, a farm bailiff, a shepherd, a throng of dependents, and 24 plow horses.

It is clear that the Cistercian monasteries were formed for agricultural exploitation; they expended little on churches or other edifices; few of them maintained any school; they were even indifferent to ministering to the villagers. Instead they farmed especially the staple cereals, as wheat, rye, and barley, and monopolized the milling rights of the community; they cultivated the grape and made wine; they raised flax for linen and sheep for wool; they were orchardists; they were ranchers and stock-raisers.

It is interesting to observe the changing economy. In the beginning the monasteries were wholly occupied in agriculture; then they branched out gradually into industry and finally became engaged in commerce. At the same time, in the course of these changes, the physical radius of the monastery's action enlarged.

Before 1157 no inmate was permitted to go beyond one day's journey from the cloister for the purchase or sale of commodities. In that year the rule was relaxed so that a four days' journey was permissible. At this time the economy of the monastery still was predominantly agricultural. But a little later we see the effect of the production of a sur-

plus in the seeking for a market. Instead of mere barter or exchange of commodities which the monks possessed for those which they needed, a money economy came to prevail, and real trade ensued. The cloisters along the Baltic are discovered in the thirteenth century to be shipping their goods by sea to Lübeck and the Danish ports. The order was so well established in Livonia that in 1204 Innocent III took occasion highly to praise it. By 1209 the Cistercians had several prosperous colonies in Russia.

By 1241 Eldena had the right to hold a weekly market in Rügen. Lübeck and Schwerin were both important Cistercian trading centres; Rostock was another. Dobberan trafficked with Mecklenburg. As early as 1229 the Cistercians in Livonia must have tapped the trade of Russia, for in that year Pope Gregory IX ordered the bishop of Riga, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery there, Dünamunde, and the provost of the city to discontinue trade with Novgorod unless the Russians ceased molesting the Finns, who had lately embraced Christianity. In this century we find grain and wine shipped from the Baltic ports to Norway, and wheat sent from Lübeck to Holland. Some of this produce must have come from the Cistercian foundations in Mecklenburg. Most of the market grants made to the Cistercians date from the thirteenth century, when their cloisters were at the height of their power and affluence, but morally were in decline.

The development of their wine trade illustrates the stages already noted in economic change. In 1134 no wine could be disposed of to outsiders. Late in the twelfth century the vineyards of the Cistercians had become so flourishing that their surplus was seeking a market where it could be found. Some of the cloisters even peddled drinks, erecting booths outside the walls, where lay brothers dispensed the beverage. Later, we find wine sold openly within the precincts of the cloister, it being stipulated, however, that the sale should not be accompanied by any unseemly words or conduct; dicing was particularly forbidden.

The strength of the Cistercian Order was in its adaptation of means to the changed economic conditions in the twelfth century. The Benedictines and Cluniacs had been content with a simple agricultural economy which proved ill adapted to the new times. Hence they gradually lost out. But the Cistercians developed special production according to local conditions, as wine-production, horse-raising, etc., and moreover displayed great activity in marketing their products. The Cistercian houses, too, were in close association with one another. They maintained strict supervision of their enterprises and were careful bookkeepers and accountants. Each house was responsible for the efficiency of all new houses which it founded and both supervised their discipline and audited their accounts.

That the Cistercians soon came to live on the fat of the land is evi-

denced by the following complaint of the abbey of Leubus (1280) concerning the incessant begging of the community round about or the blackmailing tactics of the neighboring nobles. We may read in the *Monumenta Lubensia:*

> Scarcely a month passes by, nay, scarcely a day in which it is not necessary for the abbot to give away something. His monastic garb does not protect him. This one implores, that one threatens. One demands money in mark and pence, another grain, the one bread, the other hay, and he takes at the same time 100 head of sheep. . . . There is hardly a thing to be thought of that is not demanded of the cloister. . . . The third begs for wood, the fourth for hay, the fifth wants to hear the beautiful choral music, the sixth demands that his horse be shod; the seventh would like to have his jug filled; the eighth demands fish; the ninth requests a measure of large cheese; the tenth, seed-cake; the eleventh, apples; the twelfth comes year after year to get cloth for his clothes . . . the thirteenth wants a pair of socks or shoes; . . . but it is far worse when the huntsmen come with their servants and dogs. . . . They are as hungry as wolves and a loaf of bread for one of them is too small. One demands a drink and swears that he will lay waste the cloister; another goes to the cellar door and demands wine, and, cursing, says that he will give not a penny to Christ, still less to the monks.

By the thirteenth century the monks of Citeaux, like the Benedictines and Cluniacs before them, were sunk upon the lees. Wealth, idleness, vice had gradually worked their corruption and decay like that of all the others. The evidence is manifold. Cæsar of Heisterbach, one of the Order and intensely loyal to it, admits this condition time and again. They no longer were actuated by a pioneer spirit, and they shunned the hardships of frontier conditions. Instead they began to cluster in the old and more densely populated regions, where they ousted the peasantry or enclosed their farms to make granges and sheepwalks. Whole villages disappeared in this way.

Donations to monasteries were due to a mixture of religious and worldly motives. One of these was clearly economic. Great tracts were granted in the wilderness because under the Rule of St. Benedict it was known that the monks would clear the forests, drain the swamps and marshes, drive back the savage beasts that menaced the lives of the little hamlets, repair the roads and bridges, and reclaim the waste land. Not only tracts of land, but entire villages, were given to the monasteries, as were other grants, such as right of market, right of collecting tolls and tithes, toll and tithe exemptions, coinage privileges, right of administering justice, use or ownership of mines and salt springs, free use of wood from the forests. The lands were held in fief and subinfeudated by the monasteries. This practice of course deeply involved

the monasteries in the feudal régime—war, lawsuits, political ambition, political conflict.

For the guarding of their broad acres the monasteries imitated the nobles, and in the feudal age converted their retreats into castellated piles of buildings with frowning battlements, moats, bastions, barbicans, and the architectural paraphernalia of the warlike, castle age. These huge stone structures were as expressive embodiments of monastic proprietorship as the feudal castles. The change wrought a revolution in the monastic spirit and ideal; it assimilated the monks with the military feudality. The more spiritual in the Order deplored the new condition. Witness this protest:

> Behold how far we are departed from the simplicity of the ancients in this matter of buildings. What means this loftiness of your structures? Thou shalt not thereby be better defended against the devil, but all the nearer to him. St. Bernard wept to see the shepherds' huts thatched with straw, like unto the first huts of the Cistercians, who were then beginning to live in palaces of stone, set with all the stars of heaven for adornment. You have lost all your freedom for the sake of rich granges and lands.

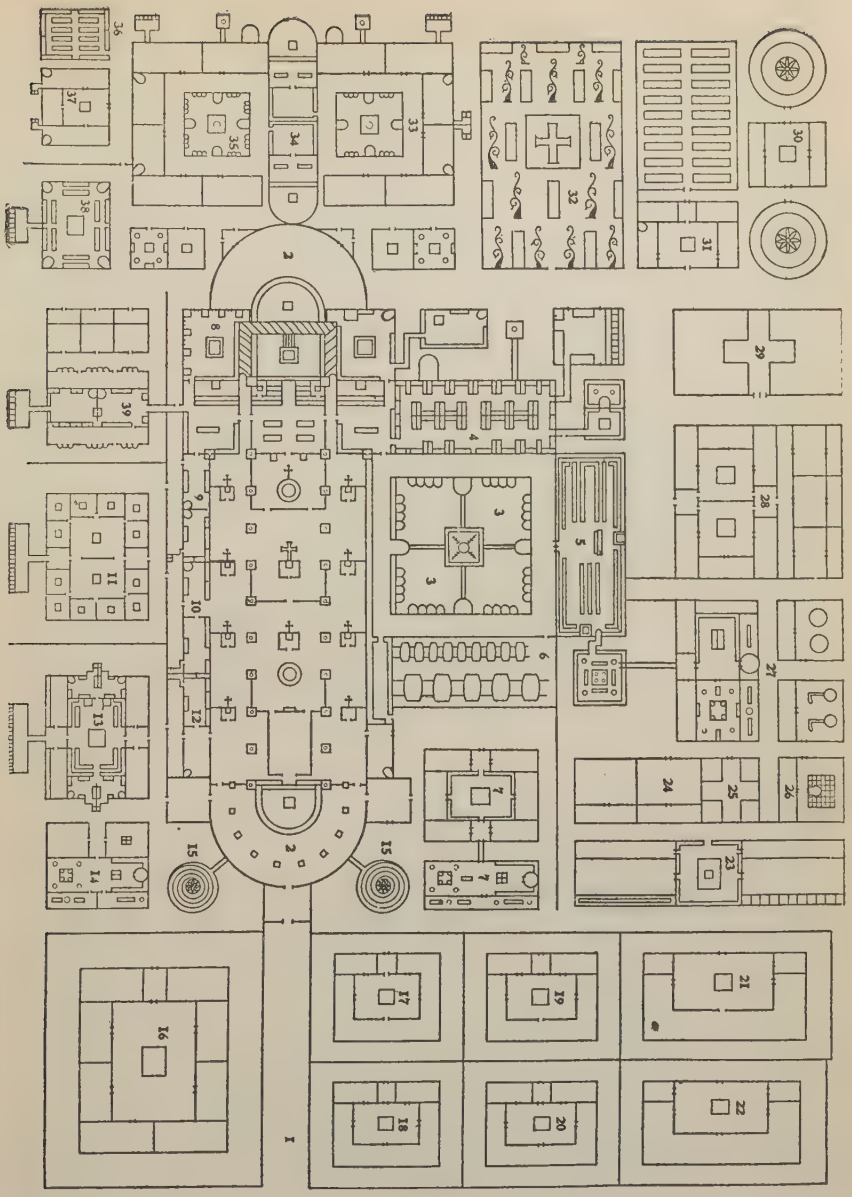
Another medieval writer deplores the heavy services exacted by the monks from the serfs and villeins upon the monastery lands:

> The innocent must die of hunger, with whom these great wolves [i.e. the covetous monks] fill their maws. This grain, this corn, what is it but the blood and bones of the poor folk who have plowed their lands?

Medieval governments, in general, looked askance upon the great growth of the monasteries. Their vows and manner of life alienated the monks from secular activities. The abbots could not be used as freely as the bishops in secular administration or in military affairs owing to the greater isolation and less compact form of government which prevailed in monastic organization. The material wealth of the monasteries was even greater than that of the secular clergy. The monasteries were not only relatively, but absolutely, richer than the bishoprics. They owned a greater proportion of land, and withdrew a greater amount of it from the taxing power of the state through privileges and immunities. Neither the military nor the financial burden upon the monasteries was so heavy as upon the episcopate. Under these conditions the monasteries were of less practical benefit to either the state or society than the secular clergy. Their wealth was out of all proportion to their material needs, such as the daily support of the inmates, the maintenance of schools and hospitals, and poor relief. The "dead hand" kept much of their surplus wealth from free circulation for the advantage of so-

Key

1. Entrance to the church from outside the monastery walls.
2. Church: notice the double apse and many altars.
3. Main cloister, showing the arcades and fountain in the middle.
4. Dormitory, on second floor with heating apparatus underneath.
5. Refectory, on ground floor with wardrobe above.
6. Cellar, with storage room over.
7. Hostelry for pilgrims and wayfarers with bake-house and brewery adjoining.
8. Scriptorium, with library above.
9. Living-room and dormitory for visiting monks.
10. Schoolmaster's apartment.
11. School-room with apartments for teachers adjoining.
12. Porter's lodge.
13. Apartments for notable visitors.
14. Brewery and bake-house pertaining to 13.
15. Towers with circular stairways, the tops of which commanded a wide view.
16. A large structure, the use of which is not clear.
17. Sheep-stall.
18. Quarters for servants.
19. Goat-stall, with quarters for herdsmen.
20. Hog-house, with quarters for swine-herds.
21. Cattle-shed, with quarters for herdsmen.
22. Horse barn, with quarters for hostlers.
23. Stable for mares and oxen, with servants' quarters and hay-loft above.
24. Workshops of woodworkers, coopers and turners.
25. Storehouse for grain for brewing.
26. House for drying fruits.
27. Brewing house and bake-house for resident monks: notice the mortars and handmills.
28. Workshops of leather workers and smiths of various crafts.
29. Granery and threshing floor.
30. Poultry-keeper's house with hen-house and goose-pen adjoining.
31. Gardener's house with kitchen garden adjoining.
32. Cemetery.
33. Cloisters and living-room of the oblates.
34. Church for the novices and for invalids.
35. Hospital.
36. Hospital garden.
37. Physician's office and apothecary shop, with rooms for patients adjoining.
38. Another building for medical purposes.
39. House of the abbot, showing entrance into the church and the main cloister.



GROUND PLAN OF AN IDEAL MONASTERY

Reduced from the original now preserved in the library of St. Gall in Switzerland and made in the ninth century. The entire area measures about 400 feet by 300 feet.

ciety, and it was not forced out into the open, as was the case with the Church's wealth, through government use of the Church.

The incongruity between the enormous wealth enjoyed by many monasteries and the vow of poverty taken by the monks is apparent. The Rule was evaded by the legal fiction that the monastery was a corporation. Individually the inmates possessed nothing; as a group their incomes were very great and—unless a stern abbot rigidly enforced the Rule—the monks lived in luxury. The Rule was more honored in the breach than in the observance. Cæsar of Heisterbach says some Cistercian houses were so rich that they could have fed 5000 persons every day if they had so wished.

The older Benedictine houses almost all strenuously resisted monastic reform. At La Réole the monks killed a prior sent by the abbot of Cluny. In Germany the Benedictines continued to support Henry IV against Gregory VII in spite of papal anathema. The Cluniacs, an order never disposed to do manual labor, became famous for their refined luxury, their delicate table, the elegance of their costume. Avarice, the love of wealth, is a frequent and often just charge made against the monasteries in medieval literature. The hundreds of spurious charters forged by unscrupulous abbots in order to increase the lands of their monasteries, are evidences. Often they turned adversity into benefit. For example, during the invasions of the Norsemen in France and the Magyars in Germany, the monasteries were much despoiled, for the invaders soon discovered that the abbeys were seats of great wealth. But after the tempest of spoliation had passed, their wealth rapidly increased. They were amply compensated for their losses by new endowments by the faithful who were deeply moved by their pathetic appeals. And when gifts were slow in coming in, "with the aid of false charters they got more than they lost." The passionate veneration of relics was sometimes adroitly utilized by the monks in order to secure new grants of land. For it was the usage to parade the relics around the countryside, and wherever the procession stopped the land was claimed as appertaining to the saint. "When the founder and first prior of Grandmont after his death in 1124 commenced to show his sanctity by curing a paralytic knight and restoring sight to a blind man, his single-minded followers took alarm. The saint's successor interceded with the spirit of the deceased, or rather remonstrated: 'Thou hast preached solitude, and now thou seekest to convert our solitude into a market-place and a fair.'"

Moreover, trade brought corrupting influences. In 1223 the council of Béziers complained that the taverns maintained by many monasteries attracted jugglers, strolling players, mountebanks, gamblers, thieves, and lewd women. Rich and powerful abbeys were used to provide lucrative and easy living for younger sons of noble houses. Odilo, the

abbot of Cluny, had a nephew who was abbot of Novalesea in North Italy, and who, instead of living as a monk, surrounded himself with a jovial band of cronies, enfiefed the monastery lands to them, and lived a life of riotous excitement as a warlike baronial cub.

The personnel of an abbey was organized in a businesslike way. Under the abbot was a prior, and often one or more subpriors, who directed the duties of special administrative officials. The chamberlain was responsible for the lands, the revenues, and the movable property of the monastery. Under him was a cellarer or overseer of the storage and the shops, a treasurer or bursar, and an *œconomicus* who was auditor of incomes and accounts.

The arrangement of buildings and lands of a medieval monastery is illustrated by the plan of St. Gall in Switzerland. The abbey included a cloister court, adjacent to the chapter house, with the sacristy between it and the church, separated by a staircase; a cellar for beer, wine, and oil was under the dormitory; on the opposite side of the church were the refectory and kitchens; the lavatory was located in the south cloister walk; an inner court contained an infirmary, a guest-house, kitchen, servants' hall, library, and scriptorium (the writing-room for making and copying books). There were also a common court, with double gateway for carts, surrounded by granaries, bakehouses, stables, storerooms, servant-rooms, tribunal, prison, and barn; in addition were mills, workshops, brewing-house, gardens, fish-ponds.

Like a modern business, the capital of the abbey consisted of fixed and working capital. Fixed capital included the lands, buildings, and equipment. Working or circulating capital was formed of the products of land, labor, commercial profits, market dues, taxes, etc. A medieval abbot was required, if a successful one, to be a man of affairs and keen judgment. Guibert de Nogent, himself an abbot, writes of an efficient abbot who "know how to adapt himself to the manners of the outside world, being courteous and liberal in his dealings with others and in the management of their legal business, in the details of which he spent much care in their behalf. . . . This man was considered shrewder than most abbots in legal business and was well known in towns and cities." Jocelin of Brakelonde's *Chronica* gives a graphic picture of life in and around a medieval abbey, in this case that of St. Edmunds at Bury St. Edmunds, between 1182 and 1202. The minute account of the activities of Abbot Samson is illuminating:

> The abbot caused inquisition to be made throughout each manor, touching the annual quit rents from the freemen, and the names of the laborers and their tenements, and the services due in respect to each, and reduced all into writing. Likewise he repaired the old halls and rickety houses where kites and crows hovered round; he built new chapels and likewise inner chambers and upper stories in many places where there never had been any

dwelling-house at all, but only barns. He also enclosed many parks, which he replenished with beasts of chase, keeping a huntsman with dogs; and upon the visit of any person of quality, sat with his monks in some wood, and sometimes witnessed the coursing of dogs. He improved much land and brought it into tillage. . . . In managing these manors as well as in all other matters, he appointed keepers who were far more careful than their predecessors. . . . After Easter the abbot surveyed every one of the manors of the abbey. . . . He built barns and ox stalls, being above all things solicitous to dress the land for tillage and watchful in preserving the woods, in respect whereof either in giving or diminishing, he was very chary. . . . He often became hoarse from exposure to the weather.

Jocelin tells us of Abbot Samson that "he seemed to love the active rather than the contemplative life, and he gave more praise to good office-bearers than to good choir-monks; he seldom commended any one merely for his learning unless he had a knowledge of secular affairs; and when he heard of any prelate's retiring from the care of souls and becoming an anchorite, in this he praised him not." He also relates in lively fashion a quarrel between the abbot of St. Edmunds and the bishop of Ely about timber to be cut for building. The woods to be cut belonged to St. Edmunds and the bishop asked permission to cut the timber. Owing to a confusion of names it was necessary to make a second request. Meanwhile the abbot had selfishly cut the wood and marked it for his own use. At the same monastery, Abbot Samson built many useful, many pious edifices, dwellings, churches, church-steeples, barns, also the Hospital of Babwell, fit houses for the St. Edmundsbury School. Roofs thatched with reeds he caused to be thatched with tiles.

The new monastic orders, one and all born of reforming tendencies and revivalism, like Cluniacs, Cistercians, the Dominican and Franciscan Friars, while they often aided to relieve certain evil conditions in society, nevertheless themselves in time created new evils or repeated old ones. The growing emancipation of the monasteries from both episcopal and secular control, from the inception of the Cluniac and Gregorian reform, tended to make the monastic orders dangerously independent of the state and worked against both nationalism and monarchy. It is in the very time when these orders were most popular and most flourishing that we also discover incisive criticism of not only the abusive practices and corruption of monasticism, but criticism of the very principle of the institution. The great multiplication of monasteries and convents, the great increase in the number of inmates in them disrupted families, and the undue diversion of private property to them often reduced families to poverty. The protest against monasticism does not come entirely from the laboring peasantry upon the lands of the monasteries. It comes from intelligent (though sometimes jeal-

ous) bishops and nobles, government officials, courtiers. Cæsarius of Heisterbach has written at length of the virtues of Ensfrid, dean of St. Andreas in Cologne, and quotes him as saying: "A good tree cannot spring from an evil root. There be few monks in these days who have entered by canonical ways; few who are not either blood-clerks [that is, foisted by their families] or jester-clerks [that is, those who have been imposed upon the monastery by influence] or simoniacs, who had purchased membership in the order." Guibert de Nogent, himself a monk, had that rare quality of mind which enabled him to look upon both sides of a question. While a true and honest monk, he was not blind to the evils of the institution. He complains of the "enormous number of men living a pious life"; of the "congestion of several monasteries, noted for their huge size, in which the zeal of the brotherhood fell away"; of the abuse arising from infeudation of abbey lands; of the practice among noble families of finding an easy place for a ne'er-do-well in a monastery; of the pride which made monks refuse to labor with their hands since manual labor was considered base by the aristocracy; of "slack morals and waste of moneys." But Guibert was human. When he observes that rich men are learning to look askance upon monasticism, closing their purses and no longer giving land as formerly, he is incensed. "In the old days," he rails, "men with a generous desire to found monasteries, bestowed on them lands and money, spending their substance on such works more freely and gladly than their sons favor us now with buttered words."

The vulgar charge frequently made that medieval monks were gluttonous, wasteful, extravagant, and profligate is belied by the hundreds of cartularies or inventories which have been preserved, and which show care, intelligence, and honesty in management. The enormous economic betterment of medieval Europe which the monks achieved proves them as a whole to have been intelligent landlords and agriculturalists. Agriculture was the chief economic activity of the monasteries, but the necessity of marketing their surpluses drew them into trade and commerce. The rich abbey of Maubuisson is a type of the time. The accounts of the abbey reveal the abbot augmenting his resources by selling hogs, charcoal, leeks, iron, building stone, timber. The cost of its erection is spread out in detail in the records. The enumeration of its luxurious furnishings throws interesting light upon what it was possible to purchase at the fair of Lendit. In 1110 the abbot of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire procured from Henry I the grant of a fair at St. Ives to begin shortly after Easter and last for a week.

Two types of markets specified in the records were weekly and annual markets. In many grants the day upon which the weekly market could be held was stated. St. Denis was granted a Tuesday market for its village of Cormeliæ near Versailles; Lorsch at Weinheim, St.

Ghislain at Horna, and Andlan for its village in Alsace were granted Wednesday markets. But Thursday was the favorite day for many monastery markets. There are no records for Friday markets (the day of the passion) and very few for Saturday. Many monasteries received grants for conducting both weekly and annual markets. The annual markets were usually held on the patron saint's day and for several days or weeks after it. St. Denis held its annual market in October, opening it on the ninth, the feast of St. Dionysius, and continuing for four weeks to accommodate strangers who came from foreign lands. Monastery St. John at Bishopsburg opened its market on June 24, St. John's Day; St. Matthias, on the feast day of its patron saint. The monastery at Essen conducted its annual market three days before and three days after its saint's day, the feast of Cosmas and Damianus, September 27.

If the market was not held upon the feast day of its patron saint it was held upon some other great holy day, the aim being to buy and sell at the time when the greatest number of people assembled. Complaint was made that it was difficult to get the crowds into the church for the mass after they had assembled at the market. Fulda conducted its annual market on Palm Sunday, extending it on to Easter Day. Metten opened one of its markets on Whitsunday, the other in the autumn, on St. Michael's Day, September 29. Kauffington held its annual market on St. John's Day.

Proximity to a church edifice gave added protection, especially after the enforcement of the peace of God. The neighboring graveyard or cemetery was a favorite location, although often the church edifice itself was used. The chronicler relating the miracles of St. Philibert tells of a market belonging to St. Denis that was held within the church itself. When the merchandise was not actually present at the market the buyer was compelled to assume the risk of transportation, that is to say, to protect it from the thieves that infested the highways and the pirates on the rivers. A record shows that the abbot of St. Gereon bought wine at the monastery market in Cologne but was obliged to go to Worms for it. This was one of the peculiarities of the monastery trade of the Middle Ages.

A few records only specify just what trade was to be carried on at any given place. Otto I permitted several monasteries to establish cattle markets on their possessions. The merchandise of the monastery markets was the surplus of their agricultural products and the products of the various industries. The Benedictines and Cluniacs, when secular markets and fairs developed, also disposed of their products in these as well as in their own abbatial market. But the rules of Citeaux forbade the Cistercians to sell their products in secular places. Produce and wares were sold directly on the monastery's estates and cash payment

was invariably exacted. No deferred payments or partial payments were allowed, nor were articles bartered or exchanged for other articles. The prevalence of a money economy in their time—the twelfth century—made this rule more easily enforceable than in earlier centuries.

In theory the monasteries, in disposing of their surplus, were supposed to use their gains for religious purposes. When we read of the vast amount of charitable work done by these monasteries and see the beautiful buildings that were erected during this period, we realize that much of their gain was used for this purpose, but the monasteries also heaped up vast treasures as a result of their commercial activity.

The amount of surplus at the disposal of the monasteries can be judged only by the extent of their holdings. A few records mention specific things in connection with some of the monasteries. Pabo at Regensburg and St. Emmeran on the left bank of the Regen near Unter Mensbach had permission to cut down timber for two days each week from the Nord Wald. The chronicler states that the neighboring secular lords tried to prevent the monks from driving across their land with this wood, thus making it hard for the monasteries to conduct their lumber trade.

The manors furnished a surplus of wheat, rye, oats, barley, and spelt; hogs, sheep, lambs, goats, fowl, ducks and geese, etc. Only a small part of the monastery lands was under cultivation by the monks, the remainder was allotted out to laborers, dairymen, foresters, serfs, etc., all of whom paid their dues and rents in kind. Eggs, cheese, mustard, shingles, posts, torches, kegs, casks, etc., are among the articles enumerated in the records. Women spun and wove linen cloth and sewed garments for the monks. The serfs worked in the forest, made charcoal, conducted the fish hatcheries and the bee culture for which the monasteries of the Middle Ages were noted. They tilled the fields, cultivated the vine, furnished oxen, horses, and carts for transport service, and propelled rude craft along the waterways.

The aggregate of their own surplus products, tolls and tithes from their holdings, quit-rents, etc., must have been a large amount. Tegernsee received annually from its possessions 6288 measures of grain, 14,529 cheeses, 2025 eggs, and 33 wagonloads of wine. It required fifty-five oxen and wagons to haul the grain of this monastery from Funsing to the granaries. Prüm received annually, according to ninth century records, 432 measures of salt, 300 of wheat, 177 of rye, 473 of spelt, 1631 of barley, 4525 of oats, 469 of grain, 4382 chickens, 20,896 eggs, 4277 hogs, 207 sheep, etc.

The monasteries had their trade well organized. They used the bypaths for the packhorses, and the highways for the oxen and carts. The paths and short cuts for foot travelers were well known to them. They had their own boats upon lakes and rivers. They acquired places

of deposit in seaport towns and in bends of rivers, and when necessary built warehouses to hold their merchandise. They organized caravans and sent escorts to convoy back to the monastery the goods bought by their "negotiators." The practice of using agents was a common one. Regino, abbot of Prüm, stated to his monks that it was not within their province to travel about conducting their trade in person, since this detracted from the high esteem in which the Order should be held because of its spiritual character. Prüm was one of the most important trading centres of the Middle Ages. It regularly employed six agents in the wine and salt trade. Later it increased the number of its agents to twelve.

Monasteries which did not possess markets of their own established warehouses or *halles* at neighboring markets. Here they stored their surplus until a chance to make a good profit came. Several warehouses were erected in the outer market at Cologne on an island in the Rhine. Fulda erected its own scale in a market at considerable distance from the monastery.

"The situation of a monastery upon the banks of a navigable river contributed materially to the development of its capabilities, affording an easy communication. . . . Yet to a considerable extent it was independent of these advantages since it enjoyed the valuable privileges of a fair within its own town. The keenness with which the exercise of this right was attacked, and the pertinacity with which it was defended afford proof of the value at which it was regarded." [2] Almost all monasteries received immunity from toll along highways and rivers. Many records of such toll exemptions exist. These exemptions grew out of the feudal conditions under which the monasteries were conducted. The abbot kept under his control all the various scattered holdings and sought every possible means to render his control effective. As the monasteries entered more and more into trade as a means of increasing their incomes, a closer connection between the central organization and its dependents became necessary. Markets were established at the monastery itself and at convenient points near its most valuable holdings.

As a result of donations the monasteries came into possession of widely scattered lands. The monastery St. Gall not only had possessions in Switzerland on Lake Constance, but owned vast tracts in Swabia, Neustria, Austrasia, Alsace, and even Italy. Such gifts, while making the monasteries great economic factors of the feudal régime, carried with them the germs of their disintegration and the break-up of feudalism. With their possessions so widely scattered it became increasingly difficult to maintain a strong centralized organization and to manage their holdings so as to make them profitable to the monas-

[2] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, II, introd. lxxvii.

tery. Strenuous efforts were made to overcome this condition of decentralization and to regulate the trade and commerce of the monastery in such a way as to bring the highest returns possible from its possessions. Exemptions from tolls, market rights at the monasteries themselves or at central places located near their most productive holdings were obtained, and the right of exploitation of mines or salt springs was leased to responsible parties. The most important means at the command of the monasteries was to exchange possessions widely scattered for those more centrally located. This was, however, difficult to accomplish, chiefly because most donations had been given with a stipulation making it binding on the monastery to retain the land in its possession and also because the rule of the Church demanded that all exchanges should be of advantage to the monastery, and such an exchange was not easy to obtain.

An example in point to show how widely scattered the possessions of the monasteries were, and how vital it was to the monastery trade to secure toll exemptions is Werden on the Ruhr. In 880 it owned vast holdings in the former crown lands of Fremersheim on the Rhine. These were well stocked with cattle. A little to the south on the Erst it had a fine manor adjoining the royal demesne land. On the middle Rhine it owned several large vineyards. At the Rhine mouth it had great stretches of meadow land including eight manors on which were immense herds of cattle and of swine. On a strip which reached from the Yssel to the Zuydersee it had a large number of tenants who paid quit rents to the monastery; also the village of Wachszinsige. In Westphalia it owned four or five villages and about 330 hives of bees that paid quit rents, all widely scattered. In Friesland it had 82 smaller manors, also widely scattered, most of which brought in an income in money. It had here also under its control several tracts of forest land and several churches. It also possessed several places supplying salt, one of these being located in the vicinity of Werl in Westphalia, where salt is mined today. In all it owned over 200 villages, and 420 large manors as well as hundreds of smaller tracts. Yet it is listed later as one of the poor monasteries.

The advantage of exemptions from toll in bringing merchandise from scattered territories to the monastery itself or to one of its great central markets can be readily seen. Werden succeeded in gaining toll exemption for the Neuss district in 877. In 898 it gained from Zwentibold exemption from tolls on the Rhine, and a little later exemption for the entire kingdom.

There are records of exemptions for the late Merovingian period. In the eighth century the abbots of St. Germain-des-Près and St. Denis were granted exemption from toll or other royal tax. In 716, Corvey had not only privileges of free transport from the monastery to its

seaport Fos, but also the right to requisition ten horses and twelve wagons to carry its merchandise. The abbots of Corméry near Tours, St. Mesmin near Orleans, Fleury and St. Benoist, were all given free navigation of the Loire. St. Aigrain in Orleans kept six boats on the Loire in the time of Pepin, and was released from paying toll along the entire length of the river. Pepin further decreed that all monastic merchandise that was transported through his kingdom without use of wagons, oxen, or horses should be exempt.

Not only did the monasteries strive to obtain exemption from toll for their produce on the great highways leading from their fields and vineyards or to their markets, but they also sought a monopoly of specific trade in the districts in which their markets were located. Reichenau received the exclusive right to sell its wines throughout the district in and about its market at Allenbach. Its tenants, dependents, and small farmer neighbors were prohibited from marketing wine, although they were at liberty to market their surplus in other products at the monastery market. At some markets the rival producers were permitted to sell in small quantities for immediate consumption, but could not sell it by the cask. In some districts the monasteries had the monopoly of vine-growing and could lay a ban against any infringement of this monopoly except for private consumption, while the small producer was forced to use the monastery wine-press and pay a generous toll in wine for the privilege. Many monasteries controlled not only the amount of wine produced in their regions, but also the time and methods by which their competitors disposed of their surplus. St. Maximin had the exclusive right of sale during several weeks following the feast of St. John. It not only pressed this advantage to the limit, but went so far as to threaten traders at its market who neglected to purchase a goodly supply of wine, and a quantity which the market master deemed suitable to supply their needs would be charged to their account and be shipped by the monastery at the buyer's risk to his home.

The extent of the cattle and live-stock trade of the monasteries cannot be accurately determined. During the period of purely natural economy cattle were raised for the specific purpose of providing for the needs of individual sections rather than to supply a medium for exchange. Only in the large towns did the butcher ply his trade. Many monasteries, however, sought and received the privilege of handling meats at their markets.

The salt trade of the monasteries ranked in importance with the wine trade. The salt deposits of Reichenhall in Bavaria, Marsal in Lorraine, and probably Salzburg in the Tyrol had been profitable during Roman times and had continued throughout the migration period. The monasteries early recognized the great advantage accruing from the possession of salt deposits. Throughout the Middle Ages there was

an ever increasing demand for salt, and the possession of various privileges assured the monastery of a definite and lucrative income. During the manorial period, almost every salt spring was owned wholly or in part by some monastery.

The monasteries operated these salt mines themselves whenever possible. If, however, the distance from the monastery to the place was great, the privilege of operation was farmed out, and operated on shares, the monastery agreeing to furnish the necessary equipment. Two methods were used to bring the salt to the surface from the mines, one by means of underground shafts, the other by the use of water wheels. Monastery Weissenburg sunk shafts in its salt mine at Marsal, while Prüm and Metlach used water-engines. These engines were used throughout Bavaria also. The salt on reaching the surface was placed in small iron vats or kettles and heated over a slow fire. Many of these kettles and stoves were required and gifts of this kind were eagerly sought by the monastery.

Forest grants in connection with the ownership of salt privileges were most necessary; hence there are recorded many donations of forest lands near the salt mines or of the privilege to cut wood at stated times and to haul this wood to the settlement near the salt mine. These settlements were usually fair-sized colonies of serfs from the monastery lands over whom one or more overseers were placed in charge. Little huts were erected for their use, and they were allotted strips of land for cultivation. Tegernsee kept twenty serfs permanently located at its village of Achselmannstein in Reichenhall.

The salt was packed in sheets or layers in small tubs of various sizes. It varied in quality and price. Every care was taken to safeguard it and to expedite transportation. The salt belonging to Altaich at Reichenhall was transported by wagons to the Salzoch, sent by boat via the Inn River to Passau, carried by pack animals across to the Danube River and by boat on the Danube to Altaich. The roads were carefully safeguarded, right of way being obtained from the various lords, with exemption from tax and toll wherever possible. The income received from the salt trade became the basis of the vast treasure that many monasteries succeeded in accumulating during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Both raw and skilled labor existed in plenitude in a medieval monastery owing to the thousands of serfs upon its glebe lands.

Agriculture was, of course, the main occupation of these laborers, but many were employed as artisans, manufacturing utensils and articles which were by-products of agriculture, like harness, saddles, shoes, woolen and wooden goods. In a large abbey these workers lived in "quarters" outside the monastery walls, each "quarter" being devoted to a fixed occupation. The abbey St. Riquier is an interesting in-

stance of this kind. In the economy of a monastery specialization of occupation was carried out very far. We find gardeners, drivers, herders, plowmen, hostlers, butchers, foilers, fullers, carders, weavers, copper and iron smiths, wheel-wrights, carpenters, masons, tile-makers, millers, fishers, fowlers, bakers, bee-keepers, foresters. The monastic system was favorable to the development of malting and brewing, and for several centuries the monks were renowned for the excellent malt they made and the ales they brewed. The brewing qualities of the Burton water appear to have been discovered by monks in the thirteenth century. Up to the twelfth or thirteenth century the preparation of beer on any large scale was done by the monks.

The finer arts also were represented by men of superior talent or technique, as wood and stone carvers, gilders, painters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, parchment makers. Those manorial communities adjacent to the walls of a monastery were often wholly composed of industrial artisans. Sometimes, though, the shops were within the precincts, installed in basements, alcoves, and cloisters for greater convenience or security. A regulation of the twelfth century advised this practice as conducive to greater protection.

All this labor, as said, was servile, and it must also be remembered that the monks enjoyed many privileges and exemptions. Hence the cost of production of articles of manufacture and the cost of merchandising natural produce was less for the monks than for free artisans or merchants. The latter not unnaturally regarded clerical competition as unfair competition, and with the rise of the towns and the organization of craft and merchant gilds a bitter animosity arose. The anticlericalism evinced in the economic legislation of the towns had its root in this feeling. The sentiment is manifested in the thirteenth century, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth it became widespread and pronounced, so much so that economic anticlericalism may be regarded as a factor in promoting the Reformation.

The avarice and covetousness of the clergy, especially of the regular clergy, is an object of wide and bitter denunciation in medieval literature. While some of this vituperation must be taken with reservation because of the widespread envy of the wealth of the monasteries, enough of truth remains to justify the charge, Good old Richard de Bury thus fulminates against the monks:

> Flocks and fleeces, crops and granaries, leeks and potherbs, drinks and goblets are nowadays the reading and the study of the monks. . . . Alas, a three fold care of superfluities, viz., of the stomach, of dress, and of houses has seduced them. . . . Forgetting the providence of the Saviour, who is declared by the psalmist to think upon the poor and needy, they are occupied with the wants of the perishing body, that their feasts may

be splendid, their garments luxurious, against the Rule, and the fabrics of their buildings, like the battlements of castles, carried to a height incompatible with poverty.

Of the convent of Canterbury in the twelfth century we read:

The influx of wealth produced a corresponding lavish and luxurious outlay. The hospitality of the convent became famous in all the western church, from the crowds of pilgrims who returned from the shrine of the martyr. The internal expenditure was also immense. The refectory was the scene of the most abundant and tasteful feastings. Seventeen dishes were served up at the prior's table. The servants and equipage of a hundred and forty brethren were numerous and splendid.

Giraldus Cambrensis, a caustic critic yet an honest observer of the Cistercians in the days of their plenitude, offers some apology for their corruption:

A good intention [he says], I suppose, is the occasion of this greed of theirs which is denounced throughout the world; it arises from the hospitality which the members of this order, although in themselves the most abstemious of all others, indefatigably exercise, in their unbounded charity to the poor and to strangers. And because they have no revenues, like others, but live entirely by labor and the produce of their hands, they greedily seek for lands with so much effort, in order that they may provide sufficient for these purposes, and so they strive to get farms and broad pastures with unabated perseverance.

We have observed in the history of the development of monastic economic enterprise that successive stages are manifest. At first the monasteries were agricultural colonies; then they began to market their produce; then to manufacture commodities like wooden and leather goods, textiles, and metal wares. Inevitably, as the economic and social life of Europe grew more complex, new forms of investment were found. Hence it is no surprise in course of time, when a money economy had largely supplanted the old natural economy, to find the monasteries developing a mortgage and loan business and finally becoming the earliest banking corporations of the Middle Ages.

The famous canonical prohibition against the exaction of "usury" or interest was a dead letter; for it was readily evaded by fictions and subterfuges. For example, a common argument was that, as the monastery was a corporation and not a person, no sin was attached to the taking of usury; or at the time a loan was made the collateral was so large that the monastery would make a handsome profit in event of default of payment; or when the loan was made the grantee was re-

quired to make a "gift" to the monastery apart from the collateral he might put up; or when the loan was paid the borrower was expected to make an additional "gift." By loaning the money for a short term the monasteries made it practically impossible for the borrower to redeem his property. Very frequently the monastery canceled a loan on condition that the tract of land which was held as security should be donated to the monastery.

In time the loan business of the monasteries became so extensive that the abbots were compelled to seek the assistance of trained officials to handle the various transactions of this character. Jews and Lombards were hired for this purpose since they were the skilled money-changers and brokers of this period. The extent of this monastic loan business and the importance that it assumed in facilitating the conduct of business fully justifies one in calling the monasteries the first bankers of the Middle Ages.

The Crusades especially promoted the mortgage business of the monasteries, for in the sudden call for ready money the nobles eager to take the road of the cross either sold their lands for a low price or mortgaged them at exorbitant interest for cash in hand. The ransom of King Richard I in 1192 and that of Louis IX of France in 1248 required his subjects to raise coin or bullion in great quantity, which the monasteries largely furnished, taking a mortgage upon the lands of the nobles as security.

From mortgages and the profits of their markets and trade it was a natural transition to actual banking.

> The ecclesiastical foundations during the eleventh and twelfth centuries were the only money-lenders; they alone possessed well-kept barns; they alone were masters of a surplus, and even in the last decade of the thirteenth century, as is shown by an analysis of the debts contracted by a Lotharingian knight, a man might fall into the clutches of confiding nuns and monks.[2]

But many an abbot found that dabbling in the high finance of the epoch of the Crusades, with its multitude of complex and fluctuating values, was perilous practice. The growth of royal authority, the rise of the towns, the enfranchisement of the serfs, the development of commerce and industry from the twelfth century onward, diminished the sources of political power and the opulence of the monasteries. With shrinking incomes the abbots sometimes had recourse to financial expedients which often proved disastrous. In the second half of the twelfth century, there is a visible decay of monastic revenues. Some stewardships became hereditary. Attempts failed to put stewards on salaries or

[2] Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, I, 257–58.

in some other way restore their older economic dependency. The crusading orders of the Knights Templar, the Knights of the Hospital, the Teutonic Knights, caught the popular favor in the twelfth century so that donations to the older monastic orders began to fall off. Landed wealth began to suffer from the competition of new forms of wealth derived from an awakening commerce and industry, so that many abbeys found themselves "land-poor." And this peculiar form of poverty was aggravated by the scattered nature of a monastery's landed holdings. In vain the abbots endeavored to consolidate their lands by exchange for others, or purchase. The long distance often to the abbey market made it impossible for these outlying domains to send their produce thither, and hence the priors or bailiffs of such farms marketed their produce in a secular market which deprived the abbey of much of the profit it would otherwise have derived from the transaction. Moreover, these local managers, as the grip of the abbot relaxed, tended to make themselves more and more independent, so that finally the abbey was practically deprived of all income from such lands.

> The possession of large estates and the necessity of studying economy in all its branches, had converted abbots and priors from simple religious men exclusively devoted to God's service into great land-owners with all the troubles and annoyances of land-owners, surrounded by grumbling and refractory tenants.[4]

The failure of many abbeys to consolidate their lands was undoubtedly an important cause of their economic decline.

> As distant farms and manors fell into the hands of different monastic bodies, either their engagements to provide for the erection of some religious foundation, or the necessity of looking after their estates, made it necessary to despatch one or two monks, generally under a prior, to take possession. Removed from the stricter discipline of the larger house, often without the means of carrying it on, no longer under vigilant supervision, the tenants of these cells, as they were called, soon abandoned, under various pretenses, the rigid rules of their order.[5]

Moreover, the cost of living increased greatly during the twelfth century. Protracted litigation to recover debts and to foreclose defaulted mortgages consumed revenues. The rise of the towns and the Crusades drew the serfs away from the domains of the monasteries, so that frequently resort had to be made to casual hired labor at high wages. Too great expansion in the earlier era, when land was a profitable investment, in the purchase of land which brought inadequate returns in the next

[4] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera,* IV, introd. viii (Rolls Series).
[5] *Ibid.,* IV, introd. xxiv–xxv.

century, compelled monasteries caught in such plight to mortgage their own lands, usually to Jews. Bad or unwise management of monastic property was a common cause of decline and even of bankruptcy. Abbot Hugh of Vézelay was deposed in 1206 for having put the abbey in debt to the amount of 2220 livres silver. St. Omer was nearly bankrupt at the end of the thirteenth century. The abbot of Bury St. Edmunds borrowed money from a Jew named Benedict in order to make some repairs to the abbey, but was unable to repay it. When his creditor pressed him he went on a futile pilgrimage to the shrine of St Thomas à Becket in the hope of recruiting his fortune. He died en route and there were not pence enough in the coffers of the abbey to defray his funeral expenses. The debts of the monastery when Samson became abbot amounted to 3952 pounds, which must be multiplied six or eight times to arrive at the present value of money. Jocelin of Brakelonde gives a vivid account of the penury of the monastery at the accession of Abbot Samson. "Hugh the abbot was old and his eyes were dim, a pious and kindly man, yet not wise in worldly affairs. . . . Everything got worse and worse. There was but one resource and relief to the abbot and that was to negotiate a loan on interest [notice that he is paying, not collecting interest], in order in some measure to keep up the dignity of his house." He borrowed 880 pounds—an enormous sum—from a Jew of Norwich (the same who later brought the downfall of the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds). Fortunately Samson was an able manager and within twelve years had paid off the debt.

The commonest financial device to effect recuperation of a monastery thus involved was the sale of annuities, pensions, and corrodies, which were mere food pensions. But unless the capital thus acquired was wisely employed or invested, these measures were a precarious resource.

The fundamental cause, however, of the economic breakdown of the monasteries was certainly the passing of the manorial system upon which the economy of every monastery was based. The monasteries had arisen during the epoch of a natural economy and they were ill-adapted to adjust themselves to the new economic revolution which began early in the twelfth century, and which, by the time the thirteenth century opened, had wrought an economic and social revolution in medieval Europe. The lands which they had extensively acquired by mortgage could not be profitably worked according to the old economic system, and the monks could not readily adapt themselves to the new conditions. The monasteries in last analysis were the victims of their own once excellent but now obsolete economic system.

Economic involvement quite curiously made the monks papalists. For the high pontificate of Innocent III and his successors enjoyed enormous revenues, as will be shown in the succeeding chapter, and the popes were quick to take advantage of the impoverishment of the monasteries to

bind the monks more firmly than ever to the throne of St. Peter. This they accomplished by themselves making loans to them or underwriting the loans which they might succeed in negotiating. For by the thirteenth century investment in monastic property was everywhere regarded as unsafe. The monks of Canterbury in 1188 bitterly complained because the Roman bankers looked with suspicion upon any loan unless it was backed by papal security.

Far-reaching political results were destined to flow from this state of things. As the new national monarchies arose and resented with increasing indignation the papal claims to temporal sovereignty over them, "the monks looked to the court of Rome for sympathy and assistance." On the other hand, "as the bishops and secular clergy opposed themselves to Roman centralization, the monasteries became colonies of Roman partisans. Their sympathies and antipathies were all in common with Rome, and their national spirit evaporated. . . . When the pope and the king quarreled, the nation sided with the king, the monks with the pope; hence the monasteries became more papal as the state became more national." [6]

Under Philip II (1180–1223) the French crown broke away from monastic tutelage and pinned its faith upon the allegiance of the bishops, with the result that the bishops became props of the monarchy and the power of the abbots was greatly reduced. So far did the French kings carry this repression of the monks that even the abbeys themselves were destroyed, which accounts for the few examples of well preserved abbeys found in northern France. In Norman and Plantagenet England, on the other hand, the kings played the two branches of the clergy against each other and so maintained the balance of power in their own hands. Hence England preserved its abbeys until Henry VIII abolished the orders.

But this breakdown of the monasteries which is manifest about 1200 was not wholly due to economic adversity. The constituency of the monasteries experienced a profound social change in the twelfth century. The older orders had been largely—the Cluniacs wholly—recruited from the families of the feudal aristocracy. The upper class in the feudal age represented the stronger, the more intelligent, the abler element in medieval society. The feudal system with its concepts of the nobility of service, fidelity, honor, coupled with the wealth which the upper class possessed, on the whole bred men of stronger physique, stronger mental ability, and stronger moral fibre than were found among the lower classes, whom generations of hard labor and servile bondage had made heavy and gross. The physique and the intelligence of the peasantry were generally on a lower level than those of the aristocracy and the peasants were wholly without the tradition of service and long experi-

[6] Stubbs, *Introductions to the Rolls Series*, 371.

ence in administration and public affairs which the feudal aristocracy possessed.

Accordingly, as serfdom declined and towns began to rise, the new monastic orders began to be invaded by monks of peasant birth, who, though they might be actuated by the best intentions, were unable to continue as successfully as their predecessors the management of the monasteries. This breakdown of aristocratic control of the monasteries coincides, it is significant, with this invasion from below. It first became apparent in the Hirsauer monasteries, the popular offshoot of the Cluniacs, and was continued in the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and other minor orders which grew up in the twelfth century.

I am aware that this sort of argument may be repugnant to those who are deeply imbued with a reverence for and a faith in democracy. But what is "progress"? and of what criteria does "progress" consist? History shows many examples of advance side by side with conditions of stagnation or retrogression in other things. The current conception is rarely analyzed.

The decadence is most strikingly manifested in the deterioration of education and intellectual pursuits in the monasteries. Every student of medieval history is familiar with the fact that by the twelfth century the schools of the monasteries were far inferior to the cathedral schools, which were under the management of the secular clergy. The catalogues of monastic libraries, too, afford important information in regard to this intellectual decay of the monasteries. Many of the manuscripts of these libraries went back to the ninth and tenth centuries, and the production of manuscripts was an important occupation of medieval monks. What do we find? Taking two typical monastic houses, each once famous for its school and the cultivation of letters, we discover a significant decline in the production of manuscripts, as the subjoined table illustrates:

	Reichenau	*St. Gall*
9th	century..100	237
10th	" 29	86
11th	" 7	49
12th	" 4	54

A more sinister evidence of monastic degeneracy than economic decay or intellectual decline, was the tendency to suicide in the monasteries. Accusations of mere immorality, although abundant, must be somewhat discounted. As a class monks were certainly not more dissolute than other classes of medieval society. It must always be remembered that public opinion in the Middle Ages judged the monks by the standard of perfection, not by the standard prevailing in secular society.

By the end of the twelfth century the Cistercians, Premonstratensians,

and lesser orders which had appeared in the previous century were verging toward decay. As the Cluniacs had followed the Benedictines in the tenth century, as the Cistercians had followed the Cluniacs in the eleventh, so in turn the Cistercians themselves were followed in the thirteenth century by the Franciscans, or Begging Friars, and the Dominicans, or Preaching Friars. Time had antiquated them. Their luxury and avarice estranged them from sympathy. They were incapable of adapting themselves to the new, anti-feudal drift of things toward town life, commerce and trade, and the development of a bourgeois civilization. Not only were the isolation and provincialism of feudal conditions broken down; the very ideal of monastic isolation had become obsolete.

Instead of being recruited from the feudal aristocracy as was the case with the Cluniac foundations, the Franciscans and Dominicans were recruited from the common people. Instead of dwelling in remote localities "far from the madding crowd," the friars established their houses within the towns. Instead of seeking land and material wealth, they scorned endowments and lived upon alms. Instead of practising agriculture and industry vicariously through the labor of serfs upon their lands, the friars devoted themselves to teaching and preaching and charity relief. Instead of mulling over manuscripts written in a dead language, at least so far as the popular classes were concerned, the friars preached in the vernacular, the speech of the common people, wherever men might be gathered together, in city squares, at markets and fairs, even at country crossroads. Instead of being ministered unto, the friars ministered. The old monastic ideal had been isolation, to keep one's self unspotted from the world; if the monks ministered unto others it was not for the sake of others, but as a duty imposed upon them, as a means of acquiring credit in heaven, as a species of humiliation—they had no intentional ideal of social service. The friars on the other hand introduced a new ideal: that only by saving others might one save himself. Their charity was genuine and real, not egocentric as that of the monks.

It is indispensable to remember that the rise of the Franciscans was contemporary with the spread of the town movement in Italy and the formation of a bourgeois class in society. The Friars were manifestations of the economic and social revolution in medieval Europe which spelled the passing of feudalism. They were distinctly urban, not rural, monastic groups; democratic, not aristocratic, in spirit and organization. When they could not settle within the town walls their houses were situated in the faubourgs as close to the heart of the town as possible. In purpose and in practice the Franciscan and Dominican houses were city missions and social relief societies.

As in our own times the cities under the impulse of modern industrial and transportation conditions have grown so fast that acute economic and social problems have arisen in them, so in the twelfth and thir-

teenth centuries the towns grew rapidly and without intelligent direction. The streets were narrow and noisome, the housing conditions deplorable, poverty and vice widespread, often aggravated then as now by sickness and unemployment. Neither the town authorities nor the Church was alert to these new conditions and these new problems. While the population had greatly increased, there were few or no new churches built in many towns and local priests were often no more numerous than two centuries before. When St. Norbert came to Antwerp about 1100 he found one overworked parish priest laboring in a community which had been transformed from a little fishing village into a town by increase of its trade. St. Francis scathingly declared that the cities of Italy "abounded with heathen without God and without hope in the world" owing to the worldliness of the clergy and the neglect of its great mission by the Church. It was with reason that the Catholic poet Francis Thompson compared the Franciscan Friars to the Salvation Army.

The enormous popularity of the Gray Friars, always traveling in pairs —"one before, the other behind," as Dante describes them—never riding horse or mule or vehicle, always shod in sandals with bare feet, clad in rough woolen garments, cheerfully living on what was given them and lodging where night befell, may be easily understood. For the contrast between their simplicity and the luxury and haughtiness of the old orders of monks was striking. They were beloved both in town and in country, whither their wandering might lead them as they journeyed from town to town. Merchant, trader, artisan, peasant loved them as heartily as the monks and secular clergy and the feudal aristocracy hated them for their sympathy with the masses, their open advocacy of the communal movement, even of revolution, their condemnation of irresponsible wealth, their contempt of the feudality and high worldly clergy. The Franciscans were popular not only with the people of the towns but with the university students. For "the poverty of the infant universities presented a disagreeable contrast to the riches of the monasteries."

It is true that in time—and that rapidly—the Franciscans, too, declined and went the way of decrepitude and corruption like the preceding orders. But the fact must not blind our eyes to the substantial ethical and social ideal and practice which they initiated. The Franciscans in their rebellion against the evils and abuses of wealth went to the other extreme, and as with the Cistercians, their sins arose from the very poverty which they idealized. They carried in their bosom the seeds of their own ultimate failure. But they were the victims quite as much of prevailing economic conditions as of degeneration of character. Waiving the question whether mendicancy be not a false ideal in itself, certainly dependence upon casual charity was more difficult to adhere to as a principle of livelihood in the thirteenth century than today, for recurrence of famine and pestilence was far more common then than now. In

consequence the friars' scorn of property and proprietary attachments soon became a hypocritical attitude, and the friars became whining sycophants and artful beggars, employing questionable methods for the extortion of funds, and rapidly delivered themselves over to avarice. As legacy hunters and hawkers of indulgences they became notorious. Roger Bacon, himself a Franciscan, who died in 1292, mournfully wrote that already in his time the friars "were horribly fallen from their former worth." St. Francis has been truly described as "the most spontaneous and unconventional genius of many ages." His followers were unable to sustain his almost superhuman ideal of purity, poverty, and devotion to humanity. The causes of the failure of the friars are inseparable from human nature. Their downfall was as certain as that of all their predecessors.

It is pleasant to turn from these gloomy reflections inseparable from monastic history to a lighter side of monastery life. In the Middle Ages the monasteries were "the sole depositories of news, the only places of entertainment when kings and nobles visited their estates. Without the monasteries a country life would have presented to men, especially to the laborer, one dreary round of unalloyed and hopeless drudgery, of fasting days without festivals; of work without mirth or holidays." In a medieval monastery after harvest, often a motley group of jugglers, musicians, and amusing vagabonds broke the dull monotony of rural life. When the harvest and fruits were gathered monasteries and priories were often the scenes of meetings and shows (*conventicula, spectacula*), in the form of miracle or mystery plays by the monks, while wrestling matches and rough games amused the peasants of the manor. It is true that no scholar has yet succeeded in tracing the ancestry of the miracle play back as far as the thirteenth century, but we know that later in the Middle Ages such representations were not uncommon. In these dramatics the Franciscans seem to have been very active, probably because they saw in them a means of popularizing their preaching and bringing home to the masses the history and the teachings of the Bible. The famous Coventry Plays were wholly in the hands of the Minorites. In time the gilds also began to present mystery and miracle plays, but with them there was a tendency toward horseplay and broad farce which was absent from those presented by the friars. In music, too, the friars introduced innovation by adapting popular airs, as the Salvation Army does today, to their hymns, which, unlike the hymns of the Church, which were in Latin, were written and sung in the vernacular tongue.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CHURCH AND FEUDAL SOCIETY

EVERYWHERE in Europe today, except in England and Spain, the Church has been disestablished and has no connection with government, while in America a state-supported church never existed except in Virginia during the colonial period. Hence it is difficult for a modern person to grasp the reality of a State Church system such as existed in all Europe in the Middle Ages.

The medieval Church differed enormously from modern churches, whether catholic or protestant. It exercised everywhere not only spiritual dominion, but great political, administrative, economic, and social sway. Its jurisdiction extended over every kingdom in Christendom; it was not only a state within every state, but a super-state as well. "The unity of the Church and its official language produced throughout the Middle Ages a cosmopolitanism which has never prevailed again since the Reformation." Unlike secular kingdoms, which were each an independent entity, the medieval Church was a united and universal institution, whose jurisdiction prevailed over all dividing lines of race, nation, language. All Christians were at once subjects of some state protected by natural laws and the laws of their country, and subjects of the Church. The Church made no claim to abrogate feudal law, but it insisted upon the imposition of a higher law as well. It drew a sharp distinction between feudal law and this higher code of right and wrong. It must always be kept in mind that every one in medieval Europe except the Jews, who were tolerated or persecuted, according to time and circumstance, was a subject of the Church, allegiance to which was exacted and rebellion against which was punished. Whatever a man's country, whoever his ruler, every one was subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and in the case of hundreds of thousands who dwelt on church lands, whether as vassals or as serfs, those persons were also temporal subjects of the Church.

The Church's administrative organization was like that of a state, but a firmer and more united one than that of the feudal realms. Its ruler was the pope; its provincial governors were archbishops and bishops; it had its own legislative assemblies in synods and councils; it made its own laws and possessed its own courts of law and its own prisons. The Church had enormous endowments of land, and it imposed a regular tax, the tithe, upon all persons in every community, besides which it collected innumerable fees. For many centuries these fees were derived from the

multifarious activities of the Church's administrative bureaux and law courts and were not unsimilar to those which a modern government, whether national or local, exacts for the despatch of business. But in course of time, as we shall see, the practice of exacting fees was enormously extended.

The Roman Church in the Middle Ages was a governor, a landed proprietor, a rent collector, an imposer of taxes, a material producer, an employer of labor on an enormous scale, a merchantman, a tradesman, a banker and mortgage-broker, a custodian of morals, a maker of sumptuary laws, a schoolmaster, a compeller of conscience—all in one. So universal was its sway, so various its activities that in a very large and true sense it is often said that medieval history is primarily the history of the medieval Church. Certain it is that the Church combined in an amazing degree the spiritual and the temporal, the ideal and the practical. If its head was in heaven, it always kept its feet upon the ground. The key to an understanding of this peculiar temporal interest and temporal power of the medieval Church is to be found in the grants of privilege, exclusive jurisdiction, and immunity made to it by the later Roman emperors and continued and extended by the barbarian kings. Still another source was in the growth of the Church as a landed proprietor. Land was not only the most widespread form of material wealth, it was for many centuries almost the sole form of wealth production. Proprietorship and temporalities in course of time carried with them political authority, preferred social status, economic resources, the power to regulate and control society, not merely religiously but temporally. What Sir William Ramsay has said of the Church in the Roman Empire is just as true of the medieval Church:

> The administrative forms in which the Church gradually came to be organized were determined by the state of society and the spirit of the age. . . . These forms were, in a sense, forced on it; [but] . . . they were accepted actively, not passively. The Church gradually became conscious of the real character of the task which it had undertaken. It came gradually to realize that it was a world-wide institution, and must organize a world-wide system of administration. It grew as a vigorous and healthy organism, which worked out its own purposes, and maintained itself against the disintegrating influence of surrounding forces; but the line of its growth was determined by its environment.

It is not right to dogmatize when considering the part played by the Church in the feudal age. Institutions, social structure, ideals were very different then from what they are today. It is not always easy to distinguish the line of division between the use and the abuse of the Church's institutions in the history of medieval Europe. An instance may be cited from the reign of Henry II of Germany which serves to

make this point clear. The empress Kunigunde had a brother named Adalberon, who was a typical robber baron, a headstrong, quarrelsome Lorrainer. His depredations in the archdiocese of Trèves were so great that he nearly reduced the country to a desert and drove the archbishop to seek refuge in Coblenz. The situation required a man of war, not a man of peace. "I will send a man," wrote the emperor, "who will put a stop to your wild deeds." He was as good as his word. For he chose as the new incumbent of the see not a pious churchman, but a hard-headed, hard-fisted young Franconian baron by the name of Poppo of Bamberg, whom he rushed through the various grades of the hierarchy until he emerged as archbishop of Trèves. Poppo distributed sixty prebends of the see to as many knights, and with this miniature standing army besieged Adalberon's castles and finally brought peace and order into the land again.

Even in the early Middle Ages the proprietary growth of the Church was so great that it alarmed secular rulers. Already in the first half of the eighth century the Agilofinger dukes of Bavaria and Charles Martel in Gaul forcibly deprived the Church of many holdings. But the Church was soon indemnified for its losses by new and larger gifts. For the Carolingians found the employment of the clergy in secular affairs an indispensable necessity as counts, *missi dominici,* diplomats, and even as army commanders, and recompensed them in the only way possible when "natural economy" was all-prevailing—that is to say, by endowments of land. Charlemagne treated the bishops and abbots of his Empire exactly as he treated secular dignitaries and was as cautious in dispensing favors to them as he was to the great lay nobles. The Monk of St. Gall records:

> He would never give more than one county to any of his counts unless they happened to live on the borders or marches of the barbarians; nor would he ever give a bishop any abbey or church that was in the royal gift unless there were very special reasons for so doing. When his counselors or friends asked him the reason for doing this, he would answer: "With that revenue or that estate, with that abbey or that church, I can secure the fidelity of some vassal, as good a man as any bishop or count, and perhaps better."

Piety increased what necessity required. It would be an error, however, to infer that all "piety" was generous or disinterested. The avarice of certain of the clergy frequently exacted as a gift what could not prudently be refused. Charlemagne complained that gifts to the Church were so frequent that freemen were reduced to poverty and compelled to take to a life of crime. In 817 Louis the Pious was obliged to legislate to prevent clerks from taking gifts which might disinherit the children

or near relations of the giver, and the measure was reënacted by Louis II in 875.

As early as 816 the council of Aachen classified the clergy into three degrees, according to wealth: those having from 3000 to 8000 holdings; those having from 1000 to 3000 holdings; and those having fewer than 1000 holdings.

Most of such holdings were probably real manors, i.e., whole villages of dependent peasants embracing at least a thousand acres of farm land in each; but many holdings were smaller and more detached granges or *curtes*, having no village community upon them, but merely a grange-house in charge of a *villicus* or farm boss, with a few cottagers; while still other holdings may have been isolated patches (*prædia*) with only two or three laborers upon them, who dwelt there only in the spring and summer and returned to the village in winter.[1]

As the manor was not a fixed area, but an economic unit, and allowance must be made for lesser holdings than manors, it is difficult to estimate what these amounts mean. But one of the greatest of modern historical students, striking the average of all the manors possessed by one of the richest abbeys in France, whose book of accounts for a series of years in the ninth century has been preserved, has estimated that the richest clergy in the ninth century possessed from 75,000 to 140,000 acres; the medium rich clergy from 25,000 to 50,000 acres; and even the poorest bishops and abbots from 5000 to 7500 acres. The same historian further estimates the annual revenue of the richest clergy at from $85,000 to $225,000; that of the medium rich at from $28,000 to $56,000; that of the poorer bishops and abbots at from $5000 to $14,000. In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, owing to the improvement in farming methods, lavish gifts, and the redemption of waste, swamps, forest, etc., the landed wealth of the clergy, especially that of the monastic orders, enormously increased.

The rivalry between the secular clergy (episcopate) and the regular clergy or monastic orders for possession of land in the Middle Ages was so keen that it amounted to a permanent feud between them, especially when the so-called "new monachism" or monastic revival wrought by the Cluniac, Cistercian, and Carthusian Orders in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries arose. In the competition the monks in general were the more successful. For their cloistered, ascetic life impressed popular imagination and their profession of "otherwordliness," gave them a reputation for sanctity which was denied to the secular clergy. Medieval wills which have come down to us show that the abbeys were beneficiaries of private endowment far more than the bishoprics. Other reasons

[1] Coopland, *The Abbey of St. Bertin.*

also had influence. The bishops were identified with secular rule much more than the monks, and were state-supported in considerable measure, whereas the monasteries were proprietary or private foundations. An illustration may make this observation clearer. Here in the United States we have many privately endowed colleges and universities, and state universities in every state. Legacies and bequests to the former are common. The state universities have to look almost wholly to legislative appropriation for funds. So in the Middle Ages the abbeys, which were always of private foundation, found friends and supporters, while the bishops, as part of the system of Church government, were regarded as sufficiently provided for in the possessions and prerogatives which they had. Naturally the bishops endeavored to adjust themselves to this condition, and sought to compensate for the lack of private endowments by reorganizing their properties. In addition to introducing greater efficiency in the management of its lands, the Church also strove to consolidate its scattered buildings into compact complexes, and thus to gain by more scientific management and reduced cost of administration what it lost from the failure of private munificence. The last half of the tenth century and the early part of the eleventh witnessed many sales or exchanges of scattered or remote parcels of land owned by the Church for other holdings lying nearer to the bishopric or monastery. From the data preserved, the success of the experiment was considerable.

But in addition to the rivalry between the bishops and abbots for lands, there was another source of feud in the zeal of the monasteries to acquire right to lay and collect tithes. As originally instituted in the time of Charlemagne tithes were leviable only by the bishops, and the revenues arising therefrom were strictly apportioned. One quarter went to the bishop; the other three portions were assigned to maintenance and repair of churches, the support of the parish clergy, and the relief of the poor. In course of time, since they were imposed upon land, like other real property of the Church, the tithes became feudalized and the object of purchase and sale, enfiefment, patronage, inheritance, mortgage, etc., —to such an extent that by the eleventh century so large a part of the tithes was sequestrated for secular and feudal purposes that the parish clergy were often in a state of poverty and compelled to eke out their petty stipends by dues and oblations and even to labor as field-hands in backward rural parishes. In France and Germany this laicization of tithes went far and was widely sanctioned by custom. In England, however, the practice was hardly known. St. Louis himself was a tithe-owner, and in France the law decreed that all tithes which had been in lay hands before 1179 were to be regarded as secular property, and as such might be sold, entailed, exchanged, devised, or given in dower. In 1789, when tithes were abolished by the French Revolution, it was as lay, not as ecclesiastical property.

The alienation and abuse of the tithe gave the monks a plausible reason to protest against episcopal monopoly of them, and to demand that they should have the right to lay and collect tithes like the bishops. The claim was made on the ground of "reform," but closer scrutiny will reveal that the word reform was usually a cloak to conceal the monks' own desire to aggrandize themselves, without offering any guaranty either of honesty of administration or of relief from abuses. Moreover, the monastic orders had less reason for the tithes with only themselves to support, while the episcopate had the whole care and maintenance of public worship to sustain. In the issue the monasteries usually secured a writ of exemption from Rome, which conferred the right upon them to levy their own tithes, thus putting them on a parity with the bishops in this matter. Indeed, in the high Middle Ages, when the influence of Cluny and Cîteaux was at its height and many of the popes were themselves monks, this practice was very common. Incidentally it may be observed that the practice of granting immunity to monasteries from episcopal jurisdiction was a lucrative one for the papacy, which exacted a liberal fee and annual tribute for this grant of papal favor. The notorious controversy over the Thuringian tithes during the reign of Henry IV, in which the archbishop of Mainz was involved in a feud so bitter that it became a war, with the abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld and with Dedi the margrave of Thuringia, is a case in point. The welfare of the Thuringian peasantry, who suffered heavy exploitation, was the last consideration of any of the contestants.

As administered by the Church

> the tithe constituted a land tax, income tax, and death duty far more onerous than any known to modern times. Not only were the farmers and cottagers bound to render a strict tenth of all their produce—theoretically, at least, down to the very pot-herbs in their gardens—but merchants, shopkeepers, and even the poorest artisans were by the same theory bound to pay from their personal earnings this same tax of two shillings in the pound. . . . Tithes of wool were held to include even the down of geese; the very grass which he cut by the roadside was to pay its due toll; the farmer who deducted working expenses before tithing his crops damned himself thereby to hell.[2]

A characteristic feudo-ecclesiastical practice—and one frequently of gross abuse—was the right of patronage or advowson, by which the founder of a monastery or the builder of a parish church retained control of the monastic or parish property. The roots of the institution of patronage are to be found as far back as the fifth and sixth centuries. The fifth article of the acts of the council of Châlons (639) shows that laymen already controlled parish property. By the end of the seventh

[2] Coulton, *The Medieval Village*.

century most rural churches were regarded as private property and by slow degrees patronage was often converted into actual proprietorship.

> The patron grew in much the same fashion in which the lord grew, and of course in most cases the character of lord and patron would be united in the same person. . . . The advowson of a church was looked on as a matter of property which could be granted, sold, divided, or unjustly occupied in exactly the same way as any other property. . . . Spiritual preferments, great and small, were ceasing to be looked on as offices with an endowment for the maintenance of those who held the office; they rather became benefices, livings charged, like a temporal benefice, with certain duties, but duties which might be discharged at pleasure in person or by deputy. The endowment of a church thus became a benefice, a property, and the right of the patron came to be looked at chiefly as a right to bestow that property, a right which was a property itself.[3]

This conquest of the parishes by the proprietary class was recognized and legalized by the Frankish kings. It became a public institution. The council of Frankfort in 794 permitted freemen to own and possess churches, to alienate them, to sell them, provided that the church edifice itself was not destroyed nor services interrupted. Charlemagne in the *capitulare de villis* carefully regulated the management of parish churches situated on the crown lands. A capitulary of 810 enjoins that the bishops shall see that rural priests "render to their overlord the honor that is due." It is true that in principle such a church was still under the spiritual authority of the bishop, and a crowd of legislative enactments attest it, but the theory and the fact were far from coinciding. A proprietary church in fact was part of the lord's domain. The only real limitation upon his authority was the prohibition that he could not use the income of the land—the *mansus integer*—set aside for the direct support of the parish priest for himself, nor destroy the church building. It was in vain that an element in the Church protested against this prevailing condition. The letters of Agobard of Lyons, the events of 829, the False Decretals, witness to the existence of this opposition. In the reign of Louis the Pious there is marked opposition of the episcopate to seigniorial control of churches. But the protest was ineffectual and after 840 there was merely querulous complaint, nothing more. The spirit of the age and the condition of the times confirmed and sanctioned the system. The letters of Hincmar of Rheims abundantly show how far the Church acquiesced in the condition. He does not deny the right of private proprietorship over the Church, even over the episcopate; he merely limits it. In the tenth century the council of Trosly (909) acknowledged the principle and the practice in canonical decree. A purchased benefice was a form of investment.

[3] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V, 501–02.

Thus by the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth, instead of a Church divided into dioceses and parishes, each administered under a spiritual authority of its own, bishop and priest, we see in actuality that many ecclesiastical divisions had become converted by feudal process into a confused agglomeration of feudo-ecclesiastical proprietorships of greater or less extent. In a word, the Church was feudalized like government and secular society. There was no appreciable difference between proprietorship of a church and proprietorship of an ordinary domain. From the end of the ninth century onward real estate transactions in respect to private churches are as common as real estate transactions in respect to manors. Even the Carolingian prohibition against division of the patrimony of a seigniorial church became obsolete. We find cases of church property being halved, quartered, sixthed, etc. And these partitions were not simple assignments of revenue, the capital remaining undivided among the proprietors. The texts show that the partitions were actual and real. The very altar of the church was sometimes divided, so that one finds four or more priests, each the appointee of a separate patron, officiating at the same altar, and each conducting a separate service.

It goes without saying that under such conditions the lands of the Church were subjected to the same economic exploitation as lay lands, and that *cens, corvées, redevances,* etc., were imposed and exacted in precisely the same way that manorial dues were imposed and exacted in the secular world. In some instances the lay proprietor reckoned among his sources of income the rent exacted of merchants who bought and sold in the church porch. The local graveyard, too, was often appropriated by the lord of the manor, whose was the right of advowson, and used as a source of revenue, the land not actually required for burial being rented to peasants as garden plots or cottage sites. This manorial appropriation of the revenues of a church went so far that even the offertory, baptismal fees, penitential fines, burial fees, were appropriated.

It was often shrewd business in the Middle Ages to found a monastery or college of canons or convent, and the piety of many donors was far from being disinterested. For such foundations remained under the control of the founder and his heirs, who pocketed a portion of the revenues, and as gifts, legacies, new endowments of the faithful multiplied, the profits of the heirs might become prodigious from such increment. By their donations to the local church, vineyard, field, and farm, the faithful of the neighborhood enriched the founder. Their wealth increased his wealth; his church drained the private fortunes of those around into his pockets.

The lord of the manor in whose hands lay the right of presentation to

the living could treat the incumbent, who not infrequently was one of his own former serfs, with impunity. Jonas of Orleans in the ninth century complained that "poor priests" were compelled to serve as varlets. Agobard of Lyons echoed the complaint, citing instances of priests attached to oratories being compelled to wait at the table, to trim vines, to take care of dogs, to dress ladies' hair, etc. The council of Metz in 888 complained of a priest having been mutilated by his patron because the priest had had the courage to reprimand him for his immorality.

It is not surprising that one of the aims of the Hildebrandine Reform was the suppression of such abuses and the emancipation of church property from lay ownership or control. Many churches and monasteries, in order to protect themselves from feudal spoliation, gradually fell into the way of putting themselves under the patronage of the papacy. Through this practice the pope often became the eminent proprietor of lands of churches and monasteries widely scattered in Europe. These foundations, thus liberated from any other human control, lay or clerical, and protected against spoliation by apostolic anathema, recognized this protection by paying an annual sum (*census*) into the papal treasury. Under various forms the papal patronage was spread over hundreds of churches and monasteries in Germany, France, and Italy. Gregory VII saw in the practice both a means to extend his authority and a means to reduce the power of the bishops, and a lucrative source of papal revenue as well, and so widely extended the system. Not only ecclesiastical establishments, but private nobles and even towns appeared upon the revenue rolls of the papacy as "wards" paying for papal protection.

But patronage also grew up in another way. In the hard and violent period of the early Middle Ages bishops and abbots often found it expedient to have an official guardian of their property, whose service was rewarded with some share in the estates of the house. Thus arose the *advocatus* (French *avoué*, German *Vogt*). The advocate represented his ecclesiastical superior in the administration of the purely secular affairs which fell to the bishop or the abbot to perform in pursuance of his double rôle of an ecclesiastic and a landed proprietor. He pleaded the causes of the bishop or abbot in the courts of the suzerain; he administered justice in their name among the church's vassals; he represented his principal in the judicial duel, participation in which was forbidden to ecclesiastics; he presided over cases of trial by battle between the bishop's or abbot's vassals, and, most important of all, he commanded the *milites ecclesiæ* when the church was called upon to do military service.

In the anarchy of the ninth century, when the churches began to wall their houses, the office of advocate acquired great extension. Protection was the crying need of the time. Often, though, the bishop or

abbot had no choice in selecting the incumbent. The post was eagerly coveted by the lay feudality, since it gave the holder control of certain ecclesiastical revenues and the use of certain church vassals for military purposes. As a consequence, in practice, the bishop or abbot had frequently to appease the greed of a neighboring noble by purchasing his protection, for otherwise his lands were liable to be pillaged by the noble. Under this form of blackmail the remedy became worse than the disease. The Capetian kings of France made themselves "lay" abbots of half a dozen of the richest abbeys in France. The counts of Flanders so built up their power. In Germany the practice was carried to an extreme by Frederick Barbarossa, whose Italian campaigns were largely fought with church vassals.

As proprietorship and patronage tended to manorialize the Church, so feudalism tended to militarize it. Church lands inclined to fall into much the same relation to the state as lay lands, to become converted into fiefs and bishops and abbots to be transformed into barons. Bishoprics became baronies, which in event of vacancy were under the guardianship of the crown to be conferred afresh upon some new holder, who did homage and swore fidelity to the king as every other vassal. Like a fief, the bishopric was often kept vacant by the king, sometimes for three or four or five years, for it was feudal law that a suzerain had the right to the incomes of vacant benefices, whether secular or clerical. Such a tendency naturally resulted from the magnitude of the high clergy as proprietors and the political importance of the Church in the Middle Ages. Bishops and abbots enfiefed nobles and knights with ecclesiastical lands, just as the baronage provided their vassals with fiefs. The feudal system of the Church was a replica of that of the secular world. "The status of the bishops was based upon their possession of real property, and consequently their ecclesiastical status depended upon their status as territorial lords."

The Carolingians in the eighth century, under whom landed proprietorship formally entailed military service, had instituted this practice, which became universal in feudal times. From that time onward fighting bishops—abbots less so—are to be found in every age, and the art of war became a necessary episcopal accomplishment. In a battle fought in 880 two bishops perished. In 955 the prowess of the bishop of Augsburg in the battle of the Lechfeld against the Magyars won him wide renown. The armies of the Hohenstaufen were chiefly composed of church vassals. Bishop Adhemar of Puy, the papal legate on the First Crusade, enjoyed a reputation second only to that of Godfrey de Bouillon. Odo of Bayeux, half-brother of William the Conqueror, fought at Hastings, *"un baston tenait en son poing"*—swinging a mace instead of a battle-ax, for it was against the rule of the Church for a churchman to shed blood. When, in the Third Crusade, Richard Lion-Heart

found the blood-stained hauberk of Bishop Philip of Beauvais upon the battle-field, he sent it to the pope with the message: "This we have found. Know now whether it be thy son's coat or no." Guerin of Senlis was the strategist of the French in the battle of Bouvines (1214). Even popes took the field, as John VIII, John X and Leo IX. Church lands were used without any reminiscence of the original purpose of the endowment by kings and princes for state and secular interest. In Germany three-quarters of the contingents enumerated in the muster-roll of 981 (1482 out of a total of 1990) were drawn from ecclesiastical lands. The Church furnished 74 per cent of the forces for the Italian campaign of Lothar II in 1136. The German kings gave lands to the Church in order to increase its military effectiveness, and the grants were made subject to this stipulation. This is the reason why the kings so resolutely held fast to the right of ecclesiastical appointments, for it was the surest way of controlling the Church's resources, both of men and of money.

Under these conditions the hierarchy tended more and more to become a military caste like the feudality. "In your kingdom," Pascal II wrote to Henry V, "bishops and abbots are so occupied in secular affairs that they are compelled to frequent the county courts and to do soldiering. The ministers of the altar have become ministers of the court." "Lo, what lusty and warlike archbishops there are in Germany," wrote Richard of Cornwall to Prince Edward of England during the War of the Barons. "It would not be a very bad thing for you if you could create such archbishops in England." Bishops and abbots exercised a temporal sovereignty analogous to the powers they had long practised within their ancient immunities. In the name of churches and monasteries they granted fiefs, ruled vassals, distributed tenures, and governed serfs. Side by side with the secular feudatories grew up an ecclesiastical nobility composed of archbishops and bishops, who were at the same time dukes or counts, and cathedral chapters and abbeys which as corporations controlled immense territorial possessions. The practice of infeudation penetrated the whole body of ecclesiastical offices and functions. The Church's lands, offices, altars, prebends, tithes, became feudalized. The Church, in order to sate the land hunger of the feudal nobles, was often compelled to effect an accommodation with them by enfiefing its lands to them. In an age of blood and iron such an arrangement was frequently of mutual advantage. The bishop or abbot did not give nor the baron get something for nothing. The baron might have bullied the bishop into making the enfiefment, but he was subject to the feudal contract which always required the rendering of military service by the vassal to the suzerain. Thus originated that class of *milites ecclesiæ* which played so great a part in the period of the Crusades; thus the Church entered more deeply than ever into the feudal polity. Vassals and revenues of the Church were regarded as part of the military and fiscal resources of the

crown and were used by the king at his discretion. The bishop or abbot (if the abbey were "royal") was as much the choice of the king as a local priest was the creature of his lord, and the conduct of the hierarchy was assimilated to the condition, if not the status, of the secular feudatories. Bishops and abbots were held to the performance of *auxilia* [feudal aids] in the same way and to as great—or even greater—a degree as dukes and counts.

The domain of a bishop or abbot in the Middle Ages was rarely, if ever, a compact, contiguous area. On the contrary it was composed of a vast ensemble or complex of scattered parcels which had been acquired by gift or purchase during years of time, and was therefore widely located. The unity of the whole was not a physical but a moral one. The bishop or abbot was the proprietor thereof, whose legal position was guaranteed by the immunity which exempted him from any lay jurisdiction or authority. No duke nor count could lawfully enter within this circumscription, which, in spite of the agglomerated nature of the lands, nevertheless formed a closed circle. Within and on his own lands a bishop or abbot was a feudal official.

Both in law and in practice these ecclesiastical lands were regarded as a particular kind of barony. This was the view of the Church as well as of the State, and neither party looked upon the relation as either incongruous or unusual. Vacant sees and vacant abbeys were treated as knights' fees. After the analogy of lay fiefs the king attached the incomes of ecclesiastical office in the interval between two occupations; the new appointee paid what answered to a "relief" in the secular world in order to qualify for the office; the lands and offices of the Church were let to farm, enfiefed, or sold exactly as was secular property. "Church preferment was indeed throughout the Middle Ages the usual way of paying civil servants who were in orders."

The society of the Church was as sharply divided as lay society into an upper and a lower class, an independent and a dependent class. The hierarchy was very generally closed to any but those of noble blood, while the parish priests were usually recruited from the servile villagers. Formal emancipation by the lord was necessary for a serf priest to enter holy orders. In the eighth and ninth centuries there was such an influx of monks of lowly origin into the monasteries that the law stepped in and arrested the tendency in the interest of the proprietary class, "lest the fields become deserted." Thegan, the biographer of Louis the Pious, deplores the practice of elevating serfs to even the lowest grade of the hierarchy. As early as the ninth century the aristocratic nature of the upper clergy is apparent. Louis the Pious was reprimanded for appointing Ebbo, the son of a serf, as archbishop of Rheims. When Otto II made Gerbert of Aurillac, whose parentage was servile, pope (Sylvester II) outcry was made; and Benno II of Osnabrück was the

only German bishop of lowly origin in the reign of Henry IV. Archambaud of Sens in the tenth century, who had a passion for horses and hunting dogs, removed the altar of the cathedral out of doors into the porch, and converted the interior of the church into stables and kennels. Manasseh of Rheims is alleged to have said that "the office of archbishop would be a fine job if one did not have to say mass." Helinand of Laon, "being a man of poor family and humble origin, as he knew he would have no influence through respect for his birth, placed his hopes on the acquisition of great wealth." It was lodged against Suger, the famous abbot of St. Denis, that he was of servile birth. Bela of Hungary refused to receive a bishop at court because he was of servile family. "In Germany a mass of evidence shows that in the feudal age the most important offices of the Church were normally almost confined to men of noble blood. From that class were chosen bishops and abbots. Only in the later Middle Ages did this exclusiveness begin to break down when members of the ministerial and unfree classes were admitted."

The union of spiritual authority and temporal power in the medieval Church, however incongruous it may seem to us today, and however incompatible with modern conditions and ideals it may appear, was unavoidable and necessary in the feudal age. Indeed it was good that it was so. For no great historic institution can be effective if it does not reflect the dominant ideas of its time and embody in its economy the customary practices thereof. The Church's function was to lead and not to follow; to guide and to teach; to be of its age but to be better than its age; to use and not abuse the civilization of which it was representative; to invest for the benefit of society the capital of heritage, tradition, culture of which it was the legatee or depository. The Church's successes and the Church's failures were alike the result of its close identification with the institutions and the civilization of its time. The evil lay not in the use of things of the age, but in the abuse of them. It is easy for one to be critical, even harsh in one's judgment of the medieval Church. But it is not so easy to be just. For justice partly depends upon a clear understanding of both an intricate organization and a complex civilization. It must ever be remembered that the Church faced a condition which in many ways was repugnant to its theories and its ideals.

The character of the Church in these centuries is to be found, not so much in the doctrines which it professed, but in the organization which the Church possessed. That organization, like every other institution in the Middle Ages, was feudalized through and through, so thoroughly that the primary function and spirit of the Church by the eleventh century seemed to be in danger of destruction owing to the long and at last intolerable tyranny of things material and worldly over things in origin and essence of a spiritual nature. He who understands feudalism has in

his hand the key to an understanding of the tremendous issues involved in the Hildebrandine reform movement.

The Church, in common with secular government, rested upon land as its base. The stipends of the clergy were derived from landed endowments, as prebends and the like. They were not fiefs, but they tended to follow the customary tendency of fiefs, and hence to become hereditary. It was difficult in such an age to distinguish between the corporate Church as possessor and the personal incumbent of the stipend, for men thought in concrete terms, not abstract ones.

In the eleventh century the increasing invasion of the high offices of the Church by the aristocracy, the growth of family control of church offices and church property which frequently culminated in the actual hereditability of church offices and church endowments, the intrusion of local jealousies and family feuds into ecclesiastical matters, reached a pitch. Rather of Verona in the tenth century declared hereditability of church offices was almost the normal condition in Italy. Benedict VIII deplored the universality of the evil in 1020 at the council of Ticino. A biographer of St. Bernard in the twelfth century says that marriage of priests and hereditability of church offices and church property was general among the Norman clergy.

It is difficult for the modern mind to understand or to appreciate the danger which thus threatened the Church.

> An hereditary caste would have been established, who would have held their churches and lands of right; . . . In an age when everything was unsettled, yet with tendencies so strongly marked, it thus became a matter of vital importance to the Church to prevent anything like hereditary occupation of benefices or private appropriation of church property, and against these abuses its strongest efforts were directed. The struggle lasted for centuries, and it may perhaps be fortunate for our civilization that sacerdotalism triumphed. . . . It became an absolute prerequisite that the Church should hold undivided sway over its members; that no human affection should render their allegiance doubtful; . . . that the immense landed possessions of the Church should remain untouched and constantly increasing as the common property of all, and not be subjected to the incessant dilapidations inseparable from uxorious or paternal affections. . . . Perhaps in this there may have been an unrecognized motive urging Gregory VII to action. Sprung from so humble an origin, he may have sympathized with the democratic element, which rendered the Church the only career open to peasant and plebeian. . . . All this would be lost if, by legalizing marriage, the hereditary transmission of benefices generally resulting, should convert the Church into a separate caste of individual proprietors, having only general interests in common. . . . To us, retrospectively philosophizing, it further appears evident that if celibacy were an efficient agent in obtaining for the Church the immense temporal power and spiritual authority which it enjoyed, that very power and that authority rendered

celibacy a factor not devoid of advantage to the progress of civilization. It is easy to show how the churchmen could have selected matrimonial alliances of politic and aggrandizing character; and as possession of property and hereditary transmission of benefices would have followed on permission to marry, an ecclesiastical caste, combining temporal and spiritual power to a dangerous excess, might have repeated in Europe the distinctions between the Brahman and Sudra of India. The perpetual admission of self-made men into the hierarchy, which distinguished the Church even in times of the most aristocratic feudalism, was for ages the only practical recognition of the equality of man.[4]

The surest, although the most difficult way to prevent alienation of church property and the entailment of its offices, was thus to prohibit the marriage of all priests and create a celibate priesthood. The intensely radical nature of such a remedy is manifest. Yet, again to quote a very eminent historian: "Any real familiarity with the early Middle Ages will lead an unprejudiced student to the belief that the celibacy of the clergy was at that time essential to the setting apart of the ecclesiastical order, to the purification of the Church and to its influence upon the world; that clerical celibacy was in fact a necessary stage of the spiritualization of European society." [5] If the Roman Church today is still justified in maintaining a celibate priesthood, it was ten times more justified in so insisting in the days of feudalism. It requires a profound knowledge of medieval conditions to understand the necessity of celibacy and the popularity of the doctrine with the masses. "It is hardly possible for us, even in imagination, to conceive a danger to modern civilization similar in kind to that which threatened the men of the eleventh century from feudal brutality with its contempt for mental thought and its hatred of the bonds of morality. Yet it is only by steadily keeping before us the existence of this danger that it is possible to pass a fair judgment on the drastic remedies proposed by the medieval churchmen." For "as soon as the clergy began to provide for their offspring by gifts of ecclesiastical property, the temporal possessions of the church were in danger of becoming completely alienated; and in the second place, a married priesthood would naturally tend to become a hereditary caste little inclined, as its local power increased, to subject itself to the supreme pontifical authority. . . . Possibly Gregory VII was the first to realize just how important the enforcement of celibacy would be to the power of the papacy. Whether his predecessors had seen the situation as clearly as he did or not, it can never be argued that they, any of them, were prompted solely by the desire to extend the monastic ideal." [6]

Perhaps the Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries would have acted more wisely if it had gone more slowly and been more moderate in

[4] Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 3d ed., I, 165–66, 267–68.
[5] A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, 83.
[6] S. R. Gardiner, *Introduction to English History*, ch. III, secs. 9–10.

its demands for celibacy, beginning with the higher clergy and gradually enforcing the rule upon the lower clergy until all, even parish priests, had been brought to adherence, and at the same time have not made celibacy retroactive, and so slowly reduced and finally eliminated the evil of alienation and misuse of church property. There were wise churchmen who so advised, like Lanfranc in England, who refrained from molesting the parish clergy, but forbade canons to have wives; and for the future refused to ordain deacons or priests who were married; but did not compel those clergy already married to put away their wives or stigmatize the latter as concubines and their children as bastards.

But the papacy and the Cluniacs would have nothing to do with so temperate a policy, and urged the radical course, with the result that the clergy was broadly divided into two camps, the secular clergy, led by the bishops, being moderates, the regular clergy being radicals. The feud between the two classes was a long and bitter one, for each was jealous of the prerogatives of the other, envious of the political influence of the other, covetous of the wealth of the other. And the popes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, most of whom were monks, played the two parties against one another, and one or the other, depending upon conditions, against the kings and the feudality in order to depress secular political authority and establish the supremacy of the papacy over the State everywhere. Monks were appointed to vacant sees, secular and regular canons supplanted married clergy in cathedral staffs; even parish priests were displaced by monks who assumed holy orders for the express purpose, unless the local patron resolutely fought to preserve his right of advowson. "As to priests," an instruction of Anselm provides, "if any can be found who are leading regular, *i.e.*, celibate, lives, let them act for the others, *i.e.*, married priests. But if none or few such are to be found, give orders that in the meantime monks shall say mass for the people. . . . The same clergy shall receive confessions in place of the others and bury the bodies of the dead. All this you may enjoin upon even monks of advanced age until this obstinacy of the married priests shall yield. It will not last long providing we persist in what has been begun. . . . If those expelled rebel let all Christians be against them and exclude them not only from their own society but also from the lands they hold, together with their *female belongings* [!] until they come to a better mind." It cannot be denied, in admitting the fundamental justice of the Church's policy, that much injustice and much inhumanity was committed in the enforcement of the Hildebrandine reforms; that thousands of innocent men, women, and children suffered contumely, abuse, social ostracism; that true wives were declared concubines and children born in lawful wedlock stigmatized as bastards.

In 1059 the Lateran Council for the first time formally legislated in regard to clerical celibacy and ordained it. The alienation of property

thereby threatened, the impending rupture of priests' familes and the taint thrown upon their children produced a tumult of opposition. The bishops of Turin, Asti, Albi, Vercelli, Novara, and Lodi refused to promulgate the decree. At the same time the proletariat in the Lombard cities, notably in Milan, began to agitate against married priests under the leadership of a demagogue named Landulph.

While some of these violent and radical partisans were honest in their purpose, many of the agitators were actuated by an ignoble self-interest, their primary aim being the spoliation of that portion of the priest class who were luckless enough to be married.

> Availing themselves of the mass of discontent existing among the inferior clergy of the diocese and the small respect entertained by the commonalty for their superiors, the confederates soon collected around them a numerous party consisting chiefly of hedge-priests and rabble. . . . Landulph began operations by collecting crowds in the streets and public places and haranguing them in terms of the bitterest and coarsest scorn against the metropolitan clergy. . . . "Let their wealth be impounded, their property put up at auction, and if they resist, let their houses be given up to pillage and they and their bastards be hounded out of the city." . . . While Landulph was agitating the rabble of the city, Ariald was busy goading on the rustic population against the country clergy. . . . Within a year . . . a new set of puritan reformers had arisen among the populace of the Lombard cities. . . . The new party became known by the name of Patarini . . . according to tradition derived from a quarter of the city inhabited by the poorest and most discontented class.[7]

Even in the great struggle over the question of lay or clerical investiture, as in the conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV, between Alexander III and Frederick I, there is to be found a whole group of economic phenomena which are little understood by the student. It is vastly important for one to perceive that one of the conditions of the papacy becoming a sovereign power was the Church's enormous possession of landed property. In the so-called War of Investiture the issue was as much one of property as it was one of dominion. Peace with the emperors and the other sovereigns of Europe would have been easy to procure provided the Church had been willing to renounce her feudal revenues, her temporalities. Keen-witted men like Abelard, Arnold of Brescia, and Gerhoh of Reipersberg already perceived this in the twelfth century. Even St. Bernard, in spite of his deep hostility to Arnold, was one with him in the opinion that the great wealth of the Church was an evil to it. Like the certain rich man in the New Testament, the medieval Church was too rich to make the sacrifice.

The Church was amply possessed of free alodial endowments long be-

[7] Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, Bk. X, p. 176.

fore the spread of feudalism. Most of the donations made after the death of Charlemagne (814), however, were fiefs. Hence the effect of renunciation, if it had taken place, would have been to reduce the Church to the proportion of land which it had possessed at the accession of Louis the Pious. This would have been far from cutting the Church to the quick, for even early the Church's landed wealth, as we have seen, was enormous. There is little doubt of the justice of requiring the Church to evacuate its purely feudal lands, although it may have been going too far, in an age of natural economy, to expect the Church to renounce, too, its endowments in the form of tolls, market rights, etc. These were the very sources of income which tended to emancipate it from the natural economy of the earlier medieval period, and enabled the Church to keep abreast of the economic changes of the time. The question was not a doctrinaire one, but one of practical interest. The feudal state contended that the properties of the Church having been acquired by it in and under feudal conditions, the Church was bound to perform service in fulfilment of the obligations assumed. The Church contended that its possessions could not be severed from it and that ecclesiastical endowments were indivisible and inseparable constituents of the Church; that all Church property was "holy unto the Lord" and could not be used or controlled or diverted by any other authority.

It is obvious that there is here a difference between endowment for spiritual purposes and endowment for temporal purposes; that two different titles and two different conditions obtained. Could they in theory or law or fact be separated? The Church in the tenth and eleventh centuries, particularly in Germany, had accepted huge endowments of land on condition of performing the feudal services to the crown attached to their possession. In accepting and profiting by feudalism the Church assumed the obligations of feudalism. But the Gregorian reform confused temporal and spiritual together, or rather adroitly sought to evade the obligation of its temporalities by ignoring the essential difference in the nature of the Church's holdings, some of which, especially the earlier endowments, were for legitimate support of the Church, while the later ones were largely feudal and temporal. But the Hildebrandines declared that all church property was spiritual.

For the secular governments such an interpretation everywhere was a challenge to their independence and their sovereignty, and only by a stretch of truth may it be said that lay investiture of a bishop or abbot *for his temporalities* was "simony" or corrupt practice and government intimidation of the Church. One who purchased or used the temporalities of the Church but gave nothing for consecration, was not simoniac. The sacramental functions in such a transaction were not, or at least need not, have been the object of barter, for a layman could not make a priest. The just and logical remedy for the evils of abuse in the Church arising

from its identification with feudalism, and a way out of the impasse lay in the Church's renunciation of its temporalities. But the Church was too rich to make the sacrifice and took refuge in the argument that spiritual and temporal endowments were indivisible and inalienable constituents. Twice the proffer was made that the Church give up its feudal lands, *i.e.*, all the lands feudally acquired and feudally held since the death of Charlemagne (814), and twice it was refused. The Church replied that no distinction was possible between the species of its holdings, and further argued that such a renunciation would be the betrayal of a great trust and sacrifice of "the heritage of the poor." Was the Church sincere? Or was it avaricious?

Since in the Middle Ages the separation of Church and State was impracticable and the idea was cherished only by visionaries and dreamers, and since the Church refused to accept the parity of State and Church, and instead found the solution of the controversy in the doctrine of supremacy of Church over State, conflict was unavoidable. A party had gradually grown up within the Church which was eager to establish, not only ecclesiastical independence, but even ecclesiastical supremacy; which denied that the grants of the emperors had been made conditionally, or that the Church had ever willingly entered into such a relation with the State. This party stigmatized all secular control of church offices as "simony," and found the readiest means to attain its end in a denial of the legality of lay investiture. The War of Investiture was at bottom a contest for control of church patronage, and the root of the whole matter was the temporalities of the Church. The contest was not without economic interest. Gregory VII and his successors strove to repudiate those feudal duties and obligations to both government and society which the Church's possession of vast landed property naturally and legally entailed, and at the same time to keep the Church's lands. Whatever the weight given to the influence in Gregory's mind of Augustinian ideas of a *Civitas Dei* on earth, whatever the arguments of papal legists and proponents, the papacy never would have attempted to translate these vague, abstract aspirations into actuality if the wealth of the Church had not stimulated the papal ambition and created the opportunity. The popes and emperors fought the issue on other grounds, but the object of the struggle between them was largely wealth and power, in the chief form in which wealth and power were embodied in the feudal age, namely, *land*.

Gregory VII may have been a magnificent idealist in advocating the supremacy of the Church over the State. But there can be no doubt that that way also promised enormous material aggrandizement to the Church and stupendous political prerogative for the papacy. In the issue the victory was not with either the papacy or the kings. For in the struggle control of the Church's temporalities largely fell into the hands of the

feudalized bishops themselves, who became ecclesiastical princes and regarded their episcopal lands as their own feudal possessions. As early as the twelfth century in Germany we find bishops designating the lands of their sees as *"terra nostra"*—our land. Except that they combined a spiritual office with temporal power, and could not transmit either office or temporalities hereditarily, the bishops of medieval Europe differed little from the great nobles of the time.

While both the merits and the principles involved in the War of Investiture are a matter of controversy and of difference of opinion even unto this day among historians, there can be no doubt of the forward nature of many other of the Church's reforms. One of the most striking examples of the Church's effort to suppress the abuses of feudalism was the institution of the Peace of God and its later correlative, the Truce of God. "History records no such triumph of intellect over brute strength as that which in an age of turmoil and battle was wrested from the fierce warriors of the time by priests who had no material force at their command and whose power was based alone on the souls and consciences of men." [8] Private war was one of the worst oppressions of the feudal régime and was a derivative of the ancient German feud-right. In the feudal period, when kingship had become attenuated to a mere overlordship and central authority was wanting, the practice reached enormous proportions. Personal injuries or grievances, conflicting property claims, rival claims to inheritance, real or alleged wrong done by vassal to suzerain or suzerain to vassal, were redressed not by courts of law but by the swords of the principals in the case. And often these grievances were shallow pretexts for base self-aggrandizement of the strong by spoliation of the weaker. Such were the robber barons who robbed merchant and pilgrim, who gained a thievish living on the highways.

The worst sufferers from private war, however, were not the baronage, but the peasantry. No one need pity the nobles who battened on war, with whom warfare was an heroic accomplishment, and who more often than not welcomed the fray. But the women and children in the castles, the peddler, the traveling merchant or monk, the pilgrim, and above all the peasants of the lord's manors were innocent sufferers from this baronial indulgence in private war. For the first act of each combatant was to destroy the farms and manors of his opponent. Medieval chronicles abound with instances.

Such a condition of things could not have gone on indefinitely, else the peasantry of feudal Europe would have been destroyed. It is not strange, therefore, that already in the tenth century—and more in the eleventh—we discover signs of protest and rebellion against the worst evils of the feudo-manorial régime and attempts to regulate, if not to

[8] Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, I, 1.

suppress, the worst abuses, such as the movement to establish first the Peace of God and later its more developed and effective restraint, the Truce of God. It is of immense credit to the medieval Church that it stepped in and used its spiritual authority and its temporal power alike to suppress such violence. The first suggestions of it are to be found in the ninth century, when civil power was going by the board and the weak descendants of Charlemagne began to lean upon the Church for support. Charles the Bald made every bishop a *missus* in his diocese and every parish priest a constable. Excommunication of brigands became the order of the day. The "pacts of peace" which this king required of his vassals, in which the barons swore to suppress brigandage, to renounce the right of personal vengeance, to protect the Church, embodied the principle of maintenance of law and order which the futility of the crown compelled the Church to enforce in its stead. The employment of church vassals by the bishops in this manner is of frequent occurrence in the ninth and tenth centuries.

But what makes the Peace of God so interesting and important is that, while the Church took the initiative in it, the movement was really a spontaneous one which appealed to all classes of feudal society, clergy, baronage, and peasantry, and which associated them all together in a common enterprise for the benefit of society. It was the manifestation of group spirit in feudalism, of coöperative social consciousness so strong that, while it lasted, it to a certain degree canceled the antagonism which existed between the classes. Nothing better shows the organic and constructive nature of feudalism, the essentially formative forces at work in it, slowly laboring with much trial and error, but also with much success, for the regulation of feudalism and the founding of a truly feudal form of government in Europe. It fell to the Church to initiate the movement, not because it was the chief sufferer from anarchy, but because both the innocent who suffered and the violators who perpetrated these atrocities were members of a Christian society of which the Church was the moral leader. The function of the Church was a spiritual one, an ethical one, a social one. More than any other institution, more than the State, more than the kings, it appreciated the principles of law and order, justice, protection of life and property which inhere in every body politic.

The initiation of the Peace of God, then, must be visualized from two points of view: from the actual violence and strife and injustice which it strove to suppress, and from the viewpoint of the development of a new social conscience and new social consciousness. It was not mere police power which the Church assumed. It was social leadership. The real greatness of the Church manifested itself in the latter capacity. It enunciated a new ideal, it proclaimed the doctrine of better laws and a higher ethic; of a feudal society based not on might but on right, on

justice, on protection of the laws, on the inviolability of person and property.

The history of the origin and development of the peace movement shows various and important phases of growth. It was initiated in the far south of France, in the synods of Charroux (989), Narbonne (990), and Anse (994), and was then a purely ecclesiastical movement. The resolutions declared that church property was not to be treated as the property of the warlike laity and threatened violators with anathema. There was nothing new in this, for such menaces were as old as the ninth century. The novel feature was anathema upon those who ravaged the property of the poor and the peasantry. The Church in the earliest stage of the movement, therefore, did not prohibit private war, but it endeavored to protect its property and the peasantry everywhere from being made the victims of such strife. The Church created a category of a specially protected class. It asserted that a defenseless peasantry, however weak, still had rights before the law which the baronage, however violent, would be compelled to respect. The following is a typical example of the oath exacted. It was imposed by the bishop of Beauvais in 1023.

> I will not carry off either ox or cow or any other beast of burden; I will seize neither peasant nor merchant; I will not take from them their pence, nor oblige them to ransom themselves; I do not wish them to lose their goods because of wars carried on by their seigniors, and I will not beat them to obtain their subsistence. I will seize neither horse, mare, nor colt from the pasture; I will not destroy nor burn their houses; I will not uproot their vines or gather the grapes under pretext of war; I will not destroy mills and I will not take the flour therein, unless they are on my land, or unless I am on war service.

But if the Church most fully represented and expressed progressive opinion in the feudal world, it would be an exaggeration to think that such sentiment was wholly of the Church's creation. The better element of the laity must be given some credit, and even the opinion of the masses was not so immobile as is customarily thought. For it was not long before the laity, both noble and unfree, were participating in the movement to repress private warfare. The baronage itself began to perceive the evil of the *faida* or feud, and voluntarily offered to renounce it and to restrain others from appealing to it. Physical compulsion was added to the threat of church penalty. This new phase was first manifested in Aquitaine, whence the movement spread into Burgundy (1016). King Robert of France in 1025 took it up, and it soon spread over all of central and northern France, becoming more and more defined and more and more acquiring the form of a positive institution. Fraternities of Peace were formed. At the same time the sanction became more rigor-

ous. To simple excommunication the Church added the interdict (Synod of Bourges, 1038), a sort of ecclesiastical "strike" by which the offices of the Church were stopped until the offender yielded. The very resort to such drastic practice indicates the power of public opinion, for in the end it was public opinion as much as fear of the Church which compelled an offender to yield to "peace."

At this time the Peace of God went through a profound change both in spirit and organization, and merged into the Truce of God, a far more effective institution. We discover "a conscious endeavor to mark off by general definitions a sphere of peace from the surrounding sphere of feud, so that peace for itself and for its own sake now becomes the object that is aimed at." For two weaknesses had become apparent in the Peace: it was not upheld by the civil law, and no time-limit was imposed upon the practice of private war—a baron might wage it any and every day in the year. The only prohibition was with reference to churchmen, church property and the peasantry. But the Truce of God, which we find first proclaimed at the council of Elne in Roussillon in 1027, declared certain days in every week and certain seasons in the year to be "closed" seasons, when private war was made illegal. At the same time the secular arm stepped in to aid and reënforce the penalties. It is obvious that this new form was a more thorough policy of restraint than the old form. The Truce of God was both an ecclesiastical and civil movement. In some places popular support of the Truce of God had the psycho-social characteristics of a camp-meeting revival. Thus, in Guienne in the late twelfth century a carpenter gave out that Jesus and the Virgin had appeared to him and commanded him to preach peace among all men. The organized nature and the consecrated idea in these local peace associations come out in that at Puy, where clergy and barons formed an association called the "Brotherhood of God." Like the earlier "Peace," the *Treuga* spread with great rapidity, synod after synod, council after council ordaining it in the latter half of the eleventh century until finally at the council of Clermont in 1095 Pope Urban II proclaimed it as universal law. Already even before this date, the *Treuga* had been declared in Germany and Italy. In England, where the Norman kings were always strong, it was never proclaimed because it was never needed.

The progressive development of the Peace and the Truce into an institution is suggestive to observe. At first only the persons and property of clergy and peasantry, especially women and children, are declared inviolate; then merchants and wayfarers, and their property, are included; the penalties are both ecclesiastical and secular, extending even to exile or banishment with forfeiture of goods; the "closed" days at first were the three days of the passion (Friday, Saturday, Sunday), and later were extended from sunset on Wednesday to sunrise on Mon-

day; the "closed" season at first was only Lent; later it included the whole period of time from the beginning of Lent to the Sunday after Easter; later still it was extended to Whitsuntide, and then to St. John's Day (June 24). Similarly, as the planting season was protected, so was the harvest and vintage season protected, and private war made illegal from the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15) to St. Martin's day (November 11). In the aggregate a violent baron thus had left to him only the hottest summer months and the coldest winter months as fighting days. At the same time with these changes the repressive legislation tended to become a code—the articles increase from three to eight, to eleven, to fourteen, to nineteen, etc., and other forms of crime besides robbery are included in them, as making or circulating counterfeit coin, receiving stolen goods, sheltering criminals and fugitives from justice.

Such formidable extension of police power by the Church did not go without protest, on the ground that it was usurpation of the prerogatives of secular princes and the State. Even some churchmen protested, arguing that it was not the business of the Church and that the exercise of police power by the Church would tend to confound the Church with the world and secularize and demoralize it. Undoubtedly there was truth in this objection, yet the argument was more doctrinaire than actual, for the Church and society in the hardest period of the feudal age were face to face with a condition and could not afford to give ear to theoretical objections. The situation was too real. In the issue the question solved itself. In the twelfth century the legislation of the Truce passed into the *Decretals* of Gratian, into the canon law, into the legislation of the kings and the emperor; it became the municipal law of Europe, and lasted as a force until the formation of the national monarchies with effective systems of administration made it obsolete. When modern government and the modern State appeared, civil law alone was sufficient to maintain law and order.

Other manifestations of new social and group consciousness in the eleventh century, when Europe began to stir universally as never before, are interesting to observe. Among such group phenomena, besides the Truce of God, one finds the habit of making pilgrimages en masse to popular shrines, relic worship, the first manifestations of chivalry among the feudal caste, the formation of gilds and confraternities, religious revivalism, often culminating in the formation of heretical sects.

Among the most interesting of these popular group manifestations is the enthusiasm—one might almost say mania—for building new churches. It is one of the most striking evidences of psycho-social emotionalism in all the Middle Ages. The construction of these new and more beautiful church edifices coincided with this social awakening and this new consciousness of power in Europe expressed in the establish-

ment of better government, better laws, and the formation of new religious and social ideals. The phenomena all hang together as parts of one whole in the centuries of recovery and restoration which followed the prostration and anarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries.

Before this wave of church-building swept over Europe many of the churches, even great churches and cathedrals, were made of wood, or at least the fabric was largely constructed of wood. Little or no glass was yet to be found in them. The age of stained glass was to come, and glazed linen sheets covered the windows. Many churches were unpaved, or else the pavement was only in the choir and around the altar. Very many parish churches were flimsy timbered edifices with beaten clay floors. All were damp and dark, and all were liable to fire. Indeed, almost every great church in Europe was burned once, many several times within a few hundred years.

And then came new religious revivalism, sweeping up out of Italy and over the Alps into the Rhineland, France, Flanders, and southern England, on the crest of which was borne the first Romanesque architecture in Europe. The new structures were made out of cut stone, materially safer and esthetically susceptible of far greater artistic adornment. Again (in parenthesis) observe the advancement in industrial skill and technique. These new, clean white stone structures in the space of a few years in the first half of the eleventh century became so numerous, especially in northern France, that a Burgundian monk of artistic feeling beautifully recorded that one might think that God had snowed churches down upon the land. They were, it has been well said, "the outward sign of the coming of peace and piety"—the Peace of God given real embodiment. The plans for many of these early Romanesque churches were drawn by Italian architects and Italian stone-cutters, and masons were imported to work upon them. Those of Como were the most famous craftsmen of this kind in Europe. Upon church decoration the growing material wealth of Europe was lavished in the form of adornment, wall frescoes, paintings, sculpture, carved screens, altars, and exquisitely wrought vessels of gold and silver. Colored marbles were imported from Italy, even whole columns from old Roman basilicas, tin to make bronze from England, lead from Spain, precious stones from the Orient. Although the general effect was Romanesque as a form of architecture, and although certain styles predominated, yet there was much freedom of composition. The architects vied with one another to express originality. Local conditions, as the kind of stone available, contributed to diversity. In Auvergne a local colored stone gave a local stamp of distinction to the churches there. The provinces of France and the Rhineland differed as much in architectural details as the dialects of the language differed.

The new religious zeal became so fervid that it actuated all classes

of society to labor together without reference to caste or class. Noble and peasant, serf and freeman labored side by side in the common cause of the community, and over the whole movement was spread the Church's garment of light. There are many examples of the participation of the whole village or community, priests and laymen, peasants and nobles, men and women. A real rivalry existed between the architects of one district and those of another, between churches here and there, between monasteries of this place and of that. *Corvées* were self-imposed by the people to further the work. Sermons were preached to stimulate the enterprise and gifts were lavished by rich and poor. Encyclical letters were circulated asking for help, miracles and legends were told about workmen who fell from scaffolds and were miraculously saved; concessions, often very liberal ones, were made to the builders.

We fortunately have preserved for us several very vivid letters of the eleventh century depicting this enthusiasm for church building. At Chartres it was so intense that it took the form of a crusade. The archbishop of Rouen, who saw the movement and described it to his friend the bishop of Amiens, wrote:

> The inhabitants of Chartres have combined to aid in the construction of their church by transporting the materials. . . . Since then the faithful of our diocese and of other neighboring regions have formed associations for the same object; they admit no one into the company unless he has been to confession. . . . They elect a chief under whose direction they conduct their wagons in silence and with humility. Who has ever seen? Who has ever heard tell, in times past, that powerful princes of the world, that men brought up in honors and in wealth, that nobles, men and women, have bent their proud and haughty necks to the harness of carts, and that, like beasts of burden, they have dragged to the abode of Christ, these wagons, loaded with wines, grains, oil, stone, timber, and all that is necessary for the construction of the church? . . . They march in such silence that not a murmur is heard. . . . When they halt on the road nothing is heard but confession of sins, and pure and suppliant prayer. . . . When they have reached the church they arrange the wagons about it like a spiritual camp, and during the whole night they celebrate the watch by hymns and canticles. On each wagon they light tapers.

Even the oxen which labored in hauling stone and timber were sometimes taken into a sort of fellowship. When Laon cathedral was completed the grateful people set up four huge stone oxen in each of the two great towers in grateful recognition of the dumb beasts which had done their part in the achievement, and these eight stone figures still stand looking out toward the four points of the compass and across the plain below this fascinating old medieval hill town.

By the time that Gothic began to succeed and supplant Romanesque

architecture we discover a significant change has taken place in the status of the craftsmen employed. Formerly most of these, except the imported Italian masons, were of servile condition. By the twelfth century skilled artisans had largely become free craftsmen, organized into gilds. Social liberation and elevation therefore accompanied this religious revivalism. Before its destruction during the late war, the great castle of Coucy-le-Château interestingly preserved the evidences of this social development. The mighty stone structure, the hugest of its kind in France, was begun when serfdom was the prevailing condition. The lower courses of stone were laid by serfs, but as the château was more than a century in building, by the time the upper courses began to be laid, stone masons, stone cutters, etc., had become freemen and were gilded, and these upper courses preserved the mason's marks or emblems of these gilds. Similar workmen's marks may be found in many Gothic cathedrals.

Among the famous architects of the day were Ingelbert, Guillaume de Bellême, Louis de Bourbourg, Aimon, Guillaume de Sens, the builder of Canterbury Cathedral. These architects would make a contract, submit a plan, often in competition with other architects and supervise the erection. Sometimes several architects were called in and conferred together as to the best mode of procedure. The architects traveled much and spread their ideas everywhere. They received all payments made and in turn paid their men. Five hundred *solidi* are mentioned for five feet of elevation. Wages were paid in clothing, lodging, food, and money. Agreements were made as to the weekly, monthly, or yearly payments. The architect guaranteed his work. The completion of some important piece of work like a tower or the roof was a sign for joyous festival and merrymaking.

A medieval cathedral was an object of civic pride to a city, and a community enterprise of vast dimension in which all classes of society and all conditions of men were interested both spiritually and as contributors to the cost of its erection. The same is true of lesser structures down to the humble parish church. As the largest and best building in the community, and one in which all had a common share and a common interest, it was used for many secular purposes. In time of war the villagers sought asylum within—they, their cattle, and their belongings. In time of peace it was the social and trade centre. The traveling merchant and itinerant peddler set up their booths within the porch of the church, and sometimes spread their wares upon the flat tombs in the graveyard in the dark and bloody days of private war, before a settled feudal government became established. Later, when times became more secure, the market spread over the square in front of the church, and even after the conduct of trade and commerce had become so secure that the Church's protection was no longer necessary, the

market cross still preserved the reminiscence of the earlier condition. Sometimes the local weights and measures were graven upon the wall of the church, that every man might know them, as in Freiburg cathedral, where one may yet see the ordained measures of length and size of loaves of bread.

The men of the Middle Ages had larger—perhaps looser—ideas about the use of churches than we moderns. Corn-grinding and brewing were sometimes done in them; winter grain and hay were stored in them; barrels of wine and beer were housed in them. The city authorities of Milan appropriated the galleries of the basilica of San Ambrogio for the storage of grain. As early as 1022 Brescia used the cathedral for local public meetings. On festal days masques or mysteries were given in the church. To a world without secular art, without secular music, except of the crudest kind, the frescoes, the stained glass, the music, the lights of lamps and tapers, the colors of the priests' robes, which differed according to time and occasion, the odor of incense in a great cathedral furnished emotional and esthetic enjoyment.

It is true that sometimes the invasion of the outside world created untoward and abusive conditions. Feudal lords often despatched local business in their pews. Henry Plantagenet complained that petitioners "pester me even in the mass." the burgomasters of Strassburg regularly heard lawsuits during service in the municipal pew, and it was counted unto St. Louis for righteousness that he refused to conduct administrative matters during divine service. But in spite of such abuses, it must be admitted that the Church in the Middle Ages socialized its edifices and humanized its religion, while at the same time preserving the dignity and the mystery of worship. The Roman Church always has shown a remarkable and profound psychology and social sense, and never more so than in these splendid centuries between 1000 and 1300, when a great and original material and moral culture reached its zenith.

But while the Church thus modified the excesses or moderated many of the abuses in secular feudalism, the fact that the Church itself was a feudalized institution opened the door to the growth of excesses and abuses within it. Privilege protected ecclesiastical property, not merely land devoted to positive spiritual endowment, but all lands of the Church, so much so that an additional burden was thrown upon secular society for the maintenance of government. The Church paid nothing in recompense for what it received in the form of police protection from lay government. Yet the exempted lands of the Church included from one-third to one-half of all the real property in medieval Europe. Mortmain, or the "dead hand," illustrates this grievance of the governments against the Church. The Church was a perpetual corporation; it never died, hence land once passed into the hands of the Church never changed title and the governments were deprived of the inheritance tax

in this particular. An anecdote related in the *Life of Meinwerk,* bishop of Paderborn, shows that even the saintly emperor Henry II could use sharp language in regard to the evils of mortmain. He was plied diligently by the bishops of Saxony for grants of land, and once he exclaimed to Meinwerk: "May God and all his saints confound thee, for that thou never ceasest to pluck at my estates, to my serious loss and the great detriment of the government." The evil effects of mortmain became so great by the end of the thirteenth century that civil law was invoked to restrain the practice. The frequent violent attacks on church property by the baronage in the twelfth century attest not only the envy of the proprietary class, but the dangerous degree to which ecclesiastical property had come to overshadow secular property. There is awful irony in the satire of an antipapal priest during the war of investiture, who attacked the covetousness of Urban II for temporal wealth.

It requires an effort of imagination in this unfeudal age to realize how profoundly feudalized the medieval Church was. Its temporalities conferred rights and powers upon the clergy exactly similar in kind and degree to the rights and powers attached to lay seigniorial lands, extending even to the power over life and limb. Its taxes were of both a temporal and a spiritual nature. The former differed in no whit from those of the feudality. As lay lands and secular offices were feudalized, so the tendency was for church offices and church lands to be regarded as fiefs. Gregory VII unsuccessfully endeavored to convert episcopal offices and episcopal lands into fiefs held of the Holy See. In the Lateran Council of 1139 Innocent II actually proclaimed that all ecclesiastical dignities were received from and held of the pope like fiefs.

Yet hierarchized as the Church was, and despite the fact that its higher clergy was largely recruited from the feudality, two practices preserved the Church from becoming a wholly aristocratic institution like feudal society. Celibacy prevented the clergy from becoming an hereditary caste, and the Church always practised what might be denominated "selective democracy." With superb wisdom the preferments of the Church have always been open to a man of talent, no matter what his birth or socal status may have been. The Roman Church has always believed in the democracy of opportunity. Merit has always counted with Rome.

The Church offered the only career open to men of all ranks and stations. In the sharply defined class distinctions of the feudal system, advancement was almost impossible to one not born within the charmed circle of gentle blood. In the Church, however much rank and family connections might assist in securing promotion to high place, yet talent and energy could always make themselves felt despite lowliness of birth. Urban II and Hadrian

IV sprang from the humblest origin; Alexander V had been a beggar-boy; Gregory VII was the son of a carpenter; Sixtus IV, of a peasant; Urban IV and John XXII were sons of cobblers, and Benedict XI and Sixtus V, of shepherds. . . . The Church thus constantly recruited its rank from fresh blood.[9]

The medieval Church was a feudalized Church; it was in and of the feudal world. But it never indolently accepted conditions as it found them; it never was content to let things drift; it never passively tolerated abuses and corruption either in itself or in secular society. It possessed in an eminent degree the quality of leadership and the strength to initiate reform. It labored with magnificent courage and industry—although it did not always practise what it preached—to make a better feudal Europe, to redress the wrongs, excesses, and abuses of feudal government and feudal society. It did not seek to overthrow feudalism, but it sought to regulate feudalism; to make a "new" feudalism out of old traditions and customary practices. It was often anti-feudal in the constructive sense of endeavoring to make a better feudalism. Illustrations abound: the effort of the Church to stamp out the ancient German blood-feud, the *faida,* or right of relatives by personal retaliation to avenge real or fancied wrongs or grievances; to abolish the judicial duel and trial by ordeal of fire or hot water; to ameliorate the abuses of feudal wardship, or the custody of widows and minor children of a vassal by the suzerain, which frequently resulted in the appropriation or dissipation of the ward's inheritance by the guardian; to curtail the intolerable tyranny of property over the relation of husband and wife, and the corruption of the family as an institution by the practice of the feudality of arranging monstrous marriages, as of a young girl to a man in his dotage, or a mere youth to an elderly woman, for reasons of property. The battle which the Church fought in Germany (though this was later than our period and in the fifteenth century), against the "reception" of the Roman law for the protection of the peasantry from worse exploitation than ever manorialism at its worst had practised, is another example. "The canon law, Roman in form, was yet Christian in spirit and infinitely more in accord with the Christianized folk-law of the German people." Historically the ancient Germanic codes were the product of a free people, whereas Roman law had been the creation of a slave state.

The medieval Church was so universal in its extent, so unique in its authority, so complex in its interests, that it was a bundle of inconsistencies, some actual, some more apparent than real, spiritual yet temporal, feudal yet anti-feudal, aristocratic yet democratic. In its regulation of society the Church sometimes went beyond accustomed social legisla-

[9] Lea, *History of the Inquisition,* I, 4.

tion and pierced to the quick of things. While preserving and profiting by feudalism it sometimes sought to regulate it drastically, and sometimes apparently sought even to destroy its integrity. The motive of such policy is not always easy to fathom: whether it was motivated by a truly moral purpose, or whether it was actuated by ambition for power while protesting the moral or high social purpose of its course.

A case in point is the Church's opposition to the law of primogeniture. Was it done in the interest of social justice, *i. e.*, of securing equal division of land among the sons, or was it done in order to break the power of the great feudal houses by dissipating their heritage? Similarly, was the Church's opposition to hereditary monarchy and its advocacy of elective kingship in the interest of popular sovereignty, or was it in order to subordinate secular power to ecclesiastical sway? Did Gregory VII support the rebellion of the feudality and the Saxon insurrection against Henry IV because he believed in the social justice of their contentions, or in order to discomfit his antagonist? Did the Church advocate the right of female succession to fiefs, or inheritance through the female line, *e.g.*, in Tuscany and Saxony, with Countess Matilda and Duke Lothar, because it believed that in justice women should have equal property rights with men; or, since feudal government and property control was exclusively in masculine hands, did it advocate the change in order to break down the feudality? It is significant that in both these cases just cited the Church immediately and enormously profited. Did it insist on the finality of its courts as courts of appeal in so many cases in the interest of justice, contending that secular courts were too often unjust and venal in their findings? or was it in order to diminish the power of the secular governments and increase the volume of its fees?

Whatever the reasons for these policies, the Church at times went far in upsetting customary law and overthrowing tradition. For example, feudal law favored not merely primogeniture, but also family marriage alliances for the purpose of preventing the splitting up and distribution of fiefs and maintaining the power and wealth of the great families in as compact form as possible. Hence the frequency of marriage between blood-relations. But in 1066 the Church condemned the age-long practice of the Roman civil law with regard to consanguinity and established a new series of prohibited degrees. Marriage according to the civil mode of calculating relationship was declared to be incestuous and the rite null and void. The second, fourth, and sixth degrees of the civil law were made to be the first, second and third degrees, and marriage within them forbidden. Even spiritual affinity was a bar: that is, godfathers and godmothers and their children were supposed to be related within canonical prohibition. Again: the Church contended that marriage between two persons legitimated their already born offspring.

The feudal contention was jealous to preserve the distinction in order to preserve the integrity of house lands, and resented legitimation of bastard children.

Were these changes made by the Church in the interest of improved social morality, to protect the integrity of the family, to prevent inbreeding in castle and manor? or in order to break up the great princely families? or in order to make dissolution of wedlock, when necessary or desirable, easy of accomplishment? Or was the motive a mercenary one, since for a fee the Church might waive the canon law through dispensation? Or was it in order to multiply occasions for the Church politically to interfere in society to its own advantage? There is no positive answer to these questions. But the fact remains that the Church initiated much and far-reaching legislation of a social nature, the effects of which upon society were profound.

The influence of the Church by a process of social erosion, so to speak, tended to break down the great feudal houses, and even to extinguish them. It was always detrimental, except in a social way, and sometimes fatal to the continuance of a family when one of its members entered the Church. When the only brother of Henry II of Germany became bishop of Augsburg it doomed the Saxon house to extinction, for the emperor himself was childless. From calculations necessarily imperfect yet significant it has been estimated that in medieval Germany in the space of three hundred years 12 per cent of the princely houses, 36 per cent of the counts and 80 per cent of lesser noble families failed to perpetuate themselves owing to so many of their sons having entered holy orders. The effect was a form of birth control culminating in the actual extinction of many distinguished feudal families.

But other effects flowed from this tendency and condition. In the ninth and tenth centuries, as has been said before, the feudality, owing to the bond of proprietary interest between it and the high clergy, began to monopolize high Church offices. The episcopate was aristocratized. But from the eleventh century forward there is observable a steady increase among the bishops of men of servile origin. The feudal aristocracy first lost its monopoly, and then even lost its preponderant control of high Church offices. The Hildebrandine Reform, by its blows at lay investiture and patronage and secular right of presentation to church livings, by its work to separate the right of advowson from proprietorship, promoted this democratization of the Church, and undoubtedly these effects helped to popularize the Church with the masses and to antagonize the aristocracy. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the new monastic orders like the Cistercians, Carthusians, Premonstratensians, and above all the Dominican and Franciscan friars were recruited almost altogether from the ranks of the common people, as the bishops also tended more and more to be. The Church went

through a social revolution as all Europe did at the time. It is not an accident that this growing democratization of the Church synchronized with the decline of serfdom and the rise of the towns.

Yet curiously enough, while the Church kept step with, and even walked in advance of most of the liberalizing tendencies of the age, and more and more opened the door of Church preferment to men sprung from the common people, in the matter of serfdom itself the Church was conservative to the point of being reactionary. Anselm, the father of scholasticism, writing about 1100, formulated the orthodox theory of hereditary serfdom in words often approved by other publicists after him:

> For if any man and his wife . . . commit in partnership a grievous and inexcusable fault, for which they are justly degraded and reduced to serfdom, who would assert that their children whom they beget after their condemnation should not be subjected to the same servitude?

The Church in the Middle Ages never objected to the slave trade of the times. Its protest—even then often a gesture of profession and not a conviction—was only against the traffic in *Christian* captives with Mohammedan lands. It made no demur against the sale of heathen Danes and Slavs—thousands of Wendish captives were distributed to German monasteries after the great campaigns across the Elbe; Saracen captives in the Moorish wars in Spain, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and on the sea were sold not only to lay, but to clerical Christian masters. Chattel slavery existed on church lands in Italy, even in the papal states, in the eleventh century and later.

In the matter of emancipation of serfs, the Church lagged behind secular Europe and even retarded emancipation. The Church least yielded to the pressure of economic revolution, and was more disinclined to free the serfs upon its glebe lands than secular proprietors were. Of great interest is the discovery made by Salvemini that the Florentine decree of August 6, 1289, abolishing serfdom was the direct result of the action of a few serfs of the Florentine chapter, who petitioned not to be sold to the Ubaldini on the ground that it would be to the detriment of the commune, which would thus lose the right to receive personal and pecuniary services from the petitioners. This shows that the abolition of serfdom by the Church was due to practical reasons and not to any theory about natural rights of man.

Church lands on the whole were more intelligently and efficiently managed than lay lands, but the oft-repeated statement that the condition of serfs on Church lands was less onerous and their treatment more humane is not borne out by the facts. Since all historical writers were clerks until the thirteenth century—and most of them so even then—

their statements must be used with caution, for naturally the writers would not bear adverse witness against themselves, or their order. But ecclesiastical professions of humanitarianism and altruism must be taken with reservation. No one who knows intimately the sources of the twelfth century can believe the benign utterance of Peter the Venerable (died 1156), abbot of Cluny, that the monks of Cluniac houses "regarded male and female serfs as brothers and sisters." For Cluny was a notoriously aristocratic and exclusive monastic order, no one not of noble blood being permitted to become a member of it. A close scrutiny of the cartularies of the monasteries shows that serfs on church lands were not better off than those on lay lands. There is ground even to believe that as a whole their lot was worse. The *Miracula* of St. Benoît show frightful poverty and suffering, although this may have been an extreme case. The fact that the Church exercised an empire over souls proves nothing as to the economic condition of the peasantry upon the church lands. The Church was the most conservative member of society in the matter of enfranchisement of slaves and manumission of serfs. Almost all cases of general enfranchisement are by lay, not by ecclesiastical lords. There is no example of emancipation of serfs in numbers by monasteries. Indeed, emancipation of slave or serf, unless compensation was made for the loss entailed thereby, was forbidden by canon law. When Smaragdus in the ninth century advocated the emancipation of serfs on the ground of the equality of all men, the utterance was a mere rhetorical gesture. On the whole, the Church was opposed to emancipation and did its best to protract serfdom. Every medievalist capable of independent and detached thought must concur with the verdict of the late Professor Achille Luchaire, than whom no higher historical authority can be quoted. His opinion is all the more trustworthy for the reason that in the earlier stage of his career as a scholar he believed the old tale, and only changed his mind when later, deeper, and prolonged examination of the sources so compelled him. He has written this careful paragraph which embodies his mature conclusion:

> The clerics of the Middle Ages showed almost as much cruelty to the peasants and burghers as did the men of the sword. In fact, the feudal conception prevailed in the Church, which consisted of the priesthood. The sentiments and the acts of the privileged religious aristocracy dominated. This aristocracy, proprietor of considerable lands and enormous numbers of serfs, both male and female, was an integral part of the feudal system. It sought to preserve its rights and revenues; it defended them with jealous harshness and succeeded all the better because the lands were inalienable. It harshly exploited the lower classes. No one has yet been able to demonstrate that the serfs of the Church were better off than those of the lay lords, and it is absolutely certain that the bondage of the Church endured for a much longer time than that of the nobles and the king. There were

even found some clerics who upheld serfdom not only as necessary and legitimate, but as a divinely ordained institution.[10]

Similarly, Pollock and Maitland's severe verdict upon the Church and especially the monks, as landlords may hardly be gainsaid, for no two scholars are more cautious and more scientific than they:

> There is plenty of evidence that of all landlords the religious houses were the most severe—not the most oppressive, but the most tenacious of their rights; they were bent on the maintenance of pure villein tenure and personal villeinage. The immortal, but soulless corporation with her wealth of accurate records would yield no inch, would enfranchise no serf, would enfranchise no tenement. In practice, the secular lord was more humane, because he was more human, because he was careless, because he wanted ready money, because he would die. . . . We find that it is against them (the monks) that the peasants make their loudest complaints.[11]

The Belgian historian Vanderkindere in an extended study of the condition of serfs on Church lands in Belgium has come to the conclusion that the condition of ecclesiastical serfs was inferior to that of serfs on lay lands.

To the honor of the Cistercian Order, it refused to accept serfs as gifts of endowment. Even when this rule was abrogated, and the Cistercians, too, become possessors of bondmen and bondwomen, some reminiscence of the former humanitarianism in their original conduct is found in their adherence to the principle that no serf of a Cistercian monastery should ever be given in exchange to any other lord, and that families should not be broken up. As to this latter practice, intelligent and just-minded medieval churchmen recognized that the Church's legislation was less humane than that of Roman Law. Thus Regino of Prüm bluntly says: "Roman law certainly seems to lay down a far better precept in this matter." So great was the oppression of its serfs by the chapter of Notre Dame de Paris in the reign of St. Louis that Queen Blanche remonstrated "in all humility," whereto the monks replied that "they might starve their serfs as they pleased." But Blanche was a woman of spirit, forced the gates of the abbey, and liberated the imprisoned serfs.

Peasant insurrections against the excessive fiscal exactions of the Church were not uncommon in the thirteenth century. In 1207 and 1222 the bishop of Orleans had to resort to use of arms to compel payment. In 1216 the villagers of Nieuport killed the collectors of the abbey of Ste. Walburge when they sought to collect the tithe. The abbots seem to have been more addicted to extreme measures than the bishops. In 1220

[10] Luchaire, *Social France at the time of Philip Augustus.*
[11] Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law,* I, 378 (2d ed.).

the serfs of Saint Père de Chartres rebelled; in 1246, those of St. Germain des Près; in 1250, those of Mont St. Michel. On the other hand, peasant insurrections against harsh treatment and brutal exaction by lay proprietors are rare in the thirteenth century. The driving force behind the Pastoureaux movement, the peasant insurrection in France in 1251, was religious emotionalism born of the Crusades, mingled with hostility toward the clergy, especially the monks, in which even the Franciscans did not escape, because of excessive ecclesiastical exactions. The excitement was popular as long as it inveighed against the clergy. The towns along the route fed the mob and passed it along. The host spread over whole provinces. Some visited Amiens, Rouen, Orleans. Rioting and street fighting ensued. Blanche of Castile at first was not disinclined toward them, for her own resentment against the clergy was great.

One of the grievances which the servile peasantry on monastery lands resented most was the requirement to have all their grain ground in the abbot's mill. In 1274 the English peasantry on the lands of the abbot of St. Albans refused longer to submit to this exaction of villein service, and began to use handmills of their own. The abbot Roger of Norton sought to coerce them. The town was in an uproar owing to the tumult stirred up by the rebellious villeins, while in the monastery the great bell was rung as an alarm and processions of monks filed before the high altar in the chapel chanting the seven penitential psalms and invoking the help of God and St. Alban. The king's intervention in favor of the abbey temporarily crushed the movement. But in 1314 the struggle was renewed. The villagers resorted to great violence and swore they would even kill the monks, gruesomely erecting a scaffold in the market-place. It was well that the abbey walls were strong, for it was subjected to a regular siege. The king again interfered, but relief from the abbot's onerous exactions did not come until long after.

As it was with the agricultural peasantry upon the glebe lands of the Church, so was it with the serfs employed as artisans and craftsmen in the great shops of the churches and monasteries, as carpenters, woodturners, wool-carders, dyers, weavers, metal workers, cobblers, saddlers, harness makers. Long after the lay world had perceived that serfdom was economically unprofitable and wasteful, and that a free farming peasantry and a free industrial peasantry laboring for daily cash wages was more profitable than service labor, the Church obdurately clung to the old order of things. The Church was opposed to the liberation of industry and to the formation of independent associations of craftsmen. Hence the anticlerical tinge which characterizes the attitude of the industrial classes in the thirteenth century. Moreover, the free gilds resented the competition of the Church's shops of servile workmen. For the practice of the abbots and the bishops, especially the former, was to sell the surplus of their manufactured wares upon the local market, where naturally

they could undersell free production owing to the fact that they paid low wages and were exempt from taxation, market dues, etc. An economic source of the Reformation is to be found in this condition.

Radical as the Church was in some particulars, it was singularly conservative in others. The result was that peasant rebellion, when it occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was almost always and everywhere upon church lands, against ecclesiastical manorialism, and tinged with anticlericalism. The same was true of the burgher movement in the towns when it arose. Bishops and abbots, far more than secular feudatories. were hostile to it and labored to suppress it.

This is not the place to consider the rise and spread of the town movement. It is sufficient to note the fact that the old Roman cities (*civitates*) had naturally become the seats of the bishops, and that around monastery walls dense clusters of peasantry were gathered, who labored as serfs upon the glebe lands of the abbeys. When the social and economic awakening of Europe began in the eleventh century these groups were stirred as never before. A spirit which had lain dormant for nearly a thousand years began to be active in their midst. These populations, on the rejection of their demand for charters not merely abating abuses of which they complained, but granting fixed rights of self-government like that of levying their own taxes and administering their own courts, rebelled against the overlord, whether bishop or abbot, and formed a commune. The word became a detested one in the ears of the clergy. "*Communio autem novum ac pessimum nomen*—new and most outrageous word," exclaims Abbot Guibert de Nogent of the rebellion of the people of Laon against the feudal authority of their bishop.

The most consistent attitude taken against the towns was that of the clergy, and it was almost universally hostile. The dignitaries of the Church were often barons dressed in the cloth and saw in the new institution subversion of their rights. The words of Guibert of Nogent are echoed by Bernard of Clairvaux and Ives of Chartres. More than one pope demanded the abolition of a commune: Innocent II ordered the abolition of Rheims; Eugene III, that of Soissons. The ecclesiastical writers of the time seem to have been utterly incapable of understanding the town movement. Richard of Devizes called it a "*tumor plebis, tumor regni, tepor sacerdoti.*" But of all the invectives against the communes none is so bitter as that of Jacques de Vitry against Beauvais.

Feeling sometimes ran so high against the local clergy that the incensed populace would indulge in anticlerical mockery and horseplay. At St. Valéry, in ridicule of the clergy, the crowd marched around the building, attired in ecclesiastical robes, pretending to scatter holy water. It burned down the doors of the church and threw the images of the Virgin and John the Baptist into the fire; and later, a child having died, two of their number performed the funeral ceremony. At St. Riquier,

where the monks were accustomed to carry the relics of St. Riquier and those of St. Vigor in an annual procession, the people of the town, with a great show of solemnity, carried a dead cat and the bone of a horse and, having wrought a miracle with the relics, deposited them in the sanctuary of St. Riquier.

And yet the Church had had, unwittingly, a large influence in promoting this very communal movement which it tried to suppress. For the Hildebrandine programme by seeking to emancipate the altar everywhere, whether cathedral, abbey, priory, or parish church, from secular control, had thereby both relaxed the power of the ruling authority in the community and given the members of that community an example of new freedom. The communal spirit and aspirations of democracy were powerfully stimulated during the War of Investiture. The most striking instance of this is, of course, the papal advocacy of the Saxon peasantry and the Patarian party in Milan. In the issue, the Gregorian reforms raised a social and political spirit which the Church could not exorcise and which ultimately rebelled against the Church's temporal prerogatives.

Democratic, yet aristocratic; charitable, yet exploitive; generous, yet mercenary; humanitarian, yet cruel; indulgent yet severely repressive of some things; progressive, yet reactionary; radical, yet conservative—all these are qualities which characterize the conduct of the Church in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, such contradictions were not as singular as they may seem. For it must ever be kept in mind that the Church was not one thing but many things, a complex, cosmopolitan institution, and still an intensely local institution, exercising both spiritual and temporal power, an intricate economic and social polity. It was so intimate and personal in its relation that it touched every man, woman, and child, yet high and far removed and idealistic. Under such conditions it is no wonder that the Church was a bundle of complexities and contradictions. While the highest offices of the Church were always open to men of lowly birth, the Church as an institution was both aristocratic and autocratic. Even the leaven of the Cistercian Order, which was more democratic both in spirit and in organization than the old Benedictine and Cluniac orders, and the broad and sincere democracy of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, failed to democratize the Church. To the end of the Middle Ages it remained politically and spiritually autocratic, socially and economically aristocratic.

The charity of the medieval Church was not wholly disinterested. One may readily admit its large activities in poor relief, the social service afforded by its hospitals and orphanages. But its own practices of economic exploitation often induced the poverty which it was called upon to relieve, and it is questionable whether in proportion to its enormous resources the Church actually contributed as much as lay society to poor

relief. It was not infrequently more inclined to petition and even to compel the laity to contribute to poor relief than to dispense its own resources. One gets a painful impression of the mercenary attitude of many churchmen in the *Life of St. Eloi,* who lived in the seventh century. There a good Christian is pictured as one who presents the oblation, who consecrates a part of the fruits of his industry to God, who offers presents and tithes—this was before the tithe was imposed by law—to the clergy. The Church placated criticism and silenced complaint by temporary doles made in extreme exigency, but was not always genuinely humanitarian. The Church's charity sometimes seemed an anodyne to social discontent; palliative, but not effectively remedial. Much that was given to the Church for alms was in the form of permanent endowment.

The medieval Church was a poor political economist, but exercised an ingenuity approaching genius in revenue and fiscal matters, as in domanial exploitation, market management, and mint rights. The mechanism of Church administration was converted into an elaborate machine for raising money. This is truer of the secular than of the regular clergy, for the reason that the bishops were the Church's authorized administrative agents, while the monks were not, and because the bishops more than the abbots had affinities with feudal courts and the political world in general. Even early in the twelfth century it was notorious that "money talked" in church affairs. The abbot Guibert of Nogent tells how, when Pascal II was in France in 1111, knowing that the cardinals in the papal train "had great hopes of money," he came to the papal court "stuffed with money, I and my fellow-abbot Adalberon of St. Vincent, each of us carrying twenty pounds of money with which the wide gap of their expectations was filled." We have already seen how intensely economic and fiscal were the factors involved in the War of Investiture. The long drawn out conflict with the Byzantine Empire to establish religious unity once more after the separation in 1054 has been intelligibly interpreted in terms of economic motive. Among those who most severely criticized the Church for its corruptions, and who were most unsparing in their denunciations of the character of the clergy were some of the most saintly, as well as some of the most thoughtful sons of the Church—men like St. Bernard, Peter Damieni, Peter Cantor, Hildebert of Le Mans, Peter of Blois, and Robert Grosseteste.

The ever-widening jurisdiction of Rome opened the door to fiscal abuses and corrupt influence. Churchmen of vision like St. Bernard and John of Salisbury, as early as the middle of the twelfth century looked with misgiving and alarm upon the growing menace to the papacy's spiritual nature liable to arise from the enormous mass and complexity of administrative duties thrown upon the popes by the

concentration of so much church business in their hands, and the danger of corruption owing to excessive fiscality. "Could I but see," deplored St. Bernard in a letter to Eugene III, his close friend, "before my death the Church of God as she was in ancient days when the apostles cast their nets to capture not gold or silver, but souls!" He condemned the *dominium temporale* of the papacy and the political position of the bishops everywhere. A few years later we discover John of Salisbury complaining of the immense burden of the papal office and fearing, as well he might, for the health of his friend Hadrian IV. The killing nature of the office a century before this had excited the curiosity of Peter Damieni, and he gave the popes not over four or five years as their limit of life. And indeed the only medieval pope of long pontificate is Alexander III (1159–81). The notoriously unsanitary nature of medieval Rome undoubtedly largely accounts for the mortality of the popes, but the immense burden of administration must have been a factor in their swift breakdown, although, too, it should be remembered that most of them were not young when elected. Yet even youthful popes like Innocent III did not live to advanced age.

We have detailed accounts of various sources of papal revenue . . . in the *Liber Censuum* drawn up under the direction of the camerarius Cencius, afterwards Pope Honorius III, in the year 1192. Besides the revenue from the papal domain proper, a census was received: (1) from monasteries which had placed themselves under the papal "protection," and who in the course of the twelfth century gained exemption from the spiritual as well as the temporal control of their diocesans; (2) from some lay rulers and nobles, who put themselves under papal "protection," or, like the kings of Aragon and the Norman rulers of South Italy and Sicily, recognized papal overlordship; (3) in the form of Peter's Pence, from England since Anglo-Saxon times, and, in the twelfth century from Norway, Sweden, and some other countries as well.[12]

New sources of revenue were found in veneration of relics, miracles, private masses. In the latter part of the ninth century a new penitential system of Irish origin came in which sanctioned a whole series of tariffs which the Frankish Church had once rejected.

The Crusades, especially through the disposal of indulgences, proved a mighty money-maker for the Church.

In 1184 those who cannot themselves take the cross are bidden to give alms to support the Crusade, and, in return for these contributions and for a threefold repetition of the Paternoster, are promised a partial indulgence. In 1195 Celestine III writes to Hubert of Canterbury as his English legate that "those who send of their goods in aid of the Holy Land shall receive

[12] *Cambridge Medieval History,* V, xi.

pardon of their sins from their bishop on the terms he shall prescribe." In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council goes a step farther and promises a plenary indulgence to those who shall contribute to the crusading funds in proportion to their means. With that step the downward path was begun.[13]

Yet it would be unjust to hold the Church wholly responsible for this degradation. The barbarian codes had substituted a scale of graduated fines for offenses to such a vast degree that the abstract moral nature of misdeeds was obliterated in the popular mind, and the penalty was regarded not as a fine but as a quittance. The psychology of medieval Europe must be understood if one is to be just to the medieval Church. It is literally true that in the Middle Ages everything had its price—offices of Church and State, "presents" to judges, advantageous marriages and marriage settlements, wardship, etc. Fees were attached to all such administration. With the prevalent thinking so concrete, it was unavoidable that the penitential system should reflect such psychology. As far back as the fifth century Salvian mournfully complained that "excepting a very few saints, men have thought to atone for their crimes with a piece of money."

The doctrine of a treasury of merit due to the supererogatory works of Christ, the martyrs, and the saints, in the popular thought too often was construed into belief that good works or money might compensate for delinquencies, and the important condition attached thereto by church teaching, that sincere repentance must precede indulgence was lost sight of or lowered to a great degree. The theory and the practice alike of indulgences, indeed, may be theologically justified, but nevertheless the system of indulgences was probably the most widespread form of raising church revenue and the one most liable to abuse.

But there was a better and brighter side to the system of indulgences. They were a remarkable social factor in the development of medieval civilization. The tens of thousands of indulgences that were granted for charitable works had an immense influence upon social and economic conditions. So, too, churches, schools, hospitals, bridges, road and harbor improvements, the redemption of marshes and fens, or making forest clearings, gilds and confraternities organized for works of mercy and relief, loan associations such as the *"Montes Pietatis,"* were started and sustained by the sale of indulgences. Money was thus raised for material improvements, and community enterprises thus swung which otherwise could not have been carried through with success.

The hundreds of incidents and anecdotes told of the corruption of the clergy in the thirteenth century, even after allowance for exaggeration, leave a painful impression and vividly picture the avarice of too

[13] *Ibid.*, 323.

many high churchmen of the time. Corrupt ecclesiastical government ultimately led to corrupt practice in administration of the sacraments—the barter and sale of spiritual values, the debauching of sacerdotal prerogative and authority to mercenary ends. In a measure the charge may be made that the Church capitalized its spiritual authority for revenue purposes. Although the Church, of course, never officially approved of such a course, there is abundant evidence in ecclesiastical legislation that such abuse widely prevailed. Unscrupulous priests refused to perform the sacraments of marriage, baptism, and even extreme unction and burial unless a fee were paid, thereby converting "voluntary offerings" into fixed charges. In 990 the bishop of Puy in a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese declared: "No priest shall take money for baptism, for it is the gift of the Holy Spirit."

Count Robert of Robertstone complained to the local archdeacon that the latter was impoverishing the peasants of his manors by the excessive number of "ransoms for sin" which he imposed upon them, and denounced him as an "exacter of crimes and lover of transgressions." The anecdote is told of a simple knight who naïvely said: "I thought that priests performed masses for the offerings' sake." Another knight thought that the priest had invented the mass as a magical formula for the sake of the offerings. It is told of a rich man in Provence that when he died he left a large sum of money to a neighboring abbey. His son complained that the abbot had said nothing for his father's soul except *"Requiescat in pace,"* but the abbot showed him that those words outweighed the money.

Legacy-hunting on the part of the clergy became a scandal, even in the twelfth century. Alexander III in 1170 decreed that no one could make a valid will except in the presence of a priest, and notaries who drew wills were liable to excommunication. An English church council decreed that when a man made a will he must dispose of part of his property to the Church for the good of his soul, and that a priest must be present when the will was made. The gallant William Marshall, a famous jouster and hero of tournaments in his prime, when on his deathbed was importuned by a priest by his bedside to leave all his rich prizes to the Church. In 1234 the council of Arles decreed that wills not made in the presence of a priest were invalid. If so made the testator was deprived of burial in consecrated ground and the notary who drew the will was liable to excommunication. To die intestate was regarded as robbing the Church.

Even the heretical movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had important roots in economic and social conditions. Leutard of Châlons, who founded a short-lived sect in the diocese of Châlons, got a following among the "rustics" by preaching that the exaction of tithes was not authorized in the New Testament and was an abuse of

the clergy. Waldo of Lyons and the Waldensians, or "Poor Men of Lyons," represented a reaction against the riches and worldliness of churchmen in high places, and endeavored to restore apostolic poverty and simplicity once more. Arnold of Brescia tried to employ the communal revolution in northern Italy to the same end by persuading the burgher governments of the cities to secularize the local wealth of the clergy. In the first quarter of the twelfth century a notorious and popular heretic in Flanders was one Tanchelm, whose following of peasantry and rustics was enormous; he preached the abolition of tithes and the manorial dues exacted by the clergy, together with other radical religious and social doctrines. When he perished a blacksmith named Manasses attempted to preserve the movement he had inspired and formed a fraternity called, significantly, a "gilda." It is significant, in the south of France where the great Albigensian heresy held sway for many years, that so many of the culprits dragged before the courts of the Inquisition were poor weavers, and that the very word for weaver (*tisserand*) became a synonym for heretic. In lower Germany the Stedinger movement was closely associated with peasant protest against the hardening of the manorial régime and the burden of the tithes. The heresies were often vehicles for the expression of a vast and complex social unrest and the instrument of rebellion against prevalent economic grievances and abuses.

Unfortunately, instead of remedying the corruption within its own system, which in the thirteenth century was largely the provocative cause of the prevalence of heresy, the Church hardened and sharpened its policy toward heresy. It confounded with heresy political and economic teaching at variance with its own material interest, and involved all dissidents, of whatsoever sort, in a common condemnation and a common ruin. The Church became as sensitive to popular attacks upon the freedom and property of the clergy as to criticism of its dogmas. Both the attempt of city magistrates to impose taxes upon church property, which it must be remembered was of enormous value and entirely exempt from taxation, and the rebellion of the rural peasantry against exorbitant tithes, were branded as outrageous heresy. Finally the Church resorted, in the south of France, to methods of extermination and organized the infamous Albigensian "Crusade."

The basest of economic motives were appealed to in this Crusade. The property of heretics was promised to informers. Feudal nobles and city magistrates enriched themselves by this means of spoliation. Delatorism became a profession. The confiscation of property and the burning of heretics became a species of economic aggrandizement and enrichment by avaricious clergy and covetous nobles and officials. "Persecution became almost as much a financial speculation as a matter of faith." Lucius III in 1184 endeavored to make the Church the sole

beneficiary of all property confiscated from condemned heretics, but could not enforce it. The Church had to divide the spoil. In the first and most fanatical stage of the Albigensian movement all property was swept away. In 1237 Gregory IX declared that the dowers of catholic wives of heretics were not to be confiscated "except in certain circumstances." Ten years later Innocent IV formally excluded dowries of catholic wives from forfeiture. In Italy usually one-third of the property of a condemned heretic went to the informer, one-third to the Inquisitors, one-third to the local magistrates. The bishop of Rodez boasted that he had made 100,000 *sols* in a single "drive" on the heretics in his diocese. The bishop of Albi did a rushing business in selling commutations of confiscation to condemned heretics who repented. Persecution of heretics often was a lucrative form of extortion and enrichment.

At the end of an extended inquiry into the subject of "Confiscations for Heresy" the late Henry C. Lea summarized the economic and social effects of the Church's persecution of heretics in the thirteenth century, especially the Cathari or Albigensians, in these words:

It is easy to see how prosperous cities were reduced to poverty, how industry languished, and how the independence of the municipalities was broken. . . . Some inventories have been preserved of the goods and chattels sequestrated, as when in December, 1290, and January, 1300, twenty-five or thirty of the wealthiest citizens of Albi were suddenly seized and condemned. . . . That of Raymond Calverie, a notary, gives us every detail of the plenishing of a well-to-do burgher's household—every pillow, sheet, and coverlet is enumerated, every article of kitchen gear, the salted provisions and grain, and even his wife's little trinkets. We have a similar insight into the stock of goods of Jean Baudier, a rich merchant. Every fragment of stuff is duly measured off—cloths of Ghent, Ypres, Amiens, Cambrai, St. Omer, Rouen, Montcornet, etc. His town house and farm were inventoried with the same conscientious care. . . . In addition to the misery inflicted by these wholesale confiscations on the thousands of innocent women and children thus stripped of everything, it would be almost impossible to exaggerate the evil which they entailed upon all classes in the business of daily life. All safeguards were withdrawn from every transaction. No creditor or purchaser could be sure of the orthodoxy of him with whom he was dealing; and even more than the principle that ownership was forfeited as soon as heresy had been committed by the living, the practice of proceeding against the memory of the dead, after an interval virtually unlimited, rendered it impossible for any man to feel secure in the possession of property, whether it had descended in his family for generations, or had been acquired within an ordinary lifetime. . . . Persecution of the dead by the inquisitorial process was a mockery in which virtually defense was impossible and confiscation inevitable. . . . Not only were all alienations made by heretics set aside and the property wrested from the purchasers, but all debts contracted by them and all

hypothecations and liens given to secure loans were void. . . . As no man could be certain of the orthodoxy of another it will be evident how much distrust must have been thrown upon every bargain and every sale in the commonest transactions of life. The blighting influence of this upon the development of commerce and industry can readily be perceived, coming as it did at a time when the commercial and industrial movement of Europe was beginning to usher in the dawn of modern culture. . . . It was this, among other incidents of persecution, which arrested the promising civilization of the south of France and transferred to England and the Netherlands, where the Inquisition was comparatively unknown, the predominance in commerce and industry.[14]

As pontifical authority waxed and the papal monarchy rose high over all Europe both in Church and in State, the revenues of the pope kept pace with the enlargement of his prerogative. When the papacy wrested lay investiture from the hands of the kings and princes the popes exacted a prodigious fee from every new bishop, which rose progressively until in the form of annates it became the entire revenue of the diocese during the first year of the new bishop's incumbency. What this may have amounted to in actual money may be appreciated when it is said that the revenue of alien clerics alone, chiefly Italians and Savoyards, in England in 1252 was three times as great as the income of the king. The income of the Lateran in the thirteenth century must have exceeded the combined revenue of all the sovereigns of Europe at that time. Annates, or "first fruits," fees arising from appellate causes carried up from episcopal courts to the pope sitting *in curia*, dispensations, pluralities (permission by dispensation for a cleric to hold more than one office, and often many offices simultaneously), and its opposite, the practice of pyramiding several merely nominal incumbents (for a fee) upon one office—these, and many other administrative devices of the papacy provided resources that by the thirteenth century staggered Europe. The papacy was the greatest banker in Christendom. Its fiscal agents, the detested "Lombards" and "Cahorsians" were spread like a net over the continent.

Inasmuch as most of the weight of these new forms of taxation and exploitation fell upon the people at large, for the clergy naturally passed on the burden imposed upon them from above to their parishioners, one may judge of the magnitude of the ecclesiastical taxation imposed upon Europe. Some of the roots of the Reformation are to be found in the luxury and profligacy of the clergy and the burden borne by the masses from the thirteenth century onward until the storm broke in the sixteenth century. It is true that Europe in the thirteenth century was far richer than formerly, but it may be questioned whether the material weight of the ecclesiastical system borne by Europe was

[14] *English Historical Review*, II, 235–36.

not at the same time greater than it had been in earlier centuries, in spite of Europe's greater wealth and increased population.

To all these forms of ecclesiastical taxation must be added the enormous expenditure made for erection of the great cathedrals and minsters when that building enthusiasm which gave rise to the Romanesque and later Gothic architecture swept over Europe. The cost of building the great cathedrals and minsters which so charm the traveler in Europe today, and the maintenance of their daily services and altars entailed extensive annual revenues imposed upon the industry and savings of the people. The taxation and diversion of capital and labor to such an immense number of church edifices and for the celebration of an unnecessary number of services must have been very heavy. Figures show that the ratio of increase in number of churches far exceeded the ratio of increase of Europe's population. In the three centuries between 1100 and 1400 the population of England increased about 700,000, or about ten per cent in each century. Yet in the whole of England during the 150 years between 1066 and 1216 the number of *monasteries alone* erected—to say nothing of parish churches and the great cathedrals—was 476 abbeys and priories, and 87 alien priories.

The loftiness of the motive must not deceive us as to the burden of these sacrifices by or compulsory charges upon the people. "While these structures were in some degree the expression of ardent faith, yet more were the manifestation of the pride of the prelates who erected them. . . . We must not lose sight of the supreme effort which they cost." And they had not the excuse of being public improvements like many secular buildings. The contemporary literature of protest against these exactions is too positive for us naïvely to think that all these beautiful cathedrals, abbeys, and minsters were the result of pure and intense religious passion. It speaks volumes for the great material advancement of Europe during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and is striking evidence that the population must have rapidly increased, that society was able to bear the immense burden of such expenditures and still raise the standard of living and the physical comfort of the people.

The Church's economic practices failed to keep abreast of changes in economic condition. It was, as we have seen, the greatest land-owner of the Middle Ages. In the days when Europe was almost wholly agricultural and almost all material wealth was in terms of land and the by-products of an agrarian society, like hides, leather, sheep, wool, and raw materials in general, the Church was very rich. But the economic revolution of the eleventh and twelfth centuries due to the rise of commerce and industry began to produce new forms of wealth like commercial commodities and articles of manufacture which competed with the older forms of wealth and attracted the peasantry from the

fields to the towns. The result was that the Church had increasing difficulty in finding farm labor. The Church became "long" on unprofitable land and "short" on labor; in other words it began to get "land-poor."

Moreover, the economic revolution entailed a rise in prices and an increase in the cost of living for which the Church was unprepared, because it did not understand nor anticipate the profound changes which were taking place, or was unwilling to accommodate itself to them. The once ample stipends of bishops and abbots now failed adequately to support them. Ecclesiastical revenues all over Europe showed alarming shrinkage so that not only salaries and maintenance became increasingly difficult to meet, but even the expenses of worship became an anxiety. In this critical position the Church, as we have seen, recouped itself by capitalizing its authority, and by means of indulgences, dispensations, fees, and annates refilled its coffers. But this expedient was at the price of forfeiting much of the respect of Europe, and at the same time becoming flagrantly corrupt and notoriously avaricious. "The Church," it has been well said, "was the least flexible member of society . . . and had not the means of entering into the new conditions."

The demand made by churchmen of vision that there be "fewer churches, fewer altars in them, fewer persons ordained, and more care in their selection as well in the higher as in the lower orders" was not popular among the clergy. In a remarkable book entitled *Gemma Ecclesiastica* a bishop of the late twelfth century described some of these evils in the Church and pointed out the remedy. But his words fell on deaf ears. Alluding to the fact that under the old law there was but one temple and one altar he writes: "In imitation therefore of the one temple there ought to be in every town but one church; or, if the city be very populous, a few only, and these subject to the great church. The multiplication of chapels has given occasion to unlawful gifts and many other monstrous and disorderly practices. It would be far better that the churches be fewer in number and divine service performed in them less frequently."

Instead of meeting the increased cost of living and the rise in prices by measures of constructive economic reform, the Church shortsightedly tried to make both ends meet by multiplying the number and kind of tithes exacted, by increasing the manorial dues imposed upon its peasantry, by inventing a multiplicity of ecclesiastical fees, in addition to other expedients, in order to augment its income. It increased the number of chapels in the cathedrals and great churches in order to attract gifts of money for their erection and the endowment of the altars in them; two, three, four, and even more masses were celebrated consecutively and on the same day and fees exacted for the celebration

of masses and obits. Unscrupulous bishops multiplied fees and condoned the extortionate methods of their officials. In one instance a bishop, having consecrated a new church, immediately suspended divine service in it because his fee was not sufficiently large. In another an archbishop justified this simoniacal practice by arguing: "I do not sell the church. I only sell my favor. Why should any one have my favor who has done nothing to deserve it?" The practice among bishops of bestowing church benefices upon nephews while mere children, that under pretext of wardship they might longer pocket the profits was a great abuse. Church endowments and nominal offices were frequently bestowed upon relatives who were ne'er-do-wells in order to provide for them. Church benefices were bestowed in reversion. Church offices were multiplied and sold to rich aspirants for clerical honor or clerical privilege for a large sum of money while a poor priest actually performed the duties of the office; or, in many a case, no duties were attached to the office. "A wickedness exists beyond that of the priests of Baal," records a bold and indignant critic of the twelfth century, "for the bishops exact an oath of their inferior clergy that they will carry all causes out of which money can be made into the bishop's court in order to extort fees and fines."

With the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243–54) "the greatest power on earth was in the hands of a consummate man of business," and an incomparable lawyer, who brought to bear upon the resources of the papal office the astuteness of one born and brought up in the rich and intensely mercantile city of Genoa. His fiscal operations constituted a turning-point in the history of the medieval papacy when, so far as one can judge from the evidence of over 20,000 documents, the head of the Church prostituted his spiritual prerogatives for power and riches. To the *plenitudo potestatis* which Innocent IV possessed and effectively used (as in 1246, when by skilful distribution of dispensations he broke up a combination of French nobles against him), he added the temporal power of the States of the Church. Dante does not mention Innocent IV by name among the papal denizens of Hell, as he does his successors, Nicholas III and Boniface VIII, whom he "is never weary of branding with the name of infamy"; but modern research has conclusively shown that it was with Innocent IV that the fiscal prostitution and debauching of the papacy began. Nicholas III, who was of the Orsini family, was described as "a Bear too eager to advance the cubs" —a biting allusion to his nepotism—and one who "put vast wealth into his own purse."

In the light of facts like these one understands more clearly than ever the mission of St. Francis of Assisi in his idealization of poverty and his condemnation of clerical worldliness and temporal magnificence. More than any other man he and the movement he inspired saved the

Church from extinction through corruption. Clear-headed and deeply religious leaders like St. Francis and St. Dominic scathingly condemned the corruption of the Church, its worldliness, hardness of heart, mercenary character, social arrogance. The latter said that the bishops had ceased to be shepherds of their flocks and had become wolves. When the pope showed the austere saint the treasure of the Lateran Palace with the remark that the successor of St. Peter was not compelled to say like Peter, "Silver and gold have I none," Dominic dryly replied: "Yes, neither can Peter's successor say, 'Take up thy bed and walk.'" The Begging Friars, or Franciscans, and the Preaching Friars, or Dominicans, alike laid emphasis on practical charity and on popular preaching in the vernacular language in order to bring the gospel home to the people. They preached in the open air in the streets, marketplaces, at fairs, along the road as fellow travelers with the swarms of pilgrims bound for holy places like the tomb of Becket at Canterbury, St. James of Compostella, Mont St. Michel, and Rome. Until the thirteenth century preaching was little part of the office of the parish priests. That was a duty and a right of the bishops only, who usually were too much engrossed in ecclesiastical adminstration or politics to give attention to it. This weak point in the system of the Church the heresies took advantage of, and thereby gained popularity with and control of the masses. In self-defense—and prompted by the success of the friars—the Church adopted the method of its adversaries, and made preaching in the vernacular the duty of every priest. In spite of its aristocratic leanings and its hierarchic character, the Church had to be responsive to the new democratic spirit and condition of the thirteenth century, when serfdom was waning, towns had arisen, trade and commerce, eminently the means of livelihood of the common people, had developed. Only by popularizing its methods could the Church keep its popularity and retain its hold upon society.

While many individual churchmen in the Middle Ages displayed unusual capacity as practical administrators, and some of them, notably Gregory VII, large economic vision, the Church as a whole was a poor political economist. The roots of the Church's economic theory are to be found in the radical social democratic ideas of early Christianity recorded in the New Testament.

> The teaching of the Gospel as to worldly goods had been unmistakable. It had repeatedly warned men against the pursuit of wealth, which would alienate them from the service of God and choke the good seed. It had in one striking instance associated spiritual perfection with the selling of all that a man had, that he might give it to the poor. It had declared the poor and hungry blessed, and had prophesied woes to the rich. Instead of anxious thought for the food and raiment of the morrow, it had taught trust in God; instead of selfish appropriation of whatever a man could obtain,

a charity which gave freely to all who asked. And in the members of the earliest Christian Church it presented an example of men who gave up their individual possessions, and had all things in common. We cannot wonder that, with such lessons before them, a salutary reaction from the self-seeking of the pagan world should have led the early Christian Fathers to totally condemn the pursuit of gain. It took them further—to the denial to the individual of the right to do what he liked with his own, even to enjoy in luxury the wealth he possessed. . . .

If, however, to seek to enrich one's self was sinful, was trade itself justifiable? This was a question which troubled many consciences during the Middle Ages. On the one hand the benefits which trade conferred on society could not be altogether overlooked, nor the fact that with many traders the object was only to obtain what sufficed for their own maintenance. On the other hand they saw that trade was usually carried on by men who had enough already, and whose chief object was their own gain: "If covetousness is removed," argues Tertullian, "there is no reason for gain, and, if there is no reason for gain, there is no need of trade." Moreover, as the trader did not seem himself to add to the value of his wares, if he gained more for them than he had paid, his gain, said St. Jerome, must be another's loss; and, in any case, trade was dangerous to the soul, since it was scarcely possible for a merchant not sometimes to act deceitfully. To all these reasons was added, by many of the more saintly churchmen, yet another, which, had it been listened to, would have put an end to secular activity altogether. The thought of the supreme importance of saving the individual soul, and of communion with God, drove thousands into the hermit life of the wilderness, or into monasteries; and it led even such a man as Augustine to say that "business" was in itself an evil, for "it turns men from seeking true rest, which is God."[15]

In the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages these doctrines were not a great economic hardship and provoked little protest. For commerce was at a low ebb from the fifth to the eleventh century; both public and private economy was almost wholly of an agricultural nature, and economic "self-sufficiency" in primary staple productions the prevailing condition of things.

But in the eleventh century began a great moving of the stagnant waters. The growth of towns, the formation of merchant bodies, the establishment of markets—even if they did no more than furnish the peasant and the lord of the manor with a market for their surplus produce, brought men face to face with one another as buyer and seller in a way they had not been before. But they did more; they prepared the way for the growth of a new class, a class of craftsmen, who could exist only on condition that they were able to sell their manufactures. At the same time, new needs for money appeared both in the Crusades and in the passion for church-building, which the religious revival of the tenth century brought with

[15] Ashley, *Introduction to Economic History*, 126.

it. Hence economic questions, especially such as concerned the relations of seller and buyer, of creditor and debtor, became of the first importance. With these new dangers before them, churchmen began once more to turn their attention to economic matters, and to meet what they regarded as the evil tendencies of the Roman law, "the principle of the world," by a fresh application of Christian principles. On two doctrines especially did they insist—that wares should be sold at a "just price," and that the taking of interest was sinful. They enforced them from the pulpit, in the confessional, in the ecclesiastical courts.[16]

The "just price" was estimated upon the cost of production and the degree of need without regard to competition, which was held to be sinful. The Church endeavored to sustain this "just price" by force of law, ignoring the elements of supply and demand, and competition. St. Thomas Aquinas recognized the new necessity of commerce, but tried to save the economic theory of the Church by making allowance for the *motive* with which commerce was conducted, and made this the criterion of legitimacy. "There are two ways," he says—I borrow the translation of Miss Davison, *Forerunners of St. Francis,* pp. 341–342—

in which it is possible to increase the prosperity of a commonwealth. The more worthy is the production of an abundance of necessities by virtue of the fertility of the land; the other is by means of commerce by which what is necessary is brought to a common market from different places. The former is the more desirable condition, since it is better that a state should possess an abundance of riches from its own soil, for when merchants are necessary to maintain the people, injury may result to them in time of war when communications are checked. Also the coming of foreigners is apt to corrupt the morals of any people. If the citizens devote themselves to commerce, there is opportunity for many vices. For when merchants desire to increase their gains, the others also are filled with cupidity. The calling of a merchant is widely different from that of a soldier. The former abstains from manual labor, enjoys the good things of life and becomes soft in body and flabby in mind. For this reason a state should restrict its commercial pursuits.

In the matter of wages and rent scholastic thinking was also as far removed from the actual operation of economic laws. Today it is recognized that the wages of the artisan shall increase with an increase in the market price of what he has labored to produce. The scholastic, however, regarded labor as a commodity to be bought and sold like wares, of which wages were the price. The remuneration of the worker was measured not by the value of his product, but by the extent of his needs—a doctrine which if effective would have kept wages permanently low and reduced the artisan classes to an industrial proletariat.

[16] *Economic Journal,* XXXI, 233.

As to rent, the scholastics regarded it as a species of partnership in which the owner of the land contributed one factor of production, the laborer the other. It was recognized that land might vary in value according to fertility, improvement, location, etc., but since there was not opportunity for modern free dealing in land in a feudal society, rents tended to remain fixed, or customary. Thus it will be seen that in general the doctrine of the "just price" hurt the merchant, the doctrine of wages hurt the artisan, but that the doctrine of rent was favorable to the lower class and operated against the welfare of the land-owning class.

Maximum and sumptuary laws, the "just price," became the order of the day. Here the Church and the secular courts parted company, however. The Church discouraged—or at least professed to discourage trade as worldly and sinful—while the State frankly sought to promote it. The secular courts followed the line of practical wisdom and experience. The Church's ordinances embodied an economic ideal which was both unpractical and impracticable, and, moreover, was regarded by the workaday world of merchants and artisans as grossly unjust and calculated to enforce perpetual poverty. The Church's concept of "value" was something absolute and apart from value in use and value in exchange, something independent of supply and demand, something intrinsic and fixed; its theory, derived from Aristotle, that "money is sterile," that the gospel phrase "Lend, hoping for nothing again," must be taken literally and practised universally; its prohibition of the taking of interest as both opposed to Christian teaching and unethical, since it was exploitation of something free to all and common to all, namely, *time* (for to charge interest was, as it were, to sell a thing and then charge for the use of it); its denial in theory and in practice of the mobility of capital (indeed, its doctrine that capital itself was worldly and the possession of it sinful); its denial of the principle and practice of credit—all these economic doctrines which were advocated by the scholastics and enforced by civil and canon law, had a detrimental influence upon the material welfare of medieval society.

By the twelfth century, when commerce and industry had become awakened and immensely active, these theories became issues of practical importance which no longer interested only theologians and doctrinaires, but interested princes, governors, legists, merchants, tradesmen and the common people. The economic practice of the people refused to follow the teachings. The decrees of the Church were either ignored or, what was more common, surreptitiously evaded. The business ingenuity of the times invented "indirect exceptions" of many sorts.

CHAPTER XXVI

FEUDALISM AND THE FEUDAL CLASSES

THE medieval state was a loose agglomeration of territories with "rights of property and sovereignty everywhere shading into one another." The several states were very much alike in political and social institutions; they professed the same religion and the governing classes had identical interests everywhere. Each was feudal in form of government, in institutions, in social structure.

Medieval political theory was based upon a tripod: the Roman law, the teachings of the Fathers, and Germanic legal traditions and social institutions. Antiquity believed the State to be real, supreme, immutable, permanent, above all, and not responsible to its subjects. Christianity, through St. Augustine, taught that civil society, *i.e.*, the State, being derived from sinful man (Nimrod was its founder), was *ex origine* evil; that the Church was the perfect form of organized society, and the State at best was only to be tolerated within and subordinate to the Church. With the primitive Germans, on the other hand, even when the inchoate State began to be formed among them, the emphasis was laid upon the rights of the individual. All three of these antithetic conceptions entered into the fabric of the medieval State.

The Frankish Empire was essentially feudal in theory and practice. With its rupture this feudal character was communicated to the several states which were formed out of its decomposition. But this process of political decomposition was not arrested with the formation of the six several kingdoms into which the Frankish monarchy was split. The kingdoms themselves tended to subdivide into semi-independent principalities, so that each realm became a loose agglomeration of feudal fiefs. Under these conditions power became more and more personal. It was impossible to separate the principle of rule from the person of the ruler, and the bond which held society together was the mutual relation of lordship and homage. The relation of the lord and the vassal was a contractual one; and the theory of contract was pushed upward to include the king. The State, instead of being, as in the past, a compact political entity, was converted into a loose contractual social organism.

The beginning and the end of the Carolingian house (752–887)—for after the latter date the king was a mere seignior, the crown elective, and each king dependent upon the support of a handful of great nobles—

were the poles of a single process, to wit; the rise and triumph of feudalism. The Carolingians were brought to power and sustained in it for a century by a potential feudalism, or rather vassalage. But the Carolingians were strong only so long as they retained their proprietary predominance. In the ninth century, however, the system became one of reverse action. The vassals grew stronger and made themselves greater proprietors than the kings. They left the kings the husks of royalty and seized the corn for themselves. Their fidelity became a fiction, their service a gesture. But the process of dissolution did not stop with the destruction of the Frankish Empire. For the same particularistic forces which had detached the grandees of the crown and the great provinces in the ninth century from royal control, in the tenth century wrought to divide and subdivide the provinces into quasi-independent fiefs. The high nobles became the victims of the same psychology and the same forces which they had employed against the monarchy.

The remote roots of feudalism are to be found in the former Roman patrimonial proprietorship, which the Church and the Germans imitated and continued, and in the old Germanic concept of personal loyalty of all the members of the primitive *comitatus,* or war-band, to its chief. Thus Rome contributed the property relation, the Germans the personal relation. Their fusion together formed the essential nature of feudalism. The two institutions became the obverse and the reverse side of the same thing. The union of the Carolingian benefice (or grant of land subject to fixed services) with vassalage—itself a compound of ancient Celtic clientage with German loyalty—created the fief of the landed noble, which he held of some superior noble. The link in the long chain of phases by which this result was achieved was commendation, or the promise of fidelity by the vassal to the overlord, or suzerain. The remote ancestors of the nobility of the Middle Ages were the armed domestics (*antrustions,* or men in the *trust* of the king) of the barbarian kingdoms, who at first were personal vassals bound by an oath of commendation; these later, in the time of the Carolingians, became vassals owning property in the form of benefices or fiefs. The obligation became both a personal and a property one, *fidelitas* representing the moral side, homage the material side of the relation, and the ceremony of commendation uniting the two into a single institution. Historians are divided in opinion as to which of these two separate sources was earlier in point of time, or greater in point of influence—the personal or the property relation. It really makes little matter and is a point for antiquaries. But it is important to know that this system as a form of government and a structure of society grew up out of the disruption of the Frankish Empire in the ninth century, and incorporated much of the debris of that state into its organism.

An additional contributing factor to the formation of feudal society was the invasions of the Norsemen and the crying need, felt especially by the lower classes, for protection and security. The freeman of the ninth and tenth centuries in these adverse conditions had three options: to become a vassal of a landed proprietor more powerful than himself, in which case he, too, became a noble of inferior degree to his suzerain; to enter the Church; or to become a serf. Naturally the last was the fate of the largest part of the free population. For only the man possessed of considerable land could interest another in helping to protect his property, and this the suzerain would do only upon condition of the performance of stipulated services to him by the vassal.

It must not be supposed that this development was always made in an orderly way. As a matter of fact there was much wantonness and spoliation of the weak by the strong, much injustice, much brutality. The negative nature of some of these early promises—*not* to injure or to hurt—is instructive. Nevertheless, in spite of its often violent and sinister character, there can be no doubt that feudalism as a whole was a phenomenon of social progress, of social integration, and not one of decay. If we take the long view we can see how constructive and how original and how great a civilization that of the feudal age was. The period of transition, the ninth and tenth centuries, it cannot be denied, was hard upon mankind, but when that period of transformation was overpassed and the new social institutions which were in process of formation had at last taken form, then a better era was ushered in. The new feudal régime found itself in new institutions of a political, social, and economic nature which were in harmony with and expressed the new society that had come into being. One may sympathize with the men of the ninth and tenth centuries in the "revel of barbarism" which then prevailed, who looked back wistfully to the age of Charlemagne as a Golden Age, when Europe dwelt together in unity. Yet those violent centuries possessed the germs, the promise, and the potency of a new and greater civilization than that which had vanished away. By fixing society to the soil feudalism brought an end to the fluctuations that had characterized the barbaric life of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. Europe became more stabilized. The principles upon which feudalism rested were different and of higher morality than the autocracy and slavocracy of the later Roman Empire. Feudalism reduced the earlier excessive and barbaric individualism to obedience to law and order, crystallized in institutions of suzerainty, vassalage, fidelity, service, the rights and the duties of contract. In its finest form it produced a new civilization. Feudalism was not, an eminent historian has written, a bridge cast across the gulf between barbarism and civilization—it was itself a civilization, a high culture which reached its apogée between 1150 and 1250.

If the rights and obligations, the duties as well as the liberties, of this society had not early (by the beginning of the eleventh century) become thus defined and regularized, its customs socialized and their force given the sanction of law by political or church authority, the civilization of the feudal age would never have been born, and Europe would have sunk into a storm of anarchy compared with which the violence of the ninth and tenth centuries was but a tempest in a teapot. For these first lords of the land, these ferocious warriors, formed "the freest population that ever existed," whose sense of liberty frequently extended into license. This anarchy would have been incompatible with the very survival of society if these same men had not voluntarily combined themselves together by conventions and contracts which custom and tradition gradually hardened into law and which honor compelled them to obey. The necessity of defense against itself forced the feudality to hierarchize itself, so that every proprietor, great or small, was bound to another lord above him, who could at the same time give him protection and exact obedience to the law.

The necessity of purchasing fidelity—for the lesser nobles drove shrewd bargains with those above them—was an important cause of the disappearance of movable wealth in the tenth century. It could not be spent, since there was nothing to purchase beyond what was furnished by the soil, and the products of the soil were theirs already. Hence it was hoarded. Accordingly, services more and more tended to be paid for in land, and as roads were bad, security slight, and all traffic beset with tolls, the circulation of commodities became intensely localized. Hence almost all produce was consumed upon the domain, no surplus was left for sale, and therefore the feudal age was one without capital. The only capital was land, and it was fixed, not mobile, a fact deeply responsible for the static condition and fixity of social structure in feudal society.

It is sentimental to regret the decline of ancient civilization or disappearance of the ancient free German village community and the degradation of thousands of small freemen in this process. One may argue the question as to which is a preferable form of government. But the fundamental function of all government is to protect life and property, and, given the time, the elements, and the conditions, no other form of government and no other form of society was possible in Europe, than feudalism. We must deal with historical conditions as we find them, and not indulge in theories and doctrinaire opinions.

In theory the feudal system was probably the most ideal form of government the brain and heart of man has ever devised. The master of English historians has observed:

> It would have been a very excellent device if it could have been administered by archangels. . . . The essence of the system was mutual

fidelity, and its proper consequence the creation of a corporate unity, and the recognition of it by every member, from the king to the villein. The bond was not a voluntary one, to be taken up and put aside at pleasure; the principle of cohesion was uniform throughout the mass. If then, on the one hand, the maladministration of the system forced the different constituents of the nation into a physical union of interests, the essential character, which no maladministration could neutralize, supplied the very elements which were wanting for moral strength. Self-reliance was proved not to be incompatible with order, mutual faith, and regard to law; and these are indispensable for national strength and national spirit.[1]

When the period of anarchic transition had passed and Europe began to settle down under the feudal régime, it was not a reign of anarchy but a reign of law, despite the many infractions of law. In its best days feudalism probably enforced the law about as effectively and as honestly as modern society does. Because the ideas and the practices of the Middle Ages were very different from those of today, we must not be deceived into thinking that the civilization of the past was necessarily inferior to our own. The feudal system has gone the way of history, but its fundamental principle, that the possession of property entails public duty, and that great private wealth owes something to society, is of the essence of good government and just social relations.

It is easy for one imbued with current ideas of political and social democracy to condemn the aristocratic nature of the feudal régime. But, as the best members of that aristocracy were actuated by a sense of responsibility to one another, both to those above and to those below themselves, so they were possessed by a sense of responsibility and social obligation to the whole society around them, of which they were members. This aristocracy was a landed aristocracy, its wealth was in land. The medieval concept of government was that wealth and social influence conferred the right to govern. The relation between administrative service and the possession of land was close. Landed wealth determined politics. But this medieval concept also held that property entailed the performance of duties to society and involved responsibility together with privilege. "Medieval liberty," wrote Lord Acton, "differs from modern liberty in this, that it depended on property." To the same effect Maitland has said: "In the Middle Ages liberty and property are closely connected ideas."

The diversity of kinds of law in those days may have found stimulus in their very variety, while with us there may lurk enervation and monotony in uniformity. Whatever prejudices we may have for present conditions, when feudalism finally found itself it was a noble form of government and contributed to the creation of a splendid civilization.

[1] Stubbs, *Introductions to the Rolls Series*, 109.

The interdependence of vassal and suzerain, the actual rights of the former to the lands he theoretically held as a gift, the power to transmit these lands to his descendants, these principles and others, which gradually developed and adjusted the framework of medieval society, had been generally recognized by the middle of the tenth century. . . . When firmly fixed they prepared the way for a new conception of humanity. The generation which was first wholly fashioned by them could drop the century-long debate over matters of administration. Relieved of the discussion of methods of government it could devote itself to its social and intellectual welfare. . . . The activity of decades was consumed in the strife, but the end justified the effort.[2]

As early as 988 not merely the Church but secular princes could dream, as a result of the reduction of private war, of the idea of universal peace and actually sketch the plan of a federation of the states of Europe for that purpose.

One need not imbue with the tinge of romance some of the social teachings of feudalism in order to admire them. In actual practice they were high and noble, and though many of them, as in all society, were often more honored in the breach than in the observance. The idea of personal honor and loyalty was a vivid moral force even in the most violent times. One has only to read the little *Manual of Dhuoda,* written in the depth of the ninth century, to realize this, and to discover that the injunctions therein were not mere empty precepts. The most infamous crime in the feudal calendar was murder of one's overlord, and it is the rarest crime to be met with in the Middle Ages. There is no instance of the murder of a sovereign by a vassal or subject in the centuries of feudalism. King-killing was a political recourse of the generations of the Renaissance and Reformation. In the chanson *Girart de Roussillon,* which reflects the hardest age of feudalism, we find a remarkable example of the high moral value attached to the relation of a vassal bound by oath of fidelity to his suzerain. In the story Girart, having taken refuge in a forest, finds shelter for the night with an old hermit to whom he tells his plot to assassinate his overlord. The hermit is deeply shocked and exclaims:

Thou wouldst kill thy suzerain! Neither clerk nor saint, not bishop nor the pope would ever consent to grant thee the Church's forgiveness. Theology and Holy Writ declare what should be done to a traitor. He shall be torn asunder by horses, his body burned, his ashes scattered to the winds, the place of his execution shall be infamous, neither grass nor herb shall grow upon it.

When Guibert of Nogent inveighs against the treason of Bishop Ascelin

[2] Warren, in *Proceedings Modern Language Assoc.,* N. S. XVII, p. LI.

of Laon in the tenth century, the shocking thing to him is not that a bishop could so do, but that one who had taken an oath of fealty to his lord could go so far as to break it and to plot against him.

No more intensely personal form of government was ever conceived than that of feudalism, and the cardinal principle of it was mutual responsibility. The State was a loose contractual social organism. The teaching of the Church imparted a religious character, it is true, to the State; but at bottom the sanctions were more feudal than religious. Even the political thinking of the bishops ran in a feudal groove.

The Church, as the interpreter and ordainer of the will of God among men, substantiated the theory of its ascendancy in actual practice by deposing Louis the Pious and Charles the Fat. Since justice was an attribute of God, and the Church was of divine foundation, the Church claimed the authority to determine what was right and just and what was not, in the conduct of kings.

In order to make it more certain that the king would reign justly, the king was required to subscribe to a *promissio,* or coronation oath, in which the contractual, feudal nature of the king's authority is clearly manifested. It was the duty of the king to do justice and himself to obey the law. If he failed so to do the contract could be abolished; his subjects had the right to repudiate the contract. In feudal law a vassal had the right to war upon his suzerain, even the king, if denied justice. He could repudiate his homage and challenge his overlord. The converse was also true; the lord might repudiate his suzerainty and challenge the vassal.

It is a vulgar impression that the Middle Ages were a period of irresponsible and arbitrary violence and force. Violent the period was, but it was not one without law. Indeed, paradoxical as it may seem, the very sensitiveness for law was oftentimes the reason for the violence. Bishop Stubbs has shown this in one of the most illuminating passages penned by any modern historian.

> Medieval history is a history of rights and wrongs. . . . The idea of right or rights was the leading idea of the Middle Ages—right or rights, because, whilst in the greatest men of the period there was a conscious attempt to exalt law and a willingness to abide by it, there was in the inferior actors, in the worse men, a disposition to maintain their own rights within recognized limits, and, when they attacked the possessions or infringed the apparently equal rights of their opponents, to do it on the ground of legal pleas. . . . The Middle Ages . . . were ages of legal growth, ages in which the idea of right, as embodied in law, was the leading idea of statesmen, and the idea of rights justified or justifiable by the letter of law, was a profound influence with politicians. . . . There was no fear of shedding blood, but there was great fear of destroying right . . . something that may be justified by law, not merely by the logic of the strong

hand. . . . Medieval wars are, as a rule, wars of rights: they are seldom wars of unprovoked, never wars of absolutely unjustifiable, aggression. . . . There was war in abundance, public and private war. . . . What was meant was not that men loved law, but that they did so far respect it as to wish to seem to have it always on their side. They did not attack their neighbors because they wanted glory, or because they could not bear rivalry, or because their neighbors' armies were too strong for their safety, or because their neighbors' armies were so ill equipped that they might be an easy conquest; but they alleged a legal claim or a legal grievance; and in the majority of cases really legal claims and really legal grievances. . . . Men went to law to avenge their wrongs and to vindicate their right, and, when they could not get law that was strong enough to enforce itself, they went to war.[3]

The very sensitiveness (one might almost say supersensitiveness) of the men of the feudal age to questions of justice is proof of this mental attitude. The idea of justice was never less a theory and never more actual than in the feudal age. But justice implies a sanction, and this sanction must be law. Now law, for the medieval man, was the product of experience and tradition. It was custom, the accretion of generations in the past, and silently accepted by the men of the present. Even the prince could not contravene this customary law. Customary law was the supreme law, and any modification of it had to be accepted by all, or at least, if the community were too large and too widely dispersed to make approval or disapproval impossible, then it had to be accepted by the governing class, by the *major* or *sanior pars*. The king himself was not above the law, for he was of the noble class and contributed to the formation of the law of his kind. He, too, was subject to the customary law of the land. His authority was very far from being that of a despot. The maxim of St. Augustine that an unjust law was not law reënforced this doctrine of "natural rights," which were distinguished from positive law. The ancient German principle that the State was subordinate to law was at odds with the classical tradition that law was made by the State.

We see this new and positive ideal reflected in the historiography of the eleventh century. At this same time too, the student of medieval law begins to detect elements in it which are neither of Roman nor of ecclesiastical nor of German origin, but which may be described as feudal. It is evident that some new and constructive ideas were beginning to leaven feudal society. The day of anarchy and sheer brute force, of unrestrained violence and brutality such as characterized so much of the history of the tenth century, was beginning to pass away, and a new epoch was dawning in which the mutuality of rights and duties, of privileges and obligations was better understood and more regarded.

[3] Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, 241–53.

Socially speaking, feudal society was aristocratic. We have some illuminating literature with reference to social attitudes. The conception of a tripartite society of three "estates"—the clergy to pray, to praise God, and to minister spiritually to mankind; the nobles to preserve order, exercise police power, and protect the country against invasion; the people to labor for the support of these two privileged classes—appears early in medieval history.

We find the two upper classes already distinguished and characterized as to social function in a letter of Pope Zachary to Pepin the Short and the prelates and grandees of the Frankish state in 747. Fifty years later Alcuin, writing of England, deplores the "secular vanities" of the clergy, and the "avarice" and "injustice" of the nobles (*bellatores*). The term "three orders" (*tres ordines*) appears in an address of the Frankish bishops to Louis the Pious in 821, and "each order" (*uterque ordo*), meaning clergy and nobility, is found in a capitulary of 828. By the end of the ninth century the three orders are fully distinguished in the *Miracles of St. Bertin*. A little later we find the relations of the second and third classes of feudal society, the nobles and peasantry, defined by Odo of Cluny in terms of protection by the former and work by the latter. Again, writing about the year 1000, Adalberon, bishop of Laon, addressing King Robert the Pious of France, says:

> Triplex ergo Dei domus est quae creditur una:
> Nunc orant, alii pugnant aliique laborant.

Jacques de Vitry said that the clergy were the eyes, for they saw and pointed out to men the road to safety; the nobles were the hands and arms, whose duty was to protect society, to enforce justice, and to war for defense of the realm; the common people (*minores*) were as the lower parts of the body, to sustain and bear the upper parts of the body politic.

These ideas of privilege and caste permeated the whole of medieval society in all countries where feudalism prevailed, and that means all of central and western Europe. We find the idea of tripartite society in Anglo-Saxon England, in a manuscript attributed to Ælfric: "Every just throne stands on three props, that stands perfectly right. One is *oratores,* another is *laboratores,* the third is *bellatores.* The *oratores* are the men of prayer, who shall serve God and by day and night intercede for the whole nation. The *laboratores* are those who work." The Norman conquest of England confirmed and hardened this social attitude of Anglo-Frenchmen. Thus in the twelfth century John of Salisbury, using the old Pauline figure of the body and its members, declaims as follows:

I call the feet of the State those who, exercising the humble crafts, contribute to the material progress of the State and its members. These are the laborers permanently bound to the glebe, and the artisans who work in wool or wood, iron or brass, those who are charged with the care of maintaining us, those who make the thousands of objects necessary to life. It is the duty of those who are inferior to respect those who are superior; but these in their turn must aid those beneath them, and provide for their needs.

Among German, Italian, and Spanish writers of the feudal age we find identity of thought and expression in defining the social attitude of the two ruling classes toward the ruled. In medieval wills one not infrequently finds instances of a serf "and all his brood" (*sequela*), a phrase used to describe a litter of puppies or kittens, being disposed of.

Far more than the clerical hierarchy, the military hierarchy tended to make itself a closed class in which every member was a noble of some distinction or other. Whosoever was not "born" into the class, had little hope of entering it. In Germany feudal ranks were called "shields": (1) the king; (2) ecclesiastical princes as vassals of the crown; (3) the great dukes and margraves and later the counts palatine, or palgraves; (4) lay princes who held of the Church; (5) counts and barons who were vassals of greater lay princes; (6) free knights, vassals of counts or barons; (7) *ministeriales,* or men of servile origin who by virtue of performing military service and prowess might rise out of serfdom into the status of semi-knighthood. These might hold of true knights or others, but not of one another. In France the gradations were at once looser and more aristocratic. Strict separation of rank, though, early ceased to have significance. One count might hold of another (even the king was once a vassal of the abbot of St. Denis) and even men of low scale be accepted as of highest rank, like the viscount of Limoges, who was more powerful and of higher dignity than many counts, and the sieur de Coucy, whose boast was: "I am neither duke nor count. I am the sieur de Coucy." On the other hand no man not noble born could hope to attain nobility. Such an invasion of the noble class from below as the *ministeriales* in Germany was impossible in France. The highest rank a simple freeman could attain was knighthood, and even then his prowess had to be clearly proved.

Every vassal was the follower of a baron of rank higher than his own. The lowest rank in the feudal hierarchy was that of knight. The landless knight was known only in Germany and originally he was not of noble blood but a serf doing military service. Elsewhere knighthood pertained solely to the aristocracy, and a knight was a person of estate. Knights were without castles usually, but formed part of the entourage of a great baron. They were the baron's constabulary in time of peace and his personal guard in time of war. But there was another variety

of knights employed not in field service, but in less active tasks, especially castle-guard. These were called *vavassors*. "They were stay-at-homes, fixed quantities, who tilled their land without the distractions or temptations of the knights proper. They form a link with the lower vassals, who in their turn introduce us to the peasant class."

In spite of the fact that social distinctions seem to have been clear-cut in the feudal age, actually the gradations in each class were blurred, and the classes blended into one another. Were the *minores, minocres, mediocres,* the very lowest grades of the noblesse, so low that they were mere petty squires? Or were they a peculiar form of freemen, higher than ordinary freemen? If so, how? Or were they the remnant of such alodial [4] proprietors as the pressure of feudalism had spared? As nobles shaded off into freemen, so freemen shaded off into various degrees of the unfree. As freemen might rise to knighthood, so in Germany talented or fortunate serfs might rise to be *ministeriales.*

In Germany social distinctions were not so sharply defined as elsewhere. Lords used their unfree servants (such as were fitted) as mounted messengers, followers on journey, bodyguard and as soldiers in their petty feuds, and even let them swell the host of free retainers when joining the army. The *minsterialis,* the house-slave, the bodyservant, armed and mounted, figured largely in the retinues of the lords, and for such service received equipment and endowment of land so as to be always ready. These *ministeriales* came to form a special class of armed retainers, of inferior rank but with great opportunities for preferment in important and responsible positions, and with ultimate equality with free-born soldiers and knights. They had charge of castles, bridges, trading posts, tolling places. Highest in honor were the imperial *ministeriales,* but those belonging to bishops or princes were likewise made bailiffs and administrators of towns and districts. Their position was so advantageous that the knighthood class was invaded by these upstarts, and thus was created a subordinate equestrian order, *ordo militaris,* divided into major and minor, the *ministeriales* being the *milites minores.*

The extent of the persistence or survival of freeholders in the midst of and through the intensest period of feudalism is a subject as important as it is difficult to resolve. We know that in Saxony, Tuscany, and part of Languedoc considerable masses of such freeholders persisted until late and never were wholly worked into the feudal régime

[4] The word *alod* was compounded from the German particle *an* and *loţ* or *lod, i.e.,* "lands obtained by lot," and is reminiscent of the way the lands of the Romans were divided during the Germanic conquests in the fifth century. It was a freehold. (See Chapter IV.) The word *feodum* (whence "fief") was compounded from the word *lot, lod, od,* meaning "estate or real property," and *feo,* signifying "money" or "wages." Thus a fief originally was a stipendiary grant.

either politically or socially. The courage of men of this class in resisting the pressure put upon them by feudal neighbors to compel them to accept vassalage, the persistence with which they withstood violence and attempts at subjection without the protection of a suzerain is remarkable. The eleventh century seems to have been the time when the feudalization of alods was strongest. In Languedoc in the twelfth century some freeholders formed a league of defense. We do not know its fate. It probably disappeared in the devastation of the Midi as the result of the Albigensian Crusades.

In the chapter upon the manor we shall see that the medieval baron as a proprietor enjoyed certain incomes derived from monopolies which he possessed in his manors, such as court fees, the bake-oven, the brewery, and the mill. But independently of these manorial revenues he had other incomes derived from his "rights" as a feudal lord, which historically represented localized vestiges of the former sovereignty of the central government. Among these were the right of judicature ("high" or "mean" justice) according to his rank, coinage, market, tolls, *péages*, etc. Few nobles were elevated by any sense of public spirit in exercsing these prerogatives. When Odo of Tours in the eleventh century built a bridge over the Loire and permitted free crossing of it, his conduct created astonishment.

Before the twelfth century, when there was great increase of money owing to the Crusades and awakening of trade, to pay in coin was a sign of great wealth. The nobles jealously guarded this right of coinage, for it was a lucrative one. The right of coinage was part of the domain of the prince. Carolingian money was pure silver, the oldest baronial money likewise. Little by little the coin was debased, the metal alloyed, the weight diminished. "The alteration is legal, persistent, progressive." What was the reason for issuance of a coinage economically bad?

Probably the chief reason for the constant alteration of moneys is to be found in the nature of the right of coinage which the lord considered as one of the chief sources of revenue of his domain. He benefited himself in deriving the maximum profit from possession of the prerogative. Money became the element of a manorial *redevance*. The seigniorage was converted into a proportional tax upon all purchase and sale. It had the convenience of being a tax easy to apply, cheap in cost of administration, and made no vexatious distinction between classes or persons. This is shown by the constant temptation to which the great proprietors yielded, both to adulterate the metal, and to cancel old issues and institute new ones. This was one of the greatest grievances of the epoch, for it impoverished or ruined many. Moreover, the wide variety of coins was a serious bar to the conduct of any but the most local trade.

Other revenues arose from the prerogative of the lord as a suzerain.

Under feudal law an overlord was the guardian of the children of a deceased vassal during their minority, and the custodian of the property which had been left to them. It frequently happened that in this capacity the overlord wasted or absorbed the entire estate. An immense amount of the litigation which crowded feudal courts, and many a petty war, thus arose, when the relatives of the wronged heir appealed to the courts or the sword for redress. Similarly an overlord possessed jurisdiction over the widow of his deceased vassal. Since his primary interest was to have a redoubtable and robust vassal to serve the fief of which he was suzerain, he usually compelled the widow again to marry, and often imposed upon her a husband of his own selection, without the faintest regard for the feelings of the lady. Medieval marital relations, far from being the sentimental attachments which romance depicts, were very often marriages of convenience and were brutally enforced. Young and tender girls were compelled to marry rough, and often lecherous, husbands. Proverbial "May and January" matches were common. From this tyranny the young virgin and the young widow had practically only one recourse, to enter a convent and take the veil. Many a nun was a broken-hearted widow or young girl. A rich widow, like Penelope, had many inconvenient suitors, who often resorted to violent methods of pressing their suits, like besieging the lady's château, or kidnaping her. When Eleanor of Aquitaine was divorced from Louis VII of France and was returning to Bordeaux she was pursued by five aspirants, each of whom was desperately determined to capture her, for she was the richest heiress in Europe. One may believe that her haste in marrying Henry Plantagenet was partly due to the necessity of having a husband able to protect her lands against seizure. For a rich widow resolved still to live in the world had the world against her.

Marriage was often a contract entered into to make an advantageous alliance, to escape escheat of a fief, to keep a particular piece of land in the family, to acquire new lands. On few occasions do we find the consent of the maid or her mother recorded as having been solicited. An incident like the following is rare. "The lord of Arden and his wife were very agreeable to the proposal of the count of Guisnes, and showed their pleasure openly, and spoke to their daughter to ask if she would consent. The girl was not displeased but seemed glad and of a good sort, so that by her face she proved her willingness, and in such fashion her eyes shone at the words of her father and mother that it was evident that she never would have chosen anything more agreeable."

The Medieval Age, no less than our own time, had its woman question, and with it as with us, it was one chiefly of occupation. Then as now the proportion of women was in excess of that of men, and in a warlike and strikingly masculine form of society the problem of finding a place for women in it probably was greater than today. Bücher has

expressed the opinion that women were not excluded from any industry in the Middle Ages of which they were capable. For some the convent was a refuge, for others the thirteenth century created *béguinages, samenungen*—"settlements," we would call them—where women of culture but of small means were able to find a home. Taken all in all, one may say that the Middle Ages were as successful as modern times in dealing with the woman question. For every age acts according to its lights.

Something has been said in the chapter dealing with the Church about the evils of private warfare in the Middle Ages and the efforts of the Church through the Peace of God and the Truce of God to regulate or to suppress it. It has also been shown in the present chapter that much medieval war was a "struggle for rights," an endeavor of the wronged person to defend and sustain his "right" with the sword in the weakness or absence of courts of law, or the injustice of an overlord.

It is now pertinent to seek the economic motives and the economic results of private war. But before doing so a word of caution may be said. When not actual brigandage, like waylaying merchants and travelers, and not perpetrated by robber barons, from which it must be clearly distinguished, private war was mostly of a very petty and very local sort. Moreover, its prevalence has been grossly exaggerated. A medieval chronicler was not unlike a modern newspaper reporter. He recorded the exceptional, the extraordinary, the unusual. Our own civilization would largely seem to be one of battle, murder, and sudden death if the estimate of it were based solely upon the columns of the newspapers. A bad deed usually shines farther than a good deed in the world. The silence of the chroniclers as to thousands of good and true men who tried to lead honest lives, who were careful of the lot of the serfs upon their lands, who did not molest their neighbors, does not prove that none such existed in those times. If we had fuller evidence it would show undoubtedly that at all times and in many places the everyday life of castle and manor pursued its customary routine with little to derange it. It is well to remember that history, as set forth in a modern journal, is "little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind," which Gibbon cynically thought to be the chief content of history after all.

The roots of much medieval war were inseparable from the economic soil from which it sprang.

> The manorial system with its interlocking claims of lord and tenants, and its complication of common and individual rights, was intensely provocative of disputes. The chances of dispute also were multiplied by the prevailing custom of landed families holding estates, often in very small parcels, widely scattered over the country. . . . Instead of an effort to concentrate their interests in any particular section of the country, it was rather the manifest desire of every great family to extend its claims into every nook and corner; so that it was necessary for a landlord nearly as

much as a merchant to be forever on the road, traveling on horseback or by river barge from one country seat to another.

Militarily speaking, feudalism was

the system in which a standing army, quartered on the tillers of the soil, was entrusted with the defense and administration of the country. War and government were both private undertakings. For a purely agricultural population, with a natural economy, there was no other solution of the problem. The peasants, scattered and occupied on the land, could not be utilized for war; nor could soldiers or officials be paid except by grants of land. . . . Land being the only source of wealth, the only form of business enterprise was to acquire more land. To do this, there were only two means—marriage and war. Both were, therefore, pursued as systematically as any form of industrial enterprise is today. . . . War enriched the feudal lords through lands and serfs; it enriched their knights and retainers through booty and ransom. . . . It was this vested interest of the nobility in the continuance of war that for centuries defeated every attempt to abolish private war. They had sublet their estates for the purpose of providing troops until the land could not support so many non-producers and war was the only business in which they could be employed.[5]

In Normandy the exhaustion of the resources of the baronage in intestine feuds before 1066 made them eager to back William the Conqueror in the invasion of England. The Crusades, as we have seen, are another similar instance upon a large scale.

The structure of feudal revenues also offers partial explanation of this phenomenon of chronic and petty warfare. No process of accumulation was possible with perishable wealth like farm produce, and in the depth of the feudal age, except for jewels and plate, no baron had any other sort of riches. To possess the land which produced this form of riches and the labor of the serfs upon it, was the sole means of enrichment open to a covetous baron, and the readiest means of acquisition was war. The plan everywhere was, "First destroy the land, then one's foe." But this practice entailed constant repetition.

The gradual cessation of the evil of private warfare was not wholly due to the repressive measures of the Church and the kings, when at last centralized monarchy emerged triumphant over localized feudalism. Part of the explanation is economic. In such struggles the weaker went to the wall; the great only were left and thus the number of contestants was diminished. At the same time the improvement of agriculture, the growth of population, increased the revenues derived from the manorial system so that the volume of output was greater, and hence at least one important provocative cause of private war was diminished, even if not eliminated. That point was reached by the middle of the eleventh cen-

[5] *Political Science Quarterly*, XV, 599–600.

tury, and then the militant energies of the baronage found an outlet in Crusades in Spain and the Holy Land.

This tendency to substitute external war for internal strife was intensified by the gradual change wrought in the law of inheritance. Ancient German law provided for equal division of the land between the sons of the family. But in the feudal age the theory of indivisibility of baronies and *fiefs de haubert* (military fiefs) gradually came into general acceptation (except in Germany), which in turn led to the establishment of the law of primogeniture, or the succession of the eldest son to the entire patrimony of the father, and thus threw the younger sons upon the world to make their fortune elsewhere by the sword. If primogeniture had not been adopted the feudal world would have remained indefinitely a chaos of jarring states, some of them of atomic dimension. For otherwise all the labor of a noble in building up the landed power of his house would have gone by the board when he died and the lands were dissipated once more. The ruin of the house of Vermandois is a case in point. In the tenth century Herbert of Vermandois spent a long life in getting into his hands the counties of Vermandois, Champagne, Troyes, and Meaux, together with the advowson over numerous abbeys and bishoprics. When he died in 948 they were divided among his four sons and the great state he had labored so hard to create was reduced to shreds.

Much has been written of the sufferings which the medieval peasantry endured owing to the practice of "private war" among the baronage, when the Peace of God and the Truce of God were instituted to restrain it in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Without intending to minimize the extent of the evils which the peasants suffered from the violence of the times, one must make careful distinction between private warfare and mere brigandage. The former at least possessed a principle, however much that principle has become obsolete today. Moreover, first the Church and then the kings soon stepped in to regulate, if not to suppress it. Much that is chronicled by historians of these violent episodes has been mistaken for private warfare when actually it was mere highway robbery, and as such crime, and nothing else. The distinction is not always clear, it is true, but it is always incumbent upon the historian to endeavor to distinguish between these two forms of violence. From a careful reading of the annals of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, I am sure that brigandage and not private warfare was the greater evil. During the one hundred and fifty years elapsing between 850—the epoch of the ruin of the Carolingian Empire—and the year 1000, at which date we may say that feudalism at last had become established as a form of government and a social and economic system, it is juster to say that brigandage much more than "feudal anarchy" was the gross evil. "Private war" did not enter into the category until the "rights" of feud-

alism emerged and the principles of feudal law gave room for the assertion of those "rights" which were at the root of private war.

Brigand associations were common in the ninth and tenth centuries, less so in the eleventh as government became more settled. The later Carolingian capitularies abound with allusions to *latrones* and *depræda-tores;* a letter of Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, mentions an association of brigands in 856; the *Annals of St. Bertin,* another such in 870. Flodo-ard's *History of the Church of Rheims* thrice mentions such groups in the tenth century. More than a hundred years before the institution of the Peace of God we find the Church attempting to restrain these ma-rauders by threat of excommunication. It may be doubted, though, whether ordinary life did not go on as uniformly, taken all in all, in the feudal age as now, except in case of actual invasion from without. The automobile bandit today is comparable to the armed rider of the Middle Ages, and terrorizes rural America probably as much as the similar medieval type terrorized the rural population of France and Italy. For example, Illinois has the unenviable record of having had more country bank robberies than any other state in the Union. In the year 1924 there were seventy-three bandit raids on rural state banks. Between January and June there were twenty-one bank hold-ups. If one were to estimate American civilization from the newpapers our society would probably seem as violent to an historian of the year 2500 as the society of the tenth and eleventh century seems to us.

It is often difficult to distinguish these bands of brigands from hireling troops, of which we find occasional mention in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and whose employment on a large scale by great feudatories and even kings in the twelfth century gave rise to prodigious suffering on the part of the peasantry. The times naturally bred a riffraff born of the women who followed the feudal hosts, men without family or home, who took to a life of rapine. The frontier regions of Europe, in France the "marches" of Brittany, Brabant, and Lorraine, the Spanish Mark be-tween Christian and Mohammedan Spain, Apulia in southern Italy, and the Slavonic marks along the eastern border of the German kingdom were breeding places of this class. Hence they were often called *coterelli* (border men) or *marchiones,* or Brabançons (from Brabant in the Low Countries or in the south Catalans (from Catalonia) or *routiers,* mean-ing "roadmen" who infested the highways. The earliest allusion to these *routiers* occurs in a chronicler of Rheims in 992. The feudal limitation of military service of vassals to forty days, which appears as early as 948, led to increased use of these mercenaries. These ruffians, much more than private warfare, were responsible for violence and brigandage. The raids of rival barons were relatively limited in area, confined to devasta-tion only of the lands of each other. Sometimes these bandits held up entire villages to ransom. The interest of the local baron was as great as

that of his peasantry in suppressing these marauders. His material interest here worked in accord with his instinct as a ruler, for his whole fortune was represented in his crops and the labor of his villagers. In this sense every baron was a sort of rural constable.

Medieval chronicles abound with allusions to and often picturesque description of such forays. Of a village thus attacked in 1138 we read: "It so happened that the farmers were threshing the grain in the open street of the hamlet, and great heaps of straw and chaff lay scattered in front of the cottages, so that food for the flames was easily found. The whole village was burned." When such an attack befell, if there were time, the cattle were loosed in the woods to shift for themselves. The swine of course ran at large in the woods. They were thin, razor-backed beasts, very fleet of foot; the old boars with their huge tushes were really formidable animals, almost as much as the real wild boar, and unless attacked by wolves in pack, hogs were generally able to take care of themselves. But it was quite different with sheep. Naturally timorous and given to flocking together, they were slaughtered "like sheep" or driven off.

Sometimes the peasants had a natural place of retreat where they took refuge in time of danger. An interesting example of such is the Kuhstall near Schandau in Saxony. It is a great archway of rock accessible on one side only, and so named because the Saxon peasantry in time of peril drove their cattle up there for safety. Often the village church, especially if it were built of stone, became an asylum, into which all the cattle were driven and the household possessions of the villagers carried.

The brigandage and private warfare of the Middle Ages have been much exaggerated by historians of the high feudal age, both contemporaries and modern interpreters, for the reasons which we have seen. The "grand" wars of the thirteenth century and later when the combatants were kings fighting with large resources and along long lines, were far more destructive than the local warfare of a quarrelsome baronage, chronic as their petty feuds may have been, and, as said, the professional mercenaries employed by them were a scourge.

And yet we must guard against regarding later centuries as more "civilized" than the feudal age in the matter of war. One of the most competent of modern scholars has written that "feudal warfare was probably, by its very nature, less horrible than the warfare of later centuries, when society had lost its military character and was as yet unprotected by international conventions. It is impossible to believe that Normandy or Touraine suffered in John's reign as France suffered during the Hundred Years' War, or Germany before the peace of Westphalia." [6]

[6] Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, 357.

Medieval war was not without some regulatory practices.

In spite of many changes, feudal society at the end of the twelfth century was regulated by principles which applied to war no less than peace. Law in a feudal society was inseparable from force, but was not obscured by it; they were combined in the theory of contract which informed all feudal relations. . . . Force was never absent, yet was never uncontrolled. In civil procedure we find the elements of war, such as the duel and the hue and cry; and in war we find constant applications of legal theory. War was a great lawsuit. The truce was very like an essoin; a treaty was drawn up on the very lines of a final concord, the hostage was a surety, service in the field was the counterpart of suit of court.

Some attempt was made to regard the rights of the non-combatant population and to provide compensation for those who had suffered great loss.

To some extent equity and charity were more active in time of war. The payment of dues was officially remitted on lands wasted in war, preparations were made for the reception of fugitives from threatened towns, compensation was sometimes secured for the destruction of ecclesiastical property, and alms were more freely given to the poor. But such measures as these offered no relief to the man who was forced by the hardness of the times to sell his lands or to leave the country. They could not cope with the widespread effects of famine or with the passions of mercenary troops. We can only guess at the amount of beggary, prostitution, and starvation produced by feudal warfare. All we can say with certainty is that those who suffered must have been very numerous.[7]

Yet surely it is not for our age to cast stones at the feudal age.

The worst evil of the Middle Ages was its cruelty to enemies, captives, criminals, and heretics. And here the traditions of the Roman law of war and the criminal law were largely responsible. However, one must be cautious not to confound cruelty with brutality. The former is the product of ingenious devisement. The latter often proceeds from lack of sensibility and imagination. The hard and materialistic life of the Middle Ages—at least until very late, when greater refinement began to have its influence—and the social prejudices arising from the caste structure of society, accentuated this indifference. The medieval man, whether noble or peasant, was of tougher fibre than the modern man; his nerves were neither so tender nor so close to the surface. His was a lustier and more red-blooded life. Modern society may have been the loser by the disappearance of some of these sturdier qualities.

A man in the Middle Ages did not live so long as a man in modern times. The average longevity was much less. But he got into a man's game earlier in life and lived more strenuously. Old age is a compara-

[7] These two quotations are from the same author, p. 356.

tively modern achievement of the human race. From an exhaustive study of 1500 medieval skeletons a distinguished scientist has computed that the "peak" of the death rate occurred at the age of forty-two in the Middle Ages, whereas today it is at seventy-two. Modern hygiene and modern medicine have more than neutralized the decline in the birth rate. Although, proportionally speaking, modern families are smaller than medieval ones, a greater number of children survive and there are many more families. The potential duration of human life undoubtedly remains stationary through the ages, but the actual prolongation of many more lives than formerly is an important historical fact. It is interesting to contemplate some biographies. Compared with modern rulers and statesmen, the life of medieval men in similar positions was short. The average length of life of the German kings between 918 and 1250 was forty-six years; that of the French between 987 and 1270, fifty-five years; that of the English between 1066 and 1272, fifty-four years. Only six out of the fourteen German kings lived to be over fifty. Frederick II died at fifty-six, yet his career had been so great that he has been called the "Wonder of the World." Philip II (Augustus) died at fifty-eight, yet he doubled the size of France in that time; Louis IX died at fifty-six, and had doubled again what his grandfather had doubled. Richard Coeur de Lion died at forty-two, and William Rufus at forty-four—both of wounds, it is true, and not disease. But then war-risk was part of the everyday life of a medieval king. William the Conqueror lived to be sixty only. Lothar II and Frederick Barbarossa were the only kings of the feudal age who reached seventy.

It must be remembered that these persons who died in the prime of life represent the élite of medieval society. The more sheltered life of churchmen may have given them a little greater longevity. But what shall we say of the mortality of the peasant and burgher class? No modern insurance actuary would consider any man of the Middle Ages —possibility of death in battle aside—as a good risk.

The mortality among children of all classes was certainly high. Probably not more than three or four out of a dozen or more lived to maturity. The *Chronicle of Ardres,* which is rich in family particulars and covers three generations, shows that 36 families had 71 boys and 55 girls, an average of 3.5 per family. In thirteen cases the women had second husbands; second and third marriages were frequent.

Life in a medieval castle was not the thing depicted by romantic novelists and poets. The age was a hard one and imposed hard conditions of living. When the castle first appeared in the ninth century it was a mere blockhouse built upon a hill or the edge of a cliff, or in the loop of a river, or if in a flat country, upon an artificial mound made by heaping up the earth dug out of the ditch or moat which encircled it. These early castles were built wholly of timber. Stone castles do not

appear before the late eleventh century, and even then for many years in most instances the upper work was timber. Only the great "keep" was wholly of stone. In them comfort was sacrificed for security. Windows were mere slits in thick walls; rooms were dark and damp; stairs were steep. As the building art was developed, the castle was enlarged and improved. Architecturally a medieval castle was a walled and sometimes moated courtyard in which a strong and high tower was the important edifice. Historically it was the old-fashioned farmstead fortified. In the plain around the château were spread the farms of the peasantry, and often the village was huddled at the foot of the castle hill. Castrametation was applied to other buildings besides castles. Churches, monasteries, bridges, city gates, even cemeteries were fortified. Every fief was a complex, interlocking arrangement of such fortifications. Even cathedrals partook of this military aspect. Durham cathedral has been aptly described as "half house of God, half fortress 'gainst the Scot." The buttresses of Albi cathedral are veritable bastions, and the porch is approached by a ramp, while the roof is battlemented. Because castles sometimes became the rendezvous of robber barons it has been too hastily inferred that the medieval castle was a social abuse and tolerated for so many centuries only because the people were unable to dispossess the occupants. The truth is otherwise. A castle was erected for purpose of defense, not offense; it was a protection often for many leagues around it, a bulwark against outside invaders, a suppresser of violence and brigandage. The great castle of Carcassonne secured peace and tranquillity in the large circle of territory round about for nearly three hundred years.

A castle rarely stood in isolation, but was generally a part of a definite system of fortifications. . . . The castle, from a military no less than from a financial standpoint, was inseparable from the surrounding or dependent area. The *castellaria* or *châtellenie* comprised castle, lands, feudal duties, and fiscal arrangements; it was an artificial bundle of property and services, designed for the maintenance of the fortress and the profit of the lord. The body of relations of which a castle was the centre was intricate and complex. The administration was like a net overspreading the fief and including all within its texture from the highest noble to the lowest serf and the hermit in the forest.

The activities of merchants and the bustle of fairs and markets had their place in the scheme. Monasteries were supported by the tithes of distant bailiwicks. . . . A hundred points of law and custom depended upon the existence of a great keep. . . . Its chapel was served by a little church or religious house beneath the cliff. Its maintenance was largely due to the labors and bargains of men who had built up the little town under its protection. The royal (or baronial) revenues supported hospitals and lazarhouses outside the gates or in some desolate spot. In the castle hall the

bailiff did justice over the countryside for miles around and protected the Jews, who were allowed to transact their useful but dangerous business with a safety that they could buy nowhere else. All kinds of men, each with his peculiar writ or safe-conduct or errand, met in the streets of the town and jostled each other in the great gate. . . . Justices, recognitors, claimants, knights with the king's prisoners, servants with treasure, falconers and dog-keepers with their precious charges, men with wine, fish, building-stone, or bundles of shafts and pikes, merchants, pilgrims, monks on the business of their house, wine-sellers, peasants.[8]

Of course not all a lord's manor-houses were converted into such imposing structures. While the manor-house was sometimes palisaded or hedged and sometimes moated, in time of war the lord relied upon his château if his fief was invaded. Great nobles had many castles but many nobles had few castles. A châtelain was lord of a single castle. A large castle contained a considerable population: the lord's family and visiting friends, and domestic servants of many sorts; and on the outside of the lord's dwelling but inside the walls, dwelling in adjacent structures connected with the main edifice by courtyards, arcades, or bridges, hostlers, grooms, gardeners, guardsmen, many of them with their families. The odor of the stable and the cow barns, mingled with that of wet or reeking leather, permeated the place. Fowls had the run of the establishment, even my lady's chamber unless watched. Sometimes a garden and an orchard were within the enclosure where the ladies sat in pleasant weather, busied with embroidery or music, or playing games while the lord was off hunting, for hunting was a privilege and a passion of the medieval noble, and there was no closed season for such sport.

But daily life in a medieval castle was pretty dull except in war time, especially for the women, who did not see so much of the outer world as the men. Before the literary awakening of the twelfth century few of the laity could read or write; hence books were not to be found. The lord's wife and daughters had their separate routine tasks of supervision and administration of the household, but beyond these time hung heavy on their hands. Consequently the blowing of his horn by the watchman on a tower to notify of the approach of a stranger was a welcome event, unless mayhap it was that of an enemy. Be he who he might, bishop or monk, baron, pilgrim, traveling merchant, vagabond, minstrel, strolling player, or acrobat with a dancing bear, one and all were welcomed and given hospitality according to their rank.

Food was plentiful but of limited variety, and plain cooking prevailed until the Crusades brought in spices and condiments from the Levant. The esculent vegetables were cabbages, turnips, carrots; the only plenti-

[8] Powicke, *English Historical Review*, XXII, 27.

ful fruits were apples and pears. Meat was a staple article of diet and heavy eating was universal. Cooking was over charcoal or on a spit and with pots in the fireplace. The furniture was scant and primitive, plank tables on trestles, plank forms or settees, few chairs, but rather stools, and many chests around the walls harboring clothing and bedding. Until the Crusades introduced rugs and tapestries floors and walls were bare and chilly. Rushes or willow wands or straw covered the floor in winter until it became so noisome from the filth of hunting dogs and the bones cast to them at meal time that the litter was removed. Woolen garments were universal, summer and winter; indeed, the interior of these castles was so drafty and so chilly that heavy clothing was necessary even in summer. Under garments were introduced during the thirteenth century, again owing to the introduction of silk and cotton goods during the Crusades. But such material was expensive. Night garments were unknown. The highest lords and ladies slept naked in bed, and the bed was high above the floor and hung with curtains to prevent drafts. Kings and queens were no better off in this particular than the richest of their subjects. When the ship on which St. Louis was returning from the Holy Land caught fire, the queen of France appeared on deck stark naked. Nevertheless modesty was observed. The wife usually retired first and was in bed when her husband undressed. In the morning the husband dressed first, and the curtains around the bed protected the proprieties. It is a popular error to believe that the upper classes were indifferent to cleanliness. The famous description of medieval civilization as "a thousand years without a bath" is untrue. Every castle courtyard had a well and if possible running water was often introduced. Lead piping was used in the Middle Ages. As there were bath tubs so there were latrines in the better castles and monasteries. In the precincts of Kirkstall have been found twelfth century arrangements for the periodical flushing of the drains. In Lewes Priory each of 120 monks had his private and separate convenience. At Westminster the filtering cistern of the abbey has been recently discovered.

The lighter, more romantic, more idealistic side of nobility was expressed in chivalry. Chivalry was far from being a mere fashion. It was an institution. Intimations of it appear about 1100, but it was not until a century later that its principles and practices became formulated and the institution acquired full-fledged form. As an ideal it may be studied in the statutes of the knightly orders, in the high-flown manuals of knightly conduct and above all in the romances of chivalry. Of high illustrative value are the pictorial remains to be found in the miniatures which adorn this class of sources. The roots of chivalry are to be found in the comminglement of German and Christian traditions in the feudal age, but Saracenic civilization influenced chivalry in some degree, especially in the institution of heraldry. In the thirteenth century the knight had his

coat of arms, insignia consisting of colored shield with a helmet, which was not transferable. Like the cleric, he was free from taxes and was distinguished from his inferiors by his costume and his *cingulum militare* which consisted of girdle and sword. In 834, when Louis the Pious was humiliated at Attigny, he took off his sword and belt and laid them at the foot of the altar, and abstained from resuming his sword until he was again belted by the hand of a bishop. The knight belonged to a certain class which again had its subclasses according to the rule that whosoever is another's vassal is not his equal, although both are knights. The reason of this change is not far to seek. In early feudal times when baronial war was common, a noble had need of a great number of armed retainers and was able to support them out of the profits of his campaigns. But with the growing pacification of Europe, thanks to the peace movement of the Church and the increase of royal authority, the baron's need of knights to follow him and his means to support them diminished. Then the order of knighthood began to harden into a close, aristocratic corporation, entrance into which was jealously guarded. This policy of exclusion is manifest in the latter half of the twelfth century, and by the thirteenth century knighthood was almost a closed circle everywhere in feudal Europe, except in Germany.

The Christian ingredient in chivalry naturally came through the Church. When the Church became feudalized and bishops and abbots performed military service, a revolution began in Christian ideals. While the church had nominally deplored all war as sinful, it justified war against pagans and infidels. But even then it deprecated the participation of churchmen in campaigns. But practice was stronger than principle. Fulbert of Chartres early in the eleventh century told King Robert the Pious that no occasion justified a bishop in taking the field. But his son Henry I bluntly told the pope that the bishops and abbots could not attend the council of Rheims because he needed them to crush a feudal rebellion. Abbo of Fleury (died 1004) discourses at length *de militantibus clericis et eorum stipendiis.*

In yielding to the exigency of circumstances, the Church, however, found comfort in the New Testament reflection that every Christian was a "soldier of the cross" and the Pauline teaching to "put on the whole armor of God." Moreover, it discovered a principle, and distinguished between "wrong" and "right" wars. This distinction had been implicit in the Truce of God and the Peace of God and was finally worked out logically in chivalry and the Crusades. At first designed to suppress brigandage and private warfare, to protect clerical persons and property and the defenseless portion of the population, as women and children, the peasant and merchant, the justification of war rose to a height in the adventurous expeditions of French knights against the Mohammedans of Spain, whence it was another stride to similar ex-

peditions for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and Christian conquest of the Holy Land from the Infidel.

The influence of Cluny upon this revolution in ideals was very great. It was Cluny which promoted the Truce of God; it was Cluny above all that preached the Spanish Crusades. It was from Cluny that the Templars and Hospitallers, and chivalry as a whole, derived its ideal that the perfect knight should be celibate, and even tonsured, like the Templars; the sacramental nature of the knight's oath and the sacrosanct nature of the initiation ceremony. The satire of Bishop Adalberon of Laon, relating how a Cluniac monk, having been sent upon an errand, "returned in the evening mounted on a foaming steed," was a slap at Cluny's bellicose ideals. The bishop could scarcely recognize him and asked: "Are you my monk whom I sent out?" He answered: "Sometime monk, but now a knight. I here offer military service at the command of my sovereign, who is King Odilo of Cluny."

St. Bernard has recorded his dismay when, in the inception of the Second Crusade, he was chosen as leader of the expedition. "Who am I," he exclaimed, "that I should have charge of a camp and go out before the faces of armed men? Is there anything more inconsistent with my profession?" But even St. Bernard overcame his scruples, and if he did not formally participate in war he preached both the Second Crusade and the German Crusade against the heathen Wends as just expeditions. Theology was made to fortify the new attitude. "Just" wars were represented as a means of expiation for the conscience laden with sense of sin, since its sufferings, wounds, and dangers no less than its power of arousing enthusiasm and performing wonders of endurance, courage, and self-sacrifice might stir up an otherwise dull and slothful nature. To Christianize war, since war was demanded for the extension of the faith, to reduce its terrors, keep ferocious instincts in abeyance and make the fighting propensities of humanity subject to rules of conduct without which battle was little more than carnage—these things the Church tried, and to some extent succeeded, in establishing. The founding of a class of professional soldiers who learned, as it were, the art of war and were admonished not to war against their fellow believers but only against the heathen and unfaithful, to protect the defenseless and support the law, was her aim.

The great Orders of Chivalry were international institutions, whose members, having consecrated themselves a military priesthood, had no longer any country of their own, and could therefore be subject to no one save the Emperor and the Pope. For knighthood was constructed on the analogy of priesthood, and knights were conceived as being to the world in its secular aspect exactly what priests, and more especially the monastic orders, were to it in its religious aspect; to the one body was given the sword of the flesh, to the other the sword of the spirit; each was universal,

each had its autocratic head. Singularly, too, were these notions brought into harmony with the feudal polity.[9]

The idea that a knight could not break his word of honor without degrading himself was not original with the Church, but she further impressed upon his mind the sanctity of the pledge so that the knight could not break his oath without risking his salvation. The moral discipline of chivalry was largely due to the influence of the Church, as its military discipline was derived from feudalism.

Like so many other institutions, in its prime, chivalry had its uses. And like so many institutions it outgrew its time and became either ridiculous or an abuse. When Crusades abroad were over and ended, and at home strong national and municipal governments had become established upon the ruins of provincial feudalism, and the small feudal courts which had been the nurseries of knights were shrunken or gone, chivalry had outlived its day of usefulness. The knight had become an anachronism. Then the knight of chivalry degenerated into a highway robber, a road agent, or into a carpet knight. In the former, adventure was translated into robbery, pride into arrogance, protection into extortion and blackmail. To live in the saddle and the stirrup and by the sword came to be to live as a robber. He preyed upon unprotected peasants, obstinate townsfolk, and scurvy traders. He was particularly cruel toward peasants and detached burghers on the smallest pretext. Towns were forced to build themselves walls and towers against these "foes to all, who called themselves friends of God and women." In some parts they were so feared that the peasants dug themselves caves wherein they hid with their cattle to escape raids. Less objectionable, but vastly more ridiculous, were knights who roamed the land in search of combat in honor of their chosen lady. One of these knights-errant was famous as serving two ladies, and being little valued by each. Tristan was his model and his dame must therefore be an Isolde. Every wish of his lady was a command which he unflinchingly obeyed. For her sake he chopped off a finger that she might believe he was in earnest. Others traveled as absurd Lohengrins, and on the way measured their arms with numerous knights, being conquered by none. As King Arthur they journeyed through the country performing other acts of gallantry.

Heraldry, like knighthood and chivalry, although mocked at today by sophisticated writers, had its uses in the feudal age, and certain social implications, while its influence upon art was very great. The remote root of heraldry is probably to be found in the ancient tribal totemism of the Celts. In certain old Irish manuscripts even the evangelists are portrayed in the guise of animals, which savors of fetishism.

But real heraldry originated when the closed helmet came into vogue.

[9] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire.*

This was not until the tenth century. The earliest instance occurs in 923, the case of Count Robert of Paris, who before going into the battle of Soissons, in order that he might be identified by his men, drew his long gray beard through the throat-latch and let it stream over his breastplate. When the helmet became universal among the feudality, it was impossible to tell friend from foe without some distinguishing device. Geoffrey Plantagenet wore a sprig of broom corn (*planta genesta*) in his helmet, and the custom gave rise to the surname of the dynasty. At first such devices were simple, homely emblems, but the Crusades introduced elaborate and strange devices like lions, leopards, and unicorns besides strange and brilliant colors, while arms and castles contributed a quota of castles, portcullises, etc.

In time the loose and almost riotous practices concerning devices and colors became subjected to rigid formality, giving rise to those queer and exquisitely beautiful forms and colors we associate with heraldry. Proper usage of both forms of expression became an exaction of polite society, and contributed to decorum as chivalry influenced courtesy and manners, while good taste and artistic cultivation was promoted by heraldic design and color combinations. Implications of chivalry, too, are to be found in the heraldic mottoes, in which honor, truth, courage so often recur as sentiments. In all these ways heraldry was of social significance and social influence.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MANOR: PEASANT CONDITIONS IN THE MIDDLE AGES*

The key to the understanding of the economic and social history of the Middle Ages is in the nature and extent of the manorial system. Medieval economic life was primarily a matter of natural economy and landholding, and the obligations of the peasantry pertaining thereto. The manorial system was at once a form of government, a structure of society, an economic régime prevalent over all that part of central and western Europe conterminous with Latin and German Christendom.

The evolution of medieval society starts from the predominance of landed aristocracy and the private estate. A complete synthesis of all the elements which entered into the composition of the manorial régime is quite impossible, for below the superficial uniformity which it seems to possess, we find almost infinite variety, both quantitative and qualitative. Historical tradition, local custom, natural conditions, like relief of the soil and many other factors, so entered into the formation of the manorial system that no simple explanation suffices. As an expression of intensely organic life, the manorial system was one of constant change. These transformations reflect the general transformation of European civilization from century to century, so much so that the economic and social equation of Europe is largely to be found in the equation of the manorial system.

The manorial system was the lower side of feudalism. It was the relation of the landed proprietary class to the servile, villein, and slave dependents dwelling as farm laborers upon the estates of that class, or the relation of the noble to the non-noble class in medieval society. In point of time it was already solidly established when feudalism was yet in process of formation. While the roots of each system go deep down into the past, broadly speaking it may be said that manorialism became fixed by the end of the ninth century, while feudalism did not acquire form and fixity before the eleventh. The Romans in Gaul had practised the system of *villæ*, great farms with their dependencies, centres of grand domains upon which dwelt a numerous tenantry, grouped or scattered, who, under the name of slaves or colons, were directly dependent upon the proprietor. These *villæ* had survived under the Frankish monarchy; there existed a great number of them in the time of Charlemagne. The classic tableau distinguishes, on the one hand, the habi-

* MAP. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, 104 (a manor).

tation of the lord and the lands subject to his direct exploitation (*indominicatum*); on the other, the land occupied by a tenantry of various conditions; and finally the vaguer parts—forests, pasturage, marsh, serving for the common use of all the cultivators of the domain.

The life of the common people in the Middle Ages was almost wholly rural and agrarian. There was little modification of it until the eleventh century, when commerce and industry began to develop, chiefly owing to increasingly intimate contact with the Mediterranean lands and the East. Compared with modern economic and social conditions a far larger proportion of the population of Europe dwelt in the country than today. The towns were few and small and the majority of the people in them were not free, but servile workmen and craftsmen. Relatively speaking, rural villages in medieval Europe were more numerous than now, in spite of the great increase of population in modern times. Within every fief and dotted over its surface were a number of villages the inhabitants of which, with few exceptions, were unfree or servile peasants whose whole occupation was farming. In the legal sense each of these villages was a villa or manor. It was the lowest administrative unit, the simplest social organism above the family, which of course was a purely private group. The "manor" does not appear in historical sources before the late Merovingian epoch, and did not become current until the Carolingian period. But the organism as an economic and social entity was as old as the later Roman Empire.

The manor has been variously defined as "the unit of land management" in the Middle Ages; as "an estate forming both a possessory and an administrative unit"; as "the main and normal constitutive cell in the social structure." The physical properties and mechanical working of the manor are fairly clear. But unfortunately the origin of the medieval manor is among the thorniest problems of medieval institutions.

Were these manorial communities of which the noble living in his castle was landlord and governor (seignior) descended from the servile and slave communities of the later Roman world? Is the medieval manor or villa to be traced back to the ancient Roman patrimony? Was the lord of the manor the medieval successor of the Roman patrimonial proprietor? Or were these medieval village communities descended from ancient German village communities (the *Mark*), whose once free inhabitants had become reduced to serfdom? Are *villa* and manor identical? How far did Roman and German forms of village life, social institutions, agricultural practices, fuse together? Was the originally free German class depressed to serfdom by pressure from above? or was it dragged down by force of social gravitation, so to speak, exerted by the weight of the great mass of slaves and serfs with whom the free Germans came in contact when they settled within the Roman Empire? Or did the mass of the German people start in serfdom and rise out of

it, as some scholars contend? Did the manor grow out of the village community? or the village community grow out of the manor? Did the manor gradually disappear at the end of the Middle Ages, leaving the village community as a legacy to modern times? Was the "open field" system the "shell" of serfdom? Did re-allotment of arable shares ever obtain in the open field system? Did any freemen survive during the feudal age? Was there any freehold land in feudal Europe? or were all non-noble landholdings reduced to tenures, *i. e.*, conditional ownership? What gave rise to the variety of social classes—serf, colonus, collibertus, villein, etc.—among the lower population? What was the relation of land occupation or land ownership to the differentiation of these classes? How did land come to determine social status? What is the origin of the local taxes imposed by the lord upon these manorial peasants? Were they derived from Roman proprietary practice? Did they have a legal origin? or did they arise from usurpation of royal prerogative, in the ninth century? Was there a legal limit to their imposition either in written or in customary law?

These and many other questions arise when one attacks the problem of the origin of the medieval manor, analyzes the elements in its structure and attempts to trace their historical genesis and development. In the words of Professor Pollock, "the truth seems to be that in institutions, as in language, there has been widespread and complex interaction. In many cases the contact of more or less similar Germanic and Roman ideas has led either to a complete fusion, producing something different from either of the originals, or to what the philologists call 'contamination.'" [1]

That the medieval manor in its social ingredients and its agricultural practices represented a fusion of Roman and German institutions—sometimes commingled with elements of earlier and especially Celtic racial customs—is now hardly denied. In the mighty march of the races of history across Europe "the migration of one of these peoples may have served to stamp the features of their system upon a land which had originally borne the features of another." There is evidence of the persistence of German law, custom, and psychology in far southern Romance lands like lower Italy and Spain as late as the twelfth century. Extreme determinism one way or another is unhistorical in spirit in any endeavor to determine either the proportion of the elements of composition or the degree of fusion of them.

The problem of interpretation is made the greater because of the fact that the documentary material available is very scant and the meaning of it is often obscure. The technical difficulties in the way of understanding the little which we have to read are great. Unfortunately for the

[1] *English Historical Review*, XVI, 750.

early centuries, the sources are sparse and not explicit enough for us to get a clear idea of the economic life of the time. Moreover these sources are almost all of ecclesiastical origin, and we do not get a corresponding view of secular economic conditions. So far as German sources are concerned, some assistance may be derived from the study of later Teutonic law, notably that of the Norse and Danes. But perhaps the greatest help has come from the study of modern survivals of medieval rural practices. By a process of inverse reasoning much new understanding of old ways has been achieved. Peasant folk as a class are proverbially conservative and tenacious of ancient custom. Europe even today abounds with medieval agricultural survivals in many rural areas, especially where modern industrialism and commercialism have not invaded, and where the people still are customarily and habitually a farming community, which has preserved its almost primitive simplicity. Not only the continuity of these habits, but the tenacity with which the peasantry of Europe has clung to the ancestral soil, in spite of all the changes and vicissitudes experienced since the Middle Ages terminated, has been recently strikingly shown. A German historian discovered a family near Osnabrück, which was still living on the "old farm," the farm in this instance being over six hundred years old. Some time ago the French government announced that it would decorate with the Order of Agricultural Merit all those who could produce documentary evidence that their families had farmed the same land continuously for at least three hundred years. This brought forth nearly 750 such families, the record being held by a family of Coutie near Molières which had dwelt on the same land since the eighth century. Seebohm has described the

> picture of open field husbandry as one still gets it from the height above the old Roman town of Andernach, looking down upon the flat plain bounded by the wide sweep of the Rhine and stretching away into the far distance like a great map. Or going farther into the heart of central Europe the same may be said of the view from the tower of Ulm cathedral (minster) over the rich Bavarian corn-fields. . . . Over a large part of continental Europe in French, German, and Slavonic countries it is still more or less a living system. . . . The system has in many places left indelible marks on the ground which will remain for centuries longer, and perhaps forever, to tell of its existence in the past.[2]

Nothing exactly similar to the manor is to be found in the tribal arrangements of the Celts. The medieval manor was of mixed Romano-German origin with perhaps vestigial remains of earlier agricultural and village practices occasionally woven in. A consideration of the Roman villa, accordingly, is our first interest.

[2] *Customary Acres*, 3.

The Roman villa was a great farm owned by a rich landed proprietor, on which were villages of both slaves and servile dependents (*coloni*) who worked the fields for him and got little more than subsistence for their labor. The slave was a chattel. The serf was a former freeman sunk to economic dependence and bound to the glebe from generation to generation by arrear of rent which while theoretically acquitable, never was acquitted since it accumulated with every day and the day's work merely discharged the current rent and subsistence given him for the support of himself and his family. He was a prisoner for debt, working off but never canceling the obligation by his daily toil in the open air upon the lord's lands. His holding was called a tenure (from Latin *tenere,* "to hold"), but in law the tenure held the serf, not the serf the tenure. It fixed his status legally as a bondman, and socially as a dependent. The portion of the villa, which the lord continued to farm directly by slaves [3] was known as the lord's demesne. But as slavery in Europe—but not the slave trade—declined, it came to pass that the demesne also in course of time was farmed by the serfs, labor for a certain number of days in the season upon the demesne being required of each serf in addition to that labor exacted of his own tenure.

"The Roman villa presents all the chief features of the medieval manor. The lord's demesne acted as a centre round which the coloni clustered; cultivators who did not divide their tenancies because they did not own them." [4] The village (*vicus*) had no political identity, being merely an agglomeration of houses within the area of the town (*municipium* or *civitas*) until the collapse of the Roman provincial administration released the patrimonial proprietor from that superior political control. Then, and then only, may one say that the Roman manor became "both a possessory and an administrative unit." It may be doubted, however, whether the pure type of Roman manor existed anywhere in Europe outside of Italy and southern Gaul. Rome never was actuated by a mania to enforce perfect uniformity and was tolerant of local customs and conditions. Earlier traditions and survivals lingered obstinately. "It would not have been possible for the Romans even if they had wished, to change the whole character of the cultivation, and override all the natural tendencies of the northern cultivation." [5]

In the provinces of the Rhine and the Danube German agricultural practice naturally tended to fuse with Roman ways. How prevalent the Roman system was in these regions is difficult to determine. The *Notitia dignitatum,* compiled in the fourth century, shows that Roman sway once extended to a distance of eighty leagues beyond the Rhine,

[3] When we find slaves in the high manorial period, they are usually household servants, not farm laborers.

[4] Vinogradoff, *Origin of the Manor,* 33.

[5] *Economic Review,* XV, 395.

so that it must have reached almost to Fulda, and we know that this régime endured there over 250 years. One must be cautious in forming too exclusive a judgment either in favor of Roman continuity within the zone of early Barbarian occupation, or in favor of the supremacy of German village institutions and farming practices. There is evidence that Roman methods of farming and customary habits survived in northern Europe even when the imperial organism had wasted away and dissolved. Roman patrimonial proprietors continued to farm their acres after the Barbarian invasions had spent their force, and the Church, the greatest land-owner and the most Roman institution in both organization and spirit, not only survived intact but actually increased in power in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. The communal system of the Germans (if it ever was communal) tended to give way to the more profitable rural economy known to the Romans and practised by the Church. The result may have been economically advantageous, but it was at the cost of personal freedom.

What did the Germans bring in and add in the way of village life and agriculture? The Germans were tribes of nobles and freemen—they had some slaves but nothing approaching the proportion found in the Roman Empire, and translated to Roman soil the ancient free (so one says) German village community, which became a servile village community after the German conquests in the fifth and sixth centuries. If this supposition is true, then the free village community—the German *Mark*—must later have sunk to serfdom, unless, as is contended by other scholars, the Germans in the mass were not free but dependent even in their homeland, and merely transferred the German servile village and villagers to Roman soil. We have already seen when this process of degradation appeared and seen the nature of the "forces at work capable of transmuting a village full of free landholders into a manor full of villeins." The great factors were the civil wars of the Merovingian epoch, the heavy weight of compulsory military service in the time of Charlemagne, the wars, anarchy, invasion, feudal violence in the ninth century when small freemen were compelled to seek the protection of the great proprietors even at the price of loss of freedom, or as often happened, were deprived of liberty and reduced to serfdom on their own acres by a land-hungry baronage. Thus the serf of Roman origin found a fellow in misery of German origin in the ninth century and the two classes and the two conditions were blended into one, dwelling together in a social unit called a manor (*mansus*),[6] itself an institution blended out of Roman and German ingredients. The Roman villa and the enserfed German village community have not merely an analogy; the two separate and different forms tended to blur and to blend into a single composite economic and social group. The history of the Ger-

[6] The word *mansus*, from Latin *manere*, first appears in the seventh century.

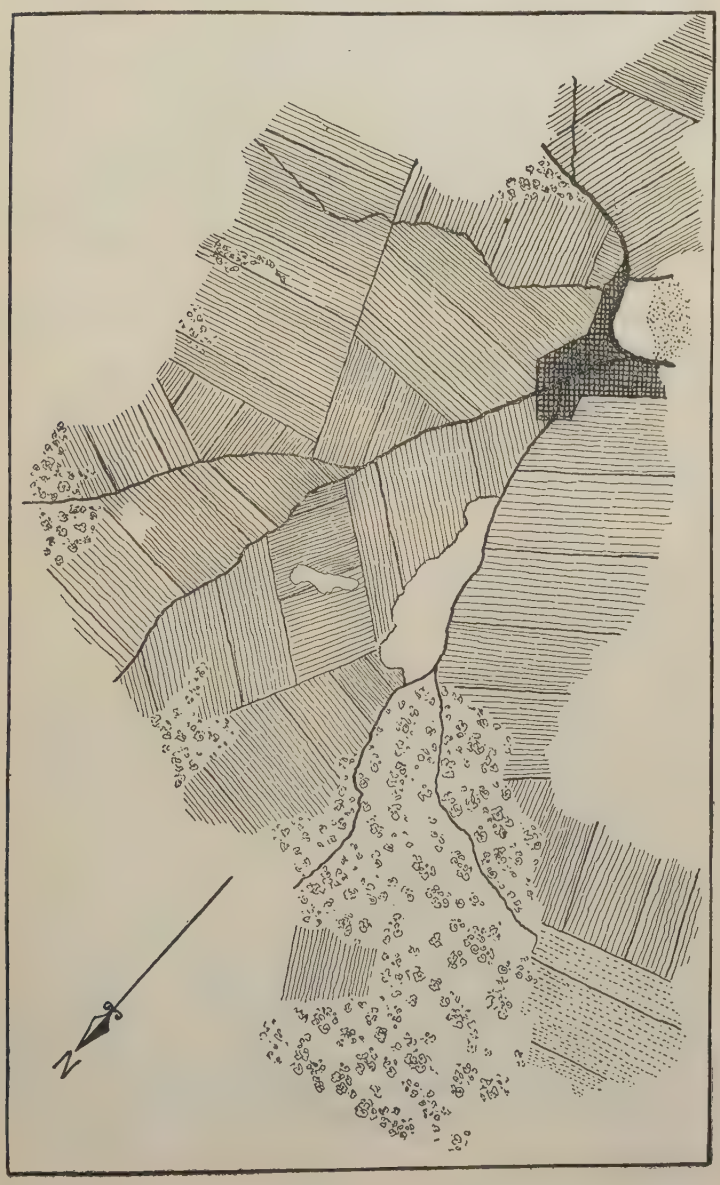
manic origin of the manorial system begins with a more or less free and lordless village community which by a process somewhat complex yet now fairly clear, was, in slow and perhaps disconnected stages of depression, converted into a wholly dependent manorial group between the sixth and ninth centuries. If the co-villagers of the *Mark* were free before this process overcame them, then the reduction of this class to the condition of a servile tenantry must have entailed a profound economic and social revolution.

From this sphere of interesting but perplexing theory we may now pass to things which are of a more concrete nature in medieval village economy. If the reader will carefully examine the map of a representative medieval manor,[7] and then in imagination take his stand in the heart of a typical medieval village, he will find himself in the roadway running across the manor in the midst of an agglomeration of thatched cottages huddled closely together, the "nucleated" village, yet with space enough around the houses for a patch of vegetables, a chicken yard, a cow byre or stable, a hayrick. A stream rising from a spring in the woods runs through the village transversely to the road and terminates in a pond with marshy edges, which is the village duck-pond. From the marsh extends the meadow, perhaps a natural one, perhaps redeemed from the marsh by drainage. Across the road lies the lord's demesne, the best farm land in the village, and on a knoll above it, the fairest site in the village, stands the lord's castle, if the manor be a large one; or a less imposing manor-house, if it be a small manor, with a barn and cattle shed adjacent. Hard by it is the little church with a tiny burying ground and the house of the priest. But where are the fields of the villagers? One observes that there are lanes or cart roads spreading fanwise from the village, and following one of these for a distance of half a mile, it may be, or more, one finds the fields. Exclusive of the lord's demesne, all the arable land of the village is comprised in three separate great blocks, the spring planting ground, the autumn planting ground and the fallow. This is the "three-field system." If the hay has been gathered the cattle are feeding in the meadow. If not, stones or stakes indicate each villager's portion in the hay lot. These "lot meadows" persisted until late in many parts of Europe. At any rate the cattle are pretty sure to be grazing on the young grass of the fallow, and if the harvest is gathered, they may be grazing on the stubble. If it is early autumn the men will be plowing for the winter wheat.

The two-field system had been the Roman practice and was universal among the Germans. But at some unknown time, probably in the eighth century (the earliest evidence which we possess upon the origin of the three-field system is in the year 771), a revolutionary change began to

[7] The best example may be found in Shepherd's *Historical Atlas,* p. 104; this is an indispensable book for every student of history.

come to pass. This was the transition from the two-field to the three-field system. Its early prevalence in High Germany and spread over the Rhinelands and northern and eastern Gaul and its adoption upon the lands of the Church and the Carolingian fisc would seem vaguely



PLAN OF A MANOR

Ground plan of a medieval village of thirty-five families. The arable land of the village had an area of 837 acres. The meadow and the wooded area (at left of the plan) were used in common. Some householders had as many as fifty-two separate parcels of land. The village is the solid black spot at the bottom of the map.

to point to the Bonifacian monasteries in Hesse, like Fulda and Hersfeld, as the probable place of origin. We know that St. Boniface was instrumental in instituting the tithe in the Frankish Church, and that the heavy burden of it created great distress and complaint even before Charlemagne's time. It is a keen suggestion of Meitzen that the introduction of the three-field system was due "to the pressure of heavy manorial and ecclesiastical rents and tithes, which required that a large amount of grain should be raised." But, abandoning conjecture for facts, we can have no doubt of the enormous economic advancement implicit in this change. The discovery that wheat or rye might be sown in autumn as well as in spring, thus giving two yields where one had been had before, is undoubtedly one of the most beneficial discoveries in the progress of man. Professor Gras,[8] has strikingly shown the superiority of the three-field system over the two-field system.

Let us compare [he says] the two systems on a manor containing 1800 acres of arable land. In the two-field system we would have:

900 acres (arable plowed once)	900
900 " (fallow " twice)	1800
Total acres of plowing	2700

In the three-field system we would have:

600 acres (winter grain plowed once)	600
600 " (spring " " ")	600
600 " (fallow " " twice)	1200
Total acres of plowing	2400

Thus in the two-field system we get only 900 acres of crops for 2700 acres of plowing, whilst in the three-field system we get 1200 acres of crops for 2400 acres of plowing.

The alternation was now spring planting, autumn planting, fallow, in three separate arable areas, or a rotation of two crops and a fallow. It is certain that this new practice does not reflect tribal usages, and may not be said to be either of Roman or of German origin, but was rather the development out of agricultural experience and observation. While never universal, for the older practice still was followed, the new system was widely adopted in the Middle Ages.

Although seldom noticed in works upon medieval civilization, unless of a specifically economic nature, there is no doubt that the introduction of the three-field system constitutes one of the greatest medieval advances over antiquity and is a very valuable and unique contribution to civilization. The first tract was planted with wheat or rye in the autumn and harvested in the ensuing summer; the second tract was planted with oats, barley, and pease in the spring and was harvested also in the following summer. The third was left fallow. Thus two-thirds was made prof-

[8] *History of Agriculture*, 48.

itable each year and one-third allowed to rest and utilized for pasture in supplement to the meadow after the hay had been gathered in. Barley, it may be said, was the "drink" grain used for making beer, and many a manor had a local brew-house.

Far more remarkable, however, than the three-field system, interesting as that is, is the way in which the arable area was divided in strips among the villagers, and the combination of individual ownership with coöperative (or collective?) labor.[9]

Whether this arrangement was of communal origin, or was at first a peculiar form of coöperative (or collective?) village enterprise combined with ownership in severalty, from any point of view the open-field system possessed a distinctive character not found in the farming habits of Roman or Celt or Slav. And it is all the more amazing when one reflects upon the persistence of this form of farm in scattered strips around a village. For it still survives in parts of continental Europe. An English observer has written:

> At the present day the country, viewed from the rising ground to the south of St. Omer, presents the appearance of an irregularly checkered board; the various crops are cultivated often in—to English eyes—incredibly small areas. . . . The *maire* (mayor) of Eperlecques at the present time (1913) works a farm of about 92 "measures"; it is in 45 to 50 pieces, and the most distant piece is 3½ kilometres from his house.[10]

Decomposition of the manor seems to have been aggravated by those same forces of disintegration which prevailed in the feudal world. Just as the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century was broken into kingdoms, the kingdoms into duchies, counties, viscounties, chatellanies, etc., so the forces which wrought the destruction of the State percolated downwards and decomposed the manor, the lowest cell in the social structure. The break-up of the great manors into small manors in the ninth century and the tendency toward splitting of tenures were part of the process of decomposition of the Frankish Empire. Military necessity already in Charlemagne's time had compelled the fractioning of freeholds. The process was intensified during the ninth century, so much so that Charles the Bald in 864 forbade, but unavailingly, further subdivision.

[9] The existence of much strictly private ownership of property in land among the early Germans is not denied by competent students from Tacitus downward. The question is whether ever, and if so to what degree, communal ownership in land existed among the early Germans. Under the early Carolingians it is indisputable that there was private property in the hide lands everywhere. There is no necessary connection between common fields and joint-plowing. Coaration never universally obtained, and where it is found the practice seems to have been due to peculiar local conditions. (See Kovalevsky, I, p. 267.)

[10] Coopland, *The Abbey of St. Bertin.*

Fractional holdings of many degrees, halves, quarters, eighths, sixteenths, are common, even usual in the high manorial age.

In the surface and lineal measurements of the plowlands of the medieval manor we find the historical origin of our system of land survey. The man who follows the plow or who sows grain naturally treads out the measurement of his acres. He measures by his tread the length of the furrow or the amount of seed he scatters. His double-tread will average five feet; two or three double-treads made a rod. In Bavaria the rod was ten feet, in England, fifteen; in Normandy the acre was twice the size of an English acre; a Bavarian acre was two-thirds of an English acre; a quarter-acre was called a rood, but a rood in Normandy was equal to a half-acre in England. A virgate or yardland was one-quarter of a plowland, or thirty acres. The acre was the unit of cultivation, the unit of a day's work with the plow, and its long and narrow shape, 4 rods wide and 40 rods long, was determined by the actual convenience of the implement employed. Since plowing was done in long furrows, when the plowman had turned the "stubborn glebe" for 40 rods, or one furlong (*i.e.* one furrow-long), he turned and went back. Long experience showed that an average morning's labor could plow a piece of land measuring 4 by 40 rods, and hence the acre or *morgenland, i.e.,* one morning's land. At the rate of 72 furrows to the acre a team would normally cover nine miles in a day's work. Plowing was finished at noon, for in the afternoon the oxen had to be sent to pasture.

These medieval village measurements naturally passed into units of survey. As Seebohm has said:

> When the villagers came out to play on the stubbles, it was easy for them to choose an acre-strip to throw their ball across from balk to balk. The exact width of the statute acre, 22 yards, is now the cricket pitch. For practice with the long bow Henry VIII decreed that the shortest butts should be a furlong, eleven score, or exactly the acre's length. The stade was a furrow before it was a footrace, and the length of the furrow and back again still survives with us as a standard race in the quarter-mile.

Under manorial conditions, the village preserved its ancient practices, although of course its doings were subject to the lord's regulation. There is a remarkable example preserved in a document of the year 957 in which the serfs of the abbey of St. Mihiel functioning as a village community, without interference on the part of the abbot, laid out the arable area of the village according to the three-field system, apportioned the lots in the hay meadow, located the village site, marked off the demesne of the lord-abbot, built a market hall, set the boundaries of the common waste and woods, etc. The very existence of evidence like this shows that even under serfdom some degree of liberty and local self-government

might remain, although of course the exercise of it was by grace of the lord and could not be exacted as a right.

In contrast with this remarkably kindly and intelligent abbot, we may cite the atrocious reduction of the free peasantry of the village of Wolen in what is now the Swiss canton of Soleure in 1038. The peasants of this region were still largely free in the eleventh century. But feeling the need of protection the villagers of Wolen appealed to a neighboring lord named Guntran, who betrayed the trust reposed in him by promptly reducing them to serfdom. When Henry III of Germany visited this corner of his Empire these poor people in vain sought to get a hearing. They could not get through the crowd of nobles and officials around him, and their uncouth dialect and countrified manners offended the aristocratic pride of the king's entourage. The domain thus created by violence and fraud passed in 1106 to the abbey of Muri, in which an honest monk found the documents of this incident.

Whether the manor was a village of formerly free peasants who had been reduced to serfdom, or a servile community from the beginning—although some free persons were nevertheless to be found in the system in spite of the prevalence of subordination—there were two agrarian elements fused together in the composition of a manor; viz., the village community and "the home estate of the lord tacked on to this settlement." For before the lord became a village proprietor he was already a domanial proprietor with some hereditary serfs to work his fields. This explains why in every manor of the high feudal period the lord's demesne —sometimes called "inland"—was sharply set off from the tenures, and perhaps why also the lord possessed slices of demesne intermixed with the strips of the villagers. These slices of demesne separate from the body of the demesne may have been "a vestige of original tribute imposed by the lord." The fully realized manor, therefore, was the union of a manorial estate (villa) with an enserfed village community (mark). The former free peasantry was converted into a servile one; the lord's court supplanted the ancient mark moot; the enterprises of the villagers, as in time past, still persisted because the fundamental economic functioning of the village had not been altered by depression from freedom to serfdom; but these activities were now compulsory services imposed by the lord. The organic interlocking of peasant village and lord's demesne made the manor. There is evidence of the prefeudality of many manorial institutions. Predial services, a wide variety of rights in common, the distinction between demesne land and land in service, the free tenant, all are to be found in the eighth century. Base tenants who were not personal slaves appear long before the feudal age, being increased from above by commendation of freemen, and from below by emancipation.

The distinction between the demesne of the lord and the tenures of the

serfs appears as early as the Allemannic and Bavarian codes, and is manifest for Austrasia in the Frankish capitularies. The *corvée,* or forced labor, is found in the German codes. Evidently we here have a clue to the approximate time of formation of the manorial system, whose slow extension and fixation continued from the sixth to the ninth century, and by 900 had become coextensive with central and western Europe. The crying need of protection during the ninth century, when Norsemen, Magyars, and Arab pirates ravaged Europe and the breakdown of the Frankish Empire made the establishment of strong local authority necessary, gave the manorial régime its fixity and crystallized its institutions. The walled manor-house or castle with the village huddled close beneath it then became typical and emblematic of the time.

There were actually seven different kinds of land in a typical manor, as a study of the map will show: (1) the lord's demesne, which was strictly his own and was farmed partly by special serfs of the demesne and partly by the serfs of the village, whose service was exacted; (2) the lord's *close,* which was a portion of the demesne rented out to villein or tenant farmers; (3) the *tenures* of the serfs of the manor, scattered in strips of virgate or yardland over the three areas of arable land; (4) the hay meadow; (5) the woods; (6) the waste; (7) the domain of the parish priest, or "God's piece" as it was sometimes called. Such glebe land might be either in a single area or in strips amid the village plowlands, like the demesne strips of the lord. It, too, was worked by the peasantry for the priest.

The buildings belonging to the lord consisted of a manor-house and a grange. The manor-house contained at least three principal rooms: the hall, the dormitory, and the solar or parlor or logia. We have a lengthy description of a wooden manor-house built by Arnold II of Ardres for his wife Gertrude.

> There were three stories so that like the sun it appeared to be suspended in the air. The cellar was a spacious place where were great woven baskets, wide-mouthed jars, and barrels, and other domestic utensils. The first floor contained a great living-room, with a huge fireplace, pantries, cupboards, the bedchamber of the lord and his wife, near to which was a lavatory and servants' rooms, and a room or dormitory for the boys. The reception hall, which was called a logia, where visitors were received, was also used as an oratory or chapel. The kitchens were on two levels; on the lower, pigs were roasted, geese, capons, and other birds killed and prepared for eating. On the other floor of the kitchen other provisions were cooked, and here were prepared most delicious viands for the lord, by means of many cooking vessels, and by laborious scraping and paring prepared for eating.

On the upper floors were various rooms connected by passages or halls.

The furniture of the manor-house was scanty. Glass windows were rare; a table put on trestles, a few forms and stools or a long bench stuffed with straw or wool, with one or two chairs and a chest or two of linen, formed the hall furniture. A brass pot or two for boiling and two or three brass dishes; a few wooden platters and trenchers or more rarely of pewter, an iron or leather candlestick, a kitchen knife or two, a box or bowl for salt, and a brass ewer or basin, formed the moveables of the house. . . . The dormitory contained a rude bed and but rarely sheets and blankets, for the gown of the day was generally the coverlet at night.[11]

No estimate can be made of the size of a manor. We have not sufficient data to determine the "average." The system was neatest and best in abbatial lands. But the admirable cartularies of the abbeys show that no uniformity of size existed and that areas varied greatly. A manor had no fixed or customary extent. It was neither more nor less irregular in this particular than an American farm. It must have been much greater, though, than the average modern farm. A manorial village with less than ten families is almost inconceivable. In statistics gathered from Domesday we find 14 manors with 32 households, 14 others with 14 households, and a third group of 14 with 11 households. At such a rate and with each tenure forming thirty acres, the smallest manor would have had 350 to 550 acres at the least, without including meadow, woods, and waste, and the lord's demesne. There must have been many manors much larger than this. Generally they were fairly compact in arrangement. But in cases where old Celtic tribal survivals may have been incorporated, or in which the manor had been formed by the agglomeration of fragments of a broken Roman villa, the manor may have had a somewhat loose arrangement and have seemed to sprawl awkwardly over the land. The village bounds of many a European hamlet today quite accurately correspond to the extent of the former medieval manor from which the village has sprung, and very few such hamlets are less than a thousand acres in area. As the maxim of feudalism was "No lord without land, no land without lord," a lord with but one manor must have been of the lowest rank in the feudal hierarchy. The great nobles —dukes, counts, and even viscounts—were possessed of hundreds of manors, while churches and monasteries numbered them by thousands.

The "domain" of a noble (not to be confused with "demesne") was the whole body of manors which he possessed, whether many or few, large or small. In the case of the king these domains were called crown lands and collectively known as the fisc. They were not always, perhaps not usually, contiguous, but scattered over an entire province or fief, the lord's vassals sometimes possessing manors intermingled with those of their suzerain. Many of the land transfers of the Middle Ages were

[11] Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages.*

made as the result of effort upon the part of nobles, bishops, abbots to acquire contiguous manors by purchase or exchange. Cases of knights and small nobles possessing but a single manor must not have been rare. Thus Tancred of Hauteville, the sire of the famous family of that name, was a knight owning only a single manor near Coutances in Normandy.

Custom, which in this case was nothing but necessity hardened into tradition, required simultaneous and often coöperative work in the common tasks of the manor. The peasants plowed at the same time, sowed at the same time, reaped at the same time. But coaration applied only to the lord's demesne, not to the peasants' own lands. It was not always done in the same way. On some manors the whole demesne was plowed by the full team of all the oxen of the peasants; on others a part of the demesne was allotted to each peasant to plow. Grain was cut with a sickle, a slow and back-breaking process. We hear much complaint of the peasant who filched his neighbor's grain in harvest time by surreptitiously reaching across the line and seizing a handful in the parallel strip belonging to his neighbor; or of one who stole a breadth from his neighbor's field by secret use of the spade; or who moved the stones or stakes used as landmarks to get a few inches more of hay. A common and significant village regulation was that no one might go to the field in harvest time before sunrise, or after sunset, whether with or without a cart. Threshing was done either by treading out the grain with oxen as described in Scripture, or by beating it with flails and winnowing it in the wind—a task often performed by the women and children.

There never was any question as to the prior rights of the lord's demesne. It had always to be plowed first, sowed first, and reaped first. Frequently the peasants must have had to desert their own fields when they needed attention most, because the lord demanded their services. If a storm came up and the crop was endangered it was the lord's crop that was saved. The same "right of way" was enjoyed by the lord when selling his produce. His grain, his wine, his stock went to market first. When the serf died the lord was entitled to the best ox and the best sheep which he left and which he took as a *heriot,* or inheritance tax.

The meadow had a dignity unknown to us today, for the reason that it was the only source of hay production. Grass-seeding and the introduction of the various clovers was not known until the seventeenth century. Until the discovery that grass-seed could be gathered and that the great trefoils were of nutritive value to the soil, meadow hay was the only hay there was. Naturally the supply was limited, for only the low-lying moist land belonging to the village could produce it. Moreover, since there was no rotation of crops in the meadow, the soil gradually became exhausted. The influence of hay on history is a very positive one, though its importance has been but slightly perceived by historians

of agriculture. It has been statistically proved that in the Middle Ages meadow land, in comparison with arable land, was five times as valuable as it is today. Nowadays a farmer grows hay where he wishes, and grows as much or as little as he chooses. In medieval times the quantity of hay was seriously limited in every village community, and the quality of it, owing to the law of diminishing returns, tended to deteriorate.

The staple grains were wheat (but rye in Germany), oats, barley. Flax was raised in certain regions where water conditions favored it, and hemp was sometimes cultivated. Spelt was a cereal intermediate between wheat and barley. Common vegetables were turnips, beans, peas, onions, cabbage, kohlrabi, parsley, garlic, sage, celery. Among fruits we find apples, pears, quinces, plums, cherries. Berries do not seem to have been cultivated, but wild ones were picked. The walnut tree was common and in the south of Europe the vine and olive were universal. The grape, however, was widely grown and ranged much farther north in the Middle Ages than today. Vine culture represented the highest and most differentiated form of agriculture. Domestic animals and fowls were as those we know except for the turkey. The hog was the commonest farm animal. Pigeons were bred by the lords, but forbidden to the peasantry. Bees were raised everywhere. In fact, the economic dignity of the bee was very great in medieval times. It supplied the only form of sweetening except fruit syrup; the consumption of wax for seals and candles in the churches was enormous. Beehives were often specifically disposed of by will and even enfeoffed—a fact which speaks volumes for the value put upon bees. Oxen were far more used on the farm than horses. They were cheaper to keep and less liable to disease, besides providing beef when they got old. The cattle, however, were light and scrubby and weighed much less than draught oxen of later centuries. Unless in milk the cows grazed in the waste and along the forest edge. The hogs ran wild. Both of these animals could fairly well fend for themselves, but sheep, owing to their timidity and habit of "milling" together, were an easy prey to wolf and marauder. With the little hay produced, the difficulty of wintering stock was great. It was fed almost wholly on straw and tree loppings, and cattle were often so thin in the spring that they could not walk and had to be carried out into the meadow. It was the common practice at the beginning of winter to kill and salt all save those needed for draught purposes and breeding. As to milk, there was precious little of it. Even in the thirteenth century, when farming methods had improved, Walter of Henley, an English farm-steward who wrote a famous agricultural treatise, expected only three and one-half pounds of butter per week from three cows. Most milk was used to make cheese. The customary farm implements were: the plow, a cumbrous affair without iron save at the point; the harrow, often a thorn

tree weighted down with a log upon it; spades, shovels, mattocks, picks, scythes, sickles, flails, beetles for breaking clods, crowbars, axes, augers, adzes, etc.

The life of the villagers was the hard, monotonous life of a farmer unrelieved by modern machinery. The hard and sometimes brutal conditions under which the peasantry lived dulled and deadened their sensibilities in a way which would shock us today. Even the most essential amenities of modern life were ignored. When the weather was very hot men often worked stark naked side by side with women in the fields. Philip of Harvengt tells how in summer he "saw most of the peasants on market day walking about in the streets and on the square of the village without a vestige of clothing on, not even trousers, in order to keep cool. Thus naked they attended to their business. When some monks who were shocked at the sight indignantly protested, they roughly answered: 'What business is it of yours?'"

The cottages of the peasantry were all of wood or wattle with thatched roofs and without chimneys, so that it was impossible for each cottager to bake his own bread in the house. Cooking in summer was chiefly done out-of-doors at the door-front, and in winter on the earth floor of the cottage, the smoke getting out of the door, when opened, or a hole in the roof, and always blinding the wretched occupants of the house. The medieval peasant had no artificial light in his one-room shack with a clay floor. Fagots as torches were dangerous, for the thatch might catch fire; candles he could not afford. Moreover, he had nothing to do after dark. He could not work. He could not read, for he had no books and did not know how to read, even if he had had a book. Consequently he and his wife and children went to bed at sunset. But what a bed! It was merely a heap of straw in the corner, alive with vermin and often damp. He slept in his clothes. Yet we are tempted to exaggerate the hardships on the medieval peasant, as we shall see later on.

The industrial life of a normal manor (for although infinite variety of customary practices prevailed, the variations were generally differences of degree rather than of kind) has been described by Karl Buecher as follows:

> Under this system the small land-owner supervises in person, the large land-owner through an overseer. The demesne land lying immediately about the manor-house is cultivated by serfs permanently attached to it, who there find food and lodging, and are employed in agricultural and industrial production, household duties, and the personal service of the lord, under a many-sided division of labor. The demesne land is intermixed with the holdings of a larger or smaller number of unfree peasants, each of whom tills his "hide" of land independently, while all share with the lord the use of pasture, wood, and water. At the same time, however, every peasant-holding binds its occupant to perform certain services and to furnish certain

dues in natural products to the estate. These services consist of labor reckoned at first according to requirement, later according to time, whether given in the fields at seed-time or harvest, on the pasture-land, in the vineyard, garden, or forest, or in the manorial workshops or the women's building where the daughters of the serfs are spinning, weaving, sewing, baking, brewing beer, etc. On the days devoted to manorial service the unfree laborers receive their meals at the manor-house just as do the manor-folk themselves. They are further bound to keep in repair the enclosures about the manor-house and its fields, to keep watch over the house, and to undertake the carrying of messages and the transport of goods. The dues in kind to be paid to the estate are partly agricultural products, such as grain of all kinds, wool, flax, honey, wax, wine, cattle, hogs, fowl, or eggs; partly wood cut in the forests of the mark and made ready for use, such as fire-wood, timber, vine-stakes, torch-wood, shingles, staves and hoops; partly the products of industry, such as woolen and linen cloth, stockings, shoes, bread, beer, casks, plates, dishes, goblets, iron, pots and knives. This presupposes a certain specialization of industry in supplying commodities. Intermediate between service and rent are duties of various kinds, such as hauling manure from the peasant's farm to the fields of the lord, keeping cattle over winter, providing entertainment for the guests of the manor. On the other hand the lord renders economic assistance to the peasant by keeping breeding-stock, by establishing ferries, mills, and ovens for general use, by securing protection from violence and injustice to all, and by giving succor from his stores, in accordance with his pledge, when crops fail or other need arises.[12]

We thus have here a small economic organism fairly sufficient in itself, which avoids the rigid concentration of the ancient Roman slave estates; which is able to secure to each peasant a separate cottage and fields for his own family needs, and therewith a certain personal independence.

The self-sufficiency of the manor, while never whole and complete, for salt, iron, and millstones especially had to be brought in from the outside, was a real actuality in the depth of the feudal age. The idea that the great estates employed "negotiators" to purchase outside commodities and to market the surplus of the manor is not tenable. Every manor produced and manufactured its own staple necessities. There was little local market for wheat and other cereals except in time of famine, or for wine, beer, wool, linen, leather, furs, etc. These things were made upon the manor and consumed upon the manor.

The character of the occupations of the medieval peasantry and their seasonal nature has been preserved for us in many a quaint illustration found in medieval calendars, the ancestors of our modern farmer's almanac, and may be read by every observant tourist in the carvings of many a cathedral, as in the great doorway of Amiens cathedral which

[12] Buecher, *Industrial Evolution,* pp. 103–105.

so manifestly was erected amid an agricultural community. Millet's picture, the Angelus, illustrates the part the village evening bell played in every hamlet. The speech of the medieval peasant was racy with figures derived from his daily life. There is sometimes interesting psychology in these expressions. The English peasant called his field his "plowland" or his "furrows." The German peasant called it *Morgenland,* or *Tag-werk,* (day's-work), in both terms the element of time being the factor rather than the work itself, or *Gewende* (from *wenden,* "to turn"), in allusion to the plow-turns. The end of the plowland where the team was turned in the furrow was always the last part plowed, and was sometimes called a "headland." It marked the term of the day's work. "So this last work of the jaded plowman and worn-out oxen at the end of the season became the familiar symbol of the last struggle at the end of a life of toil. The Breton peasant nearing his end with labored breath is said to be 'plowing his headlands.' "

We are not to think of the social structure of a manor as consisting of a series of superimposed "layers," one over another. The word "texture" better describes the condition, for the classes were intricately interwoven one with another and formed a compact social group, although of variegated pattern. The meanest class were slaves. But slavery so rapidly declined in medieval Europe after the eighth century that by the year 1000 it was practically negligible as an institution. The few slaves which are found are not field laborers but household servants. The practices of manorial economy were repugnant to the perpetuation of slavery in Europe. Of the total dependent population upon the crown lands of England when the Domesday survey was made (1086) only nine per cent was slave. Slavery gradually declined in medieval Europe not because of humanitarian feeling, or a new conscience, but because its prevalence was incompatible with the economic condition and social structure of the time. Even southern Europe gradually reduced slavery and went over to serfdom instead, substituting "the Germanic code which was the outgrowth of serf economy for the classic law of Rome that was the product of slavery. . . . By the twelfth century Roman jurisprudence and the books of Justinian had fallen into oblivion in Italy and the code of the Lombards held full sway." The later revival of the Roman law was due to wholly new and different economic conditions.

Status and tenure were so interwoven in lower medieval society that it is impossible to consider social texture apart from the nature of the tenure. Broadly speaking the body of the folk upon a medieval manor was composed of serfs and villeins. These two classes of dependents differed in historical origin, in social status, and in economic condition. The original body of serfs was descended historically from the Roman *colonus* and the German *litus, i.e.,* the two classes of servile farming

tenantry familiar to the later Roman Empire. The fiction of the law—which technically regarded him—was that the serf was personally free but economically a bondman. But during the Carolingian epoch the old servile class was clearly increased by the depression of many freemen to a state of serfdom, which thus included not only those without property but also those whose property was too small for support of themselves and their families. Every freeman living on seigniorial land sank to inferior condition. These "poor freemen" (*pauperes liberi*) differed little from actual serfs and ultimately were blended with them. Not theories of law, but kind of tenure and services exacted, conditioned status. A cartulary of the ninth century shows us three sorts of serfs, a *colonus,* a *litus,* and a servile freeman, dwelling upon the same manor.

Superficially it may seem that the lot of the serf hardly differed from that of the slave. But this is not true. The slave was a chattel and could be bought and sold like cattle. The serf could not be sold off the land; if the manor were sold he went with it to a new manorial lord. Thus the serf possessed a patrimony, or rather it possessed him, for he was an inseparable portion of it. Moreover, the serf enjoyed a family relation unknown to slavery; his wife and children are frequently mentioned in documents. It is true, however, that until relatively late in the Middle Ages he could not marry without his lord's consent, nor marry a woman outside of the manorial community without permission, and that he had to pay a fee when he so married (*formariage*). The earliest instance of the prohibition of *formariage* is in the letters of Gregory I. Mixed marriages were at first rigorously forbidden, for they tended to break the social integrity and diminish the economic efficiency of the manor. But this rule could not be enforced. Natural and social inclinations were against it, and the Church's opposition to the rupture of the family by distributing the issue of mixed marriages between the manors of the lord of the husband and the lord of the wife finally secured the abolition of *formariage.*

At first glance it seems as though the establishment of feudalism aggravated the lot of the peasantry and made their condition worse than before. But there was a partial compensation for the economic exploitation which the peasantry suffered in the increased security which they had upon the manor, where it was to the interest of the lord to protect them and their property, and where the castle afforded some kind of shelter in case of violence from without. In the ninth and tenth centuries protection was more desirable than freedom. The rights which the fallen freeman lost were dear and empty rights by the time of Charlemagne, for they cost more than they were worth. So numerous were the emperor's wars, and all of them fought upon remote frontiers, that the burden of military service upon the freeman became more than he could sustain. By sinking to serfdom he was exempt from military service

and could stay home, and the new manorial exactions which he bore were no greater than, if as great as, the burden of military service and the loss of time and produce he was liable to suffer owing to prolonged absence in spring and summer months, when his fields were to be plowed and seeded, and harvests garnered. The peasant's lot may even have been better in the ninth century under the new régime than under the older system. The cartularies show labor and toil, but they do not disclose dire hardship or poverty. An anecdote recorded by the Monk of St. Gall, who wrote about 884, shows that there were peasant plowmen then who sang to their oxen as they trod the furrow, as they still later did under more adverse conditions.

Serfdom and villeinage are often regarded as identical and often confused. Truth to tell, the distinction between the two classes is frequently difficult to establish. There were degrees of villeins, as there were of serfs; and the villein's status, like the serf's, was conditioned by the sort of tenure which he held. Tenures in rent were considered free tenures; tenures by work, servile tenures. The villein has been described as "the meanest of freemen." He might, too, be described as the most fortunate of serfs. We find a reflection of the difference between him and the serf in the English law which protected his life by a 200-shilling fine, while the serf's life was estimated at only 60 shillings. Historically the villein class is of later origin than the serf class. The latter, as has been said, reverts to Roman times. The villein, on the other hand, was a product of early feudal times when feudalism was inchoate and still in process of evolution. In England the villein first appeared during the transition from tribalism to feudalism before the Norman Conquest; on the Continent he was the victim of the dissolution of the Frankish monarchy and especially of the immunity, that institution which gave the rural domain its independence and autonomy, and which so weakened the power of the crown and so enlarged the essential traits of the manorial régime. The villeins were originally recruited from that group of very small free land-owners whose possessions were not large enough to make the great *fidcles* seek their alliance as vassals, who were not strong enough in the anarchy of transition to maintain their lands without protection. They were of that class of small land-owners for whom Charlemagne had relaxed the burden of military service by providing that of two men having two manors each, one should equip the other, or of three men each of whom had a manor, two should equip the third, or five half-manor men should equip a sixth, etc. In a word, the villein was a former small free farmer above the condition of the inhabitant of a free village community, who under stress of circumstances surrendered ownership of his acres to some powerful landed neighbor. The latter annexed the little property to his own great manor (villa) and the former owner thereof sank to dependence and was fused socially with the servile

village community, although he retained some vestige or reminiscence of his former position. "To have free land was all very well, but sometimes a feudal lord was a protection in troublous times."

Serfs might be made so *en masse* by reduction of an entire free village; villeins were made so individually by economic and social adversity. Tradition and custom protected the "free" villein from the worst abuses of serfdom. The very words sometimes used to describe them—*homines consuetudinarii,* men of the custumals—are indicative of this fact. The villein was not *taillable à merci,* that is to say, he could not be taxed without limit or beyond a fixed rate or amount; he could leave his personal property to his children; the terms of his tenure, however hard the conditions of its holding, were fixed by customary contract, not written, yet having the force of law; his labor could not be indiscriminately and almost boundlessly exploited like that of the serf. The villein was a perpetual tenant, but not in person bound to the glebe like the serf; his condition so to speak, was less *personal* than *real;* not because his father was a villein before him but because he held a villein tenure (land *in vilenagio*) was he a villein. The enfranchisement of the serfs, as we shall see, will go along the line of relief indicated by the status of the villein. For the tangency and even fusion of the two classes had the effect of adjusting things according to the higher rather than according to the lower condition. The villein pulled the serf up to his status and both together ultimately emerged into freedom. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many serfs became villeins by enfranchisement.

Villein tenure, while it seems analogous to the fief, must be sharply distinguished from it. The manorial world was the lower side of the feudal world. Politically a fief was a territory ruled by a noble who held it in vassalage under a superior noble. Economically a fief was an aggregation of "domains," and a domain was an aggregation of "manors." Every manor was a unit in a domain, and every domain was an entity in a fief. The lord was a noble of some degree, lower or higher; his tenantry on each and every manor were serfs and villeins. Their holdings were called *tenures.* As the peasants were non-noble, so their tenures were non-noble, whether servile or villein in nature and origin. In a single document of 1251 we find upon the same area three possessors holding under different titles: the suzerain, the vassal-in-chief, and the villein tenant.

When the free villein had performed his services and paid the taxes (*redevances*) imposed upon his tenure he had the full and entire disposal of it; theoretically he could alienate it, subject to payment of a fee to the lord, though in practice this rarely happened, for villein tenure inclined to be a perpetual relation and condition; moreover, the burdens were generally so heavy as to prevent a villein from getting ahead far enough to be so economically independent.

Another degree of villeinage comprised those unfortunate petty landowners who were unable to live an independent life, or whose alods were too small to support them, and who therefore surrendered the title to some proprietor—often a monastery—but continued to occupy them, paying quit rent (*cens, Zins*) therefor. These obligated themselves to the performance of certain manorial services, sank to inferior condition, became unfree villeins, and were blurred with serfs. A third class of villeins were those who rented land. For it not infrequently occurred that a noble having more land than he could work profitably with serf and unfree villein labor, would rent a tract of his land under contract to an industrious peasant. The terms of such holding were fixed with precision. The sources are silent on the villein's services, but he probably helped in spring and autumn plowing and in harvest time on the lord's demesne.

It is obvious that the free villein was a late evolution of manorial society, of emergence in the late twelfth and thirteenth century. Much still remains to be studied in the history of villeinage—its origins, its obligations, and above all the germs of freedom it contained. The legists of the thirteenth century wrote learnedly of the villein, but his legal status and his actual, historical condition by that time were widely different things.

Serfs and villeins were the two broadest and most numerous classes of manorial society. But, besides these two classes, we find many other classes of the peasantry which, all told, made a confusing variety of gradations; inferior dwellers having lots in the village of even less dimension than yardlands. Such were *colliberti,* borderers, crofters, cotters. The *collibertus* is one of the greatest puzzles in medieval history. The derivation of the word, from *cum* and *libertus,* conveys no suggestion and every opinion as to his origin and status is conjecture. He certainly had no relation to the *collibertus* of Roman times. Was he halfway between serfdom and villeinage? or between villeinage and freedom? Was he a superior type of serf? or a superior type of villein? Whatever opinion is held, it seems certain that he was in a condition to be envied by others below him and possessed of rights which he could maintain in a court of law. The famous process of the colliberts of St. Aubin d'Angers shows this much—even when we do not discover what the collibert was. Borderers were so called from their small holdings which bordered upon, but were not part of, the open fields. They were recruited probably from newcomers, men broken away from their former moorings owing to many adverse causes, war, abuse, famine, disaster like flood—the "wandering men" or *homines migrantes* of the codes—who drifted into the manor and were given leave to stay as *hospites* and permitted to break a new holding out of the waste on the edge of the manor. *Cottarii* and *bordarii* did not have "splinters of holdings" among the open fields, as, some historians have thought, but pieces

of land along the margin of the manor, and probably were so poor that they were compelled to borrow a yoke of oxen from their neighbors or from the lord to do their plowing. Obviously such a small holding could not have supported them wholly, so that they eked out by outside work done for the lord or the richer peasants of the village. Crofters were men without any tenure at all, but possessed of a cottage with a tiny yard around it; cotters were wretchedly poor men who had merely a cottage—usually but a shack or shanty. These two classes worked as hired hands on the strips of the richer villeins, or did "chores" for the lord of the manor.

In all these various social degrees of the unfree, legal status was traversed by economic condition; the form of the tenure more than birth or previous condition determined the unfree man's position in the society of the manor and his daily manner of living. The mass of these intermediate social elements was sometimes denominated boors (*buri*). But the existence of these intermediate degrees which formed a heterogeneous blur is important, "and must tend to raise our estimate both of the legal freedom and of the economic welfare of the great mass of peasants."

Manorial life was not necessarily or always a wholly deadening life. The manor may not be regarded as a phenomenon of social decay. It had promise and potency in its make-up. A society never dissolves, nor does it utterly disappear. It does not die; it changes, it adjusts itself to meet new conditions, it is organic, it lives, it grows.

In spite of the fact that serfdom was an hereditary condition, that marriage of a freeman with a serf woman caused him to forfeit his freedom, that occupation of a servile tenure for a year and a day entailed loss of freedom by the free tenant, that warfare, punishment for crime, and spoliation often reduced poor freemen to servile condition, nevertheless a steady amelioration of servile conditions is observable straight through the feudal age. By the eleventh century serfs were giving way to tenants holding by lease. The rapid increase of Europe's population in the eleventh and twelfth centuries would have been impossible if the manorial system had been always and everywhere what it is often reputed to have been. Serfdom was rapidly on the wane in Europe after 1100. Predial serfdom could not survive the economic and social revolution which Europe by that time was experiencing. The word "serf" continued in use, but the condition of serfdom was one of steady amelioration even to disappearance. One gets the impression of general agrarian progress in Europe in the twelfth century. Doubtless the peasant's daily life was an arduous one, his social status a low one, and he was heavily taxed. But on the other hand he could not be wrested away from his home lot; and customary law, independently of written prescription, inclined more and more to protect him. The lord could not demand unlimited or

impossible services. The peasant was bound to fixed requirements and to definite exactions, which were paid as rent.

We are in danger of underestimating the effect of custom in protecting the serf. An example will illustrate. It occurred as early as 905. The serfs of the monastery of St. Ambrose complained to the archbishop that the abbot subjected them to new and unusual *corvées*. The archbishop replied that as serfs they were required to pay what was imposed upon them. The serfs did not deny their servile condition, but continued to argue that the abbot had no right to impose new and unusual obligations. The archbishop made investigation and, finding things as the serfs alleged, ruled that the abbot must not go beyond custom and tradition in his exactions. There are examples of just and humane lords as of unjust and inhumane lords. There are instances of serfs refusing emancipation.

Fifty years ago the great French scholar Léopold Delisle protested against the false and sentimental representations of the romantic school of history with reference to the peasantry of the Middle Ages, and the researches of more modern scholars like Lamprecht, Henri Sée, and Vinogradoff go far to sustain Delisle's contention. The fact that the medieval peasant was without things we deem necessary to comfort does not prove that he was miserable. He knew no better comfort. As the late Sir William Ashley has written:

> Doubtless the yardlings and cotters and craftsmen sometimes suffered from famines; doubtless their surroundings were often unsanitary. Still there was a standard of comfort which general opinion recognized as suitable for them and which prices were regulated to maintain. But now we are content that wages should be determined by the standard of comfort which a class can manage to maintain, left to itself, or rather, exposed to the competition of machinery and immigrant foreign labor.[13]

Serfdom had its advantages to the serf in the form of protection and support.

> The lord was responsible for the fines of his serf; he might be called upon to pay his debts, and it was to his interest to see that his rural tenants were in good material condition. The dues of the serf when fixed were generally lower than those of freemen, their land was practically hereditary, divided as a matter of course amongst the male children. . . . Above all, the theory of serfdom was something very different from the practice. . . . There were many so-called questaux who were in a far better position than the study of servile reconnaissances would lead one to expect.[14]

[13] *Introduction to Economic History*, I, 139.
[14] Lodge, *The Estates of St. André de Bordeaux*, 96–97.

In his admirable study of the serfs of St. Bertin, Mr. Coopland observes:

> How far was serfdom above slavery or below freedom? It is probably safer on the whole to deny the existence of any permanent level than to describe one which existed at a given moment and infer that it held good for centuries. There was in all likelihood no permanence from the ninth century onwards and the danger of the classic or standard descriptions is that they imply always some state which was permanent and uniform. . . . Nowhere is this danger greater than in that part of the standard description which states that the serf could be bought and sold, could be given or bequeathed, or enfranchised. What we may term the extreme view is that the serf, given or sold, was in the same position exactly as the modern tenant-farmer who changes masters. He has paid his rent to one; he now pays to another. This view has been ridiculed; it is not the whole truth, but contains at least part of the truth for which we are seeking.

Free tenants rapidly increased in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the proprietary class discovered it was more convenient and more profitable to allot holdings in rental than to exact fixed services or charges. The altered condition relieved them of the responsibility and vexation of supervising. The rent at first was paid in kind, but in the twelfth century, when a money economy began to prevail, payment often was in coin. Many of this new tenant class were recruited not from serfs who had passed into the renting class, but from the former alodial peasantry who had lost their ancestral holdings under pressure of war or economic adversity and so became a renting class instead of an owning class of small farmers.

Did any freehold or alodial owners survive in and through the manorial age? Yes, and in considerable masses in certain parts of Europe. In Saxony the free peasantry were not reduced to serfdom until the end of the eleventh century. In Tuscany, the mountainous or hilly nature of the country preserved very much of the local population from manorialization. Many freemen, too, survived in the mountainous parts of France, especially in Auvergne. The feudo-manorial régime was preëminently based upon an agricultural society, and where agricultural conditions were most favorable, there feudo-manorialism most obtained. Accordingly we find freemen also existing in considerable numbers in the marshes of Frisia and Ditmarsch. Naturally the manorial pressure upon such free groups was very great and most of the alodial class succumbed to it. Alodial owners were free from all feudal services, but with slight other protection than their own resources in case of war or usurpation. In Languedoc, in the south of France, we have an interesting record in the twelfth century of an alliance of freeholders to

protect themselves and their lands against feudalization. This "society" is unique in medieval history. At least we have record of no other of similar nature. Broadly speaking, except for isolated places and cases, it may be said that the freeman class greatly diminished during the ninth and tenth centuries. The enormous growth of villeinage in this period points this way. An abbatial survey made in 812 enumerates 2080 colons, 220 serfs, 35 *liti,* and only 8 freemen. These figures are interesting as statistics. But the descriptive terminology of these classes is also of other interest. It shows that the peasantry, at least in Romance countries, was chiefly descended from Roman *coloni ingenui* (Roman freemen reduced to economic bondage) and not from the Roman slave class, and that the German *litus* of the later Roman Empire also contributed a portion. The villein is not yet apparent. Just as there were different degrees of serfs and villeins, so there were also social gradations among the free class. The *accolæ* and *hospites* were the "very dust of the free population." Where they survived "the lands of the simple freemen tended to be much smaller than those of the nobles. . . . A great quantity of them were tiny holdings, sometimes consisting of a few strips of arable land, a row or two of vines, or simply a house and garden, or a portion of one." But not even in the depth of the feudal age was the freeman wholly extinguished, and where he survived he was the freest of men. His land was non-noble, but it was also non-servile. His only obligation was to pay the *cens,* in this case not a quit rent but a local tax, to the neighboring lord as political ruler, not as manorial proprietor, over him.

So far in this chapter much has been said of the peasantry of the manor and of farming, but little has been said of the lord of the manor, who was both ruler and proprietor of a manorial community. It is this local political jurisdiction which must now be considered. He possessed both taxing and judicial power over his serfs and villeins. These prerogatives, too, constituted part of the lord's domain, which was composed of both corporeal and incorporeal possessions.

What was the source of these local prerogatives? The answer to this question is a controverted one. The historian of legalistic mind is inclined to discover their origin in former public law, the prerogatives and functions of which were usurped by the feudality. Others, who are more disposed toward economic and social interpretation, find the source not in the dismemberment of the State and usurpation of public power by the seignior, but in the economic and social constitution of the domain, a natural and direct effect of great landed proprietorship in a milieu in which the very idea of the State had vanished. *Banalités, taille, péages, corvées,* every sort of service or exaction, it is argued, was an emanation of domanial rights and validated by the confusion of public law and private right which was of the very essence of feudalism. Whatever the truth of these two contentions may be, it is at least certain that

many of these prerogatives were not due to sheer brutal usurpation, but fell to the lord of the manor as of necessary exercise in the ruin of an anterior state of things.

Properly speaking, public taxation did not exist in the depth of the feudal age. Even the kings "lived on their own," that is to say, upon the revenues of the royal manors, and not upon revenues raised by taxation. The author of the *Dialogue on the Exchequer,* an Anglo-Norman document written in the twelfth century, writes:

> As it had been handed down to us by our forefathers, in the early state of the kingdom after the Conquest the kings received from their manors not sums of gold or silver, but only payments in kind [*victualia*] . . . and the officials appointed for the business knew how much was due from each manor. . . . I have myself seen people who have seen provisions brought up to the court at appointed times from the king's manors.

The intimate relation that might exist between a lord and his tenantry is portrayed in the same document where it is said of Henry II of England—but of his Norman and Angevin manors, not those in England —that "there often poured into the King's court a complaining crowd of husbandmen, or, what was more disagreeable to him, they often met him as he passed by, holding up their plowshares as a sign," sometimes to complain about an unjust steward, sometimes protesting over the decay of agriculture, whether due to weather, war, or taxes.

Local custom varied greatly in the number and kind of manorial taxes, and the names employed to describe them are almost infinite. In Du Cange's *Glossarium* of medieval Latin the list of them fills twenty-seven quarto columns. One universal fact in regard to them is that they were all direct taxes. Indirect taxation is of late medieval and early modern origin and does not appear until commerce and trade has become of large importance. Various categories may be made of them, but the simplest classification is that depending upon their form. Thus they may be distinguished into (1) *redevances,* or renders, (2) *prestations,* and (3) *corvées.*

Redevances were payable either in money or in produce. Among the most important of these were the *capitatio,* the *cens* (German *Zins*), the *taille* or *questa,* the *champart,* the *péage,* and the *banalités.* The *capitatio* was a head tax imposed upon serfs, and not upon villeins or freemen. None but serfs and others of the lowest social gradation in the manorial world, like Jews, paid it. It was regarded early as odious, for it symbolized serfdom. Vexatious offspring of it were the lord's right to tax marriage among his serfs and to exact a super-marriage tax of any serf who married outside of the manor (*formariage*).

The *taille* (from *tallagium,* a notch cut in a stick, whence "tally," a

method of keeping accounts in the Middle Ages; in German it was called *Bede, i.e.,* that which was bidden or demanded) was the most typical and most widespread manorial tax. It was levied on serf, villein, and freeman, one or more times a year and was more commonly paid in produce than in coin. The term first appears in the eleventh century, but existed anteriorly. It was levied upon the family as a group. No medieval tax more strikingly illustrates the complicated conditions arising out of the confusion of proprietorship with sovereignty than the *taille*. Was it of legal origin? Or was it an arbitrary imposition? By some writers it is regarded as a variation or emanation from the servile capitation tax. But if so, how did it come to be applied to villeins and freemen? There are those who contend and those who deny that it was legally descended from Roman times. There are those who contend and those who deny a continuity between Carolingian exactions and the *taille* of the feudal age. Was it a personal or a real tax? There are times when it seems one, and again the other. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish it from the *cens* or *censive,* which was certainly a form of quit rent. However it may be, the *taille* became so general that it often covered all of the *redevances*. There was great difference in its enforcement, though. The serf was taxable to any degree—in the euphemistic phrase of the age, he was *taillable à merci,* that is to the limit of the lord's mercy—while with villein and freeman the *taille* became a fixed, customary sum. Its fixation even for serfs in the thirteenth century marks a true advance in servile status, and a step toward freedom. The arbitrariness of the *taille* made it a most vexatious tax. In course of time it came to be imposed upon almost everything, sheaves of grain, hay, vintage, stock, chickens, bees-wax. As a tax on agriculture it was sometimes known as a *champart*. But each particular object taxed gave a name to a kind of tax. It is no wonder that the demand for fixation of the *taille* was strong and finally prevailed. As administered by an unscrupulous lord it became a bundle of exactions.

The *cens* (*census*) was a species of rent sometimes payable in produce, but usually a money imposition. It was not paid by serfs, but by villeins and freemen. It is the one manorial tax apparently derived from the ancient Roman land tax, which was appropriated and dispersed during the Carolingian and feudal epochs. Yet some historians contend that the *cens,* too, was of servile extraction. Variant names for the *cens,* arising from the fact that it was a house tax, are *focagium* or *fumagium* (hearth tax), *masuragium* or *masnagium* (house tax). Failure to pay the *cens* entailed loss of his tenure by the delinquent. In the case of a freeman the *cens,* of course, was not a rent but a straight land tax.

The *banalités* were the incomes which the manorial lord derived from monopolistic control of certain necessary economic activities of the community. He owned the mill, the brewery, the bake-oven, the wine-

press, the village bull, sometimes even the village well. The advocates of primitive German communalism regard these monopolies as manorialized survivals of once free village institutions. Others look upon them as examples of selfish exploitation by the lord. Are they German or domanial in origin? Certain other historians ascribe the origin of *banalités* to the military conditions imposed by castle life. It is a pleasant although erroneous theory of some sentimentalists, that these enterprises were instituted by the manorial lord as philanthropic measures for the welfare of the community, but unfortunately for the truth of this amiable theory, the facts disclose that the lord was always actuated by motives of gain. He capitalized his local prerogative and used it to squeeze his tenantry.

Prestations were less onerous, more casual but not less vexatious forms of taxation. They were chiefly enforced hospitality. The lord in his travels from manor to manor, when he stayed only a few days in one place, had the right to billet himself and his retinue upon the villagers, who were compelled to furnish him, his followers, and their animals with provisions; even to feed his hunting dogs. It was susceptible of great abuse and early became regularized into a customary obligation enforceable only thrice yearly, when it did not become obsolete. The historical origin of the practice may be traced back as far as the Roman post system (*cursus publicus*) whereby subjects were required to give lodgment and food to government couriers and other officials. The German kings converted this law into an obligation upon their subjects to sustain them and their courts when traveling, from whom the feudal nobles borrowed the practice and applied it to their own immediate benefit.

Corvées (the word is derived from the Roman law term *corrogata,* signifying requirements of forced labor) were a whole body of compulsory services exacted of the peasantry by the lord of the manor, such as road and bridge work, building dams, furnishing horses and carts for hauling, carrying produce to market; other *corvées* were a certain number of working days or series of chores which the lord exacted without compensation for his own demesne and manor-house. Castle-guard and watch-and-ward of the premises were *corvées.* Strictly speaking they were not military service at all, but manorial *servitia.* The word *corvée* is found in the Barbarian codes and the form of exaction was one of the oldest of manorial obligations. Most *corvées* were seasonal exactions naturally, imposed in spring, harvest time, and late autumn.

There is no denying either the weight or the arbitrariness of many of these servile exactions, and sometimes the brutality with which they were collected. At the same time the worst of them gradually became obsolete and the others tended to become fixed and customary or else were commuted into money payments, which alleviated much of their arbitrary

and brutal nature. It must also be remembered that the collection of them was usually in the hands of bailiffs or stewards, often serfs themselves converted into *ministeriales,* who either were hard taskmasters in order to impress the lord with their efficiency, or else magnified or abused their authority as small-bore men are prone to do. Frequently the lord was unfamiliar with onerous or abusive conditions until he happened to visit such a manor, or found it out first through an insurrection of his peasantry. It has been well and wisely observed that "unpopularity in medieval administration often went hand in hand with efficiency, and violence was merely a perversion of energy." The real responsibility for manorial oppression may perhaps be better attributed to the oppressive practices of bailiffs and stewards than to wilful abuse by the lord of the manor. Then, too, it is always to be remembered that complaint against taxation is an old, old trait of human nature. There is suggestion in the anecdote told of Count Geoffrey of Anjou, who once met one of his own serfs who did not know him by sight, along the road and fell in with him. To the count's question the serf highly praised his lord, but complained bitterly of the conduct of his manorial agents and the injustice of their exactions. Broad generalizations either of approval or of condemnation of the manorial régime are to be avoided. There were good lords who were considerate of their tenantry; there were bad lords who abused their tenantry. Certainly it is impossible to believe that the majority of lords were so outrageously cruel as the notorious Thomas de Marne, or that manorial injustice and abuse was a universal evil.

No consideration of medieval economic history may omit notice of the important part which the forest played in medieval life. The forests of Europe were then far more extensive than now. From time immemorial the forest had been a place of free supply for the peasant. Thence he got his firewood, there his swine and cattle browsed, for the meadow grass was for winter fodder. The value of a forest tract was estimated by its capacity to support swine; an acre of beech was usually regarded as sufficient for ten hogs. Before the nobles began to appropriate the forests any member of the village was at liberty to make a clearing and till a patch of ground. Assarting diminished the danger of want by increasing the arable area around the village, and tended to protect the flocks and herds from predacious animals. It was also a reduction of the danger of forest fires. About the sole limitation was upon cutting the hardwoods, or trees like oak, beech, and chestnut, on whose mast the swine fed. These clearing were called *aprisiones* (from *prehendere,* to take or occupy), *bifangs,* German *bifænge* (from *bifahen,* to enclose with a hedge).

As feudalism spread its net ever more widely and the manorial régime tightened its grasp upon the peasantry more and more, sturdier spirits sought relief by penetrating deeper and deeper into the forests, making

a clearing there and sowing their wheat and spelt between the stumps as the American pioneer centuries later was to do in the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies. Little use was made of fire in forming these clearings, for the danger was too great. The work was done with axe and bar and spade. *"Die Axt is das eigentliche Werkzeug des Neubruchs,"* was a proverb in Germany. Such forest settlement, however, required more collective enterprise in the Middle Ages than here in America. The medieval man was much more dependent upon group association than the modern man. His implements were few, crude of workmanship, expensive to get, and too heavy to be used easily. The work of felling even a single tree required the services of several men working together. We have only casual information in regard to medieval lumbering, but that there was some technique in the business is curiously shown in Willibald's *Life of Boniface* (763), where there is a particular account of the saint felling the sacred *Robor Jovis* (the Latin rendering of the *Tree of Thor,* the sacred tree of the heathen Hessians). The first or lower notch was cut to the centre of the tree on the side toward which it was intended it should fall, and a second upper or "fore" notch was cut on the side opposite.

Place names indicative of forest clearings abound all over Europe from the eleventh century onwards. Examples in English are the place-suffixes *-holt, -hurst, -hart, -chart, -royd, -haw, -weald, -wold;* in German, *-reut, -rode, -wald, -hain, -holz, -hagen, -schlag, -brand, -brenn.* Of these, *-chart, -brenn, -brand* recall the use of fire, which charred or burnt the trees down; *-haw* and *-hagen* signify "hewn"; *-royd, -rode* imply that the place was "rid" of trees. The word "field," when used as a suffix, usually does not mean a field, but a place where trees have been "felled."

The oldest forest grant of which we have record is of the year 559. Forest villages begin as early as the seventh century. The earliest claim that the forest pertained to the royal fisc is in 697. Charlemagne at first imposed no restraint upon forest clearing—*ubicumque inveniunt utiles homines detur silva ad stirpandum*—but in 810 began to restrict the practice, either in order to prevent freemen oppressed with military service from escaping it, or to preserve the forests as hunting parks. Probably both motives influenced his legislation. Increasing perception of the value of the forests is observable through the tenth and eleventh centuries, not merely as places for hunting. The brutality of the game laws undoubtedly was great, but the greater grievance of the peasantry was over the enclosure of the forests by the feudal nobles, who appointed foresters and exacted licenses to fell wood, to fish, to hunt, to pasture swine in them. As private control was extended more and more over the forests the first settlers retreated farther in, so that we find the former squatter clearings peopled by a second wave of incomers. The

latter class, however, was not possessed of the hardier spirit of the first settlers. They were rather of the lower grades of the manorial peasantry, borderers, cotters, crofters, marginal men who sought to better themselves by getting a larger holding than a tiny yardland or toft. So great was the exodus from the manors to the forests in some places that we actually find complaint of abandoned farms in the Moselle lands in 1114. Cæsarius of Prüm, writing in 1222, but looking backward into the twelfth century, summed up this long and interesting history of forest colonization in a sentence. He writes: "During this long space of time many forests were felled, villages founded, mills erected, taxes ordained, vines planted, and an infinite amount of land reduced to agriculture."

What is true of the forests is true also of the marshes and swamps. The redemption of these aqueous areas to cultivation all over Europe is an astounding evidence of the increase of population and the indefatigable industry of the people. We find it in Flanders, Frisia, and Holland, in the network of rivers in western France where spread the marshes of Poitou and La Sèvre, in the bottom lands of the Weser, the Elbe, the Oder in Germany, in Lombardy and Apulia. Again the suffixes—*au* ("meadow"), *-ried,* ("swamp"), in German; *-fen, -moor* and *-mere* in English; *-marais* in French, tell the tale. A notable example in Germany is the *Goldene Aue,* or Golden Meadows, near Nordhausen, and in France the *Marais de Dol,* a fertile plain which was inundated by the sea in 709 and reclaimed in the twelfth century and protected by a dike twenty-two miles in length. Engineering operations like these requiring so much labor, redeeming so much land, indicate a great increase of population in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Forest and marsh afforded an outlet for the surplus population. Division and subdivision of tenures no longer sufficed for support. The equilibrium between land and population was passed in the eleventh century. The overflow found homes in newly made lands, or drifted into the towns and lived by craftsmanship and trade. For the upset of the ancient ratio between agriculture and population gave room for new species of employment.

The competition between manorial proprietors to retain their serfs and villeins, or to increase the number of those whom they had, broke down the ancient fugitive serf law entirely. An enterprising lord coaxed his neighbor's peasants away. "Every page of the documents testifies to frequent migrations from the manors in opposition to the expressed will of the lord." The great turn toward the emancipation of the serf came when the fund of available land diminished in proportion to increase of population and even forest clearing and marsh redemption failed to keep pace with it. In order to keep their tenants the lords had to moderate the terms of serfdom; in order to clear forest or swamp the lords held out advantageous terms of settlement. These *hospites* or

incomers became a new social and economic class in the eleventh century, a privileged type of villein approximating the freeman in status and often more advantageously situated. It was from this class of leaseholders who held their land for a term of years or for life or for a series of lives that the word "farmer" comes. For they paid a "ferm" (medieval Latin *firma*), or "farm," for the use of the land for a certain period. Originally the word was not necessarily connected with agriculture but was applied to any real property leased for a fixed term. Gradually it lost this broader meaning and came to be exclusively applied to land leases. The evolution is interesting as showing the origin and relatively late appearance of the free farmer.

The medieval farmer was far more the victim of untoward conditions than the modern farmer. With his crude implements, his limited agricultural knowledge, the peril from warfare and wolves, his margin of living at best was a narrow one. Weather conditions, which to a modern farmer might be inconvenient, to him might be a positive disaster. This accounts for the immense number of observations upon the weather which one finds in medieval chronicles—allusions and even extended descriptions of the effects of drought, heavy rains, unusual cold, high water, murrain, plagues of grasshoppers, locusts, and caterpillars. Rats were a plague. The farmers' buildings were all made of wood or thatch, and rats could not be kept out. One could write an interesting article upon the rat in the Middle Ages. It had the importance of an historical personage. Wolves also were a pest. The forests were many and large. In regions devastated by war wolves increased enormously. Great cold would often drive them out of the forest into the open country, where their depredations on cattle and sheep wrought frightful damage. There are numbers of instances of wolves even endangering people of the towns. Worms in the twelfth century was terrorized one winter by a big wolf which haunted the region outside the walls. In the winter of 1418–19 a huge wolf filled Paris with dismay; it even invaded the streets of the city in daylight. What then must have been the position of the rural peasantry?

Against insect plague the medieval farmer had next to no protection. If he tried to use fire he endangered his vines and his crops. Insecticides he had none. As he was intensely superstitious he generally had recourse to the aid of the Church. The priests of the countryside were often almost as ignorant and quite as superstitious as he. Consequently we find resort to the anathema of the Church in order to exterminate insect pests. Here is an example of such a malediction:

In the name of God, Amen. Complaint having been made by the inhabitants of Villenoce in the diocese of Troyes against the locusts and caterpillars and other such animals that have laid waste the vineyards of

that place for several years and continue to do so, to the great detriment of the inhabitants of that and neighboring localities; and their request having been considered that the aforesaid animals should be warned by us [the bishop of Troyes] and compelled by threats of ecclesiastical punishment to depart from the territory of the said town,

Now, therefore, we, by the authority which we exercise in this diocese, warn the aforesaid locusts, caterpillars, and other animals, under whatsoever name known, by these presents, under the threat of curses and malediction, to depart from the vineyards and lands of the said town of Villenoce by virtue of this sentence, within six days from the publication of this warning, and to do no further damage either there or elsewhere in the diocese of Troyes. But, if the above mentioned animals do not implicitly obey this our warning within the specified time, then at the expiration of the six days, by virtue of our said authority we will malediet them through this document, and curse them by the same.

In 1120 the bishop of Laon also solemnly issued a malediction against caterpillars and grasshoppers.

Superstition and belief in witchcraft were universal in the Middle Ages. Hundreds of examples of weird, cabalistic formulas, rigmarole verses, meaningless doggerel, have come down to us for casting out "spells," driving away disease, and curing cattle. Some of them are as old as the ancient Romans and may be found solemnly recommended by Cato in his treatise on farming. Others are descended from our Germanic ancestors. Children's doggerel yet preserves much of it. How impressive sounds the "Daries, Dardaries, Astaries, Disunapiter!" which is Cato's charm against sprains! How mysterious the medieval Latin charm, "Alau, tahalaui, fugau!" to call back strayed hogs! Here is a typical exorcism:

Aius, sanctus,
Cardia cardiani!
Mouse and she-mouse,
Hamster, mole,
Marmot, cony,
Young and old
Leave the land,
I command.
You are banned!
Up above and down below
From the fields get you hence,
Pestilence!
Go with you, where'er you go,
Afrias, aestrias, palamiasit!

"*Servi qui non timent, tument*—serfs who aren't afraid, will rebel." These words were written by Ekkehard of St. Gall, one of the most

famous of medieval chroniclers, about the year 1000. They may be taken for a text upon which to hang some account of peasant revolts during the feudal age. Until the researches of economic and social historians modified prevalent belief, it was the almost universal disposition of nineteenth century writers, imbued with the vague idea of popular right given birth by the French Revolution, to regard the condition of the serf in the feudal age as one of abject fear and gross abuse. But, as we have seen, the serf was a civil person and not always willing to accept injury for fear of worse to come. There are not a few instances of serfs daring to resist the lord and defending their cause in court. The case of the colliberts of St. André d'Angers has been noted.

Two important observations may be made in regard to serf rebellions in the feudal age: they may be geographically differentiated and distinguished also in time. Before the thirteenth century, when the Crusades and other conditions had familiarized the peasantry with large-scale examples of turbulence, the "zone" of peasant rebellion was the northern coast of Europe, extending from lower Saxony through Flanders and Normandy to Brittany. As to time-limits, almost all such movements fall in the ninth and tenth centuries. The few of which we have record in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are local and transitory in their nature, while the Pastoureaux and kindred movements in the thirteenth century were not revolts, but turbulent popular demonstrations against alleged evils as much imaginary as actual, and tinged with religious fervor.

Nineteenth century historians were wont to attribute fantastic attachments to these peasant movements, to find in them a union of the associative impulse and brotherly love of the primitive Church with the early German gild formation; or see in them "the memory of primitive [German] communism. . . . The continual peasant revolts of the Middle Ages . . . always had in the background the ideal, vague though it may have been, of ancient [German] freedom." These theories are too romantic to be given weight. The facts belie them. One and all—the rebellion of the Frisians in 821, of the Saxon Stellinga in 842–43, of the peasantry of western Normandy in 997, of the Bretons in 1024—were violent protests against the excesses and abuses of the manorial régime. Reminiscences of former Germanic freedom may have played a part, probably did so, in the Frisian and Stellinga movements, but there was not a vestige of Germanic communalism in them; in the case of the Norman and Breton peasantry it is clear that the abuses were the thing against which protest was made. There is evidence of the survival in all northern France of the debris of Carolingian institutions which the drift toward feudalism and manorialism tended to destroy; of this the historian Freeman was unaware, but his conjecture was a shrewd one when, in writing of the peasant rebellion in Normandy in 997 he said

that "we can hardly doubt that it had a groundwork in local institutions . . . and that the so-called rebels were simply defending the inheritance of their forefathers." This heritage of Carolingian institutions is what the Norman peasants struggled to preserve in 997. Wace, writing nearly two hundred years later of this rebellion, reflects his own time instead.

Between 1000 and 1200, there were no formidable peasant revolts except in Saxony in 1075, where, as we have seen in a former chapter, the conditions were exceptional, giving the Saxon rebellion a unique but local significance. The reason for the general absence of tumult in these two centuries is to be found in the fact that they actually were years of increasing prosperity for the peasant and melioration of serfdom. The geographical area or zone of peasant rebellion is explained, not by the fact that serfdom was lighter in the south of Europe than in the north, but by the fact that along the whole seaboard of the North Sea and the Channel dwelt peoples like the Low Saxons and the Frisians whose immunity from feudalism had long been protected by the marshes and fens in which they lived, but whose ancient liberties began to be jeopardized as feudalism became a more settled form of government and land became more valuable, by the invasion of these marshy tracts by the manorial class, whose purpose was to reduce the free peasantry there to serfdom. In other terms, the greater of these peasant rebellions were less revolts of serfs for freedom than revolts of freemen against the menace of serfdom. Finally it is important to observe that almost all, if not all other such movements in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, occurred on the lands of the Church. The reason of this appears in the chapter upon the Church and feudal society.

It is rash to generalize too broadly in regard to the evil condition of the peasantry in the Middle Ages. There were good lords and bad lords. There are plenty of instances of bad barons who abused their serfs. But on the other hand there are examples of wise and just lords who were intelligent and even generous in the treatment of their serfs, charitable toward them in time of sickness or privation, and not overburdening them with exactions. The average medieval lord was not a brute in the treatment of his dependents; neither was he a sentimentalist. The general theory of the upper classes in the Middle Ages was that the peasant was made for toil. "God forbid," says a chronicler, "that the peasants, whose proper lot is daily toil, should abandon themselves to sloth and indolently spend their time in laughter and idle merriment."

Beyond all doubt the worst privation of the medieval peasant was famine. This, if of a widespread and general nature, was almost always due to adverse weather conditions. War was responsible for numerous local famines, but few general ones. A notorious example of the latter is the terrible devastation of southern France in the Albigensian Crusades,

which wasted whole provinces. There is a curious periodicity and also often a curious regionalism about many famines. Central Europe suffered greatly in the time of Charlemagne between the years 790 and 793 and again between 805 and 809; France suffered in 842–43 and the distress actually had an influence upon the treaty of Verdun; in the tenth century there was relative relief. But the eleventh century was a time of terrible and widely prevalent famine which indubitably was responsible for the remarkable restlessness of the population, group movements and religious exaltation extending sometimes to sheer mania. Lorraine and eastern France suffered for three years together twice in this century —1003 to 1006 and again between 1031 and 1033. Of the latter Ralph Glaber, a monk of Burgundy, has preserved a fearful account, including cannibalism. Western and southern Germany during the reign of Henry IV was visited nine times by famine, twice in cycles of three years (1060–62 and 1092–94) while northern Germany suffered four successive crop failures in the years 1066–72. The influence of these adversities upon the turbulence of Germany in Henry IV's reign—the rebellion of the Saxons and of the feudality, the violence of the War of Investiture—is certain. The twelfth century opened with three years of famine in South Germany and in 1125 famine was general throughout Germany and Flanders. The middle of the century (1145–47) saw famine all over Europe. The Wendish Crusade and the Second Crusade, both in 1147, must have felt something of the recoil of this widespread suffering. As the twelfth century opened, so it closed, with general famine (1195–98). In the thirteenth century the years 1224–26, 1269–73, 1280–82 were hard years. The first quarter of the fourteenth saw famine or semi-famine years in 1310–17. Invariably these visitations were associated with hard, cold, long winters or drought in summer. A summary shows four general famines in the ninth century, two in the eleventh, five in the twelfth, and one in the thirteenth. Local study of Germany and the Low Countries shows that between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries Belgium had 11, the Rhinelands 8, Southwest Germany 12, Bavaria 13, Saxony 13, Austria 7, Bohemia 4. No competent survey has yet been made for other countries of Europe. Counting together general and local famines, Belgium had 18 famines in four centuries, the Rhinelands 18, Southwest Germany 22, Bavaria 19, Saxony 22, Austria 11, and Bohemia 6. The result of further study undoubtedly would throw much light upon our understanding of medieval economic and social conditions—increase of serfdom and, per contra, escape from serfdom, movements of population, deserted hamlets and abandoned farms, sometimes the flight of whole villages, colonization and settlement of new regions, the decline of agriculture owing to the necessity of slaughtering the working oxen, the depravation of morals, like brigandage, vagabondage and vagrancy, the pest of wolves which came

out of forests to feed on dead bodies. The chronicles abound with tragic and curious information on all these matters. "Many were compelled to leave their native country and to emigrate to other lands," writes Hugh of Flavigny of the great hunger of 858. In the famine of 1043 the bishop of Liège distributed pence every fortnight among his serfs, "lest under stress of hunger they sell or slay their oxen and so the land be left unplowed." Of the famine in Bavaria in 1053 we read that "therefore the serfs fled and very many villages were deserted." In the great famine of 1196, "many were compelled to emigrate. . . . Packs of wolves infested the roads and even entered the villages without fear."

It is true that except in the case of widespread general famines, local failure of crops might have been relieved if there had been good roads. But conditions were aggravated by the exploitive policy of the feudality (Charlemagne once punished a bishop for corn-mongering), who refused to abate tolls and *péages* and even cornered grain in time of scarcity in order to get higher prices later on. "Cornering" and "forestalling" were common medieval practices in spite of secular and ecclesiastical legislation against them.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE RISE OF THE TOWNS AND FORMATION OF THE GILDS

In certain chapters which have gone before we have seen various examples of the new collectivistic sense, or associative impulse which was manifested in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Important as many of these movements were, no one of them was of such lasting significance as the rise of the towns. More than any other medieval movement the town movement marks the passing of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern Europe. Schmoller, one of the greatest of modern scholars, has declared that

> this movement was an economic revolution which I consider more important than any later revolution, even than that of the Renaissance, with the invention of printing and the discovery of the compass, or than that of the nineteenth century and all the revolution in industry which flowed from it. For both these later revolutions are but secondary consequences of the great economic and social transformation of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[1]

In the rise of the towns we have written, for the first time in European history, it has been finely said, "the biography of the people." A new social group, unknown before, appeared, the burgher class or bourgeoisie. A new means of production of wealth began to prevail, a commerce and industry destined to enrich Europe far beyond what peasant organization and agriculture had been able to produce. "Naturally the newly rising or risen towns were the seats of these markets. Some towns, because they were walled, became centres of trade. On the other hand the reverse was true; it was the interest of places which became foci of trade to be fortified. Traders began to build booths round the market-place." [2]

The towns were something new in the world, and one of the earliest expressions of modern life. The town movement was not a national movement. It was a social and economic phenomenon which appeared in every country and among every people of central and western Europe, independently of race, language, or frontiers. But

[1] Schmoller, *Strassburgs Blüte und die Volkswirtschaftleiche Revolution in XIII Jahrhundert* (1875), p. 16.

[2] Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, 193.

while the movement was one, naturally the type in each country differed, according to differences in historic tradition, environment, material and moral civilization, and local political conditions. The greatest influence, however, which conditioned the life of a medieval town was the geographic factor. Location and surrounding natural resources, above all, gave a town economic identity and importance.

General causes for the emergence of the towns are to be found in the economic and social changes described in former chapters, which took place in the twelfth century, and whose influence ran on into the thirteenth, when they were consummated—the increase of population, the development of group consciousness among the masses, decline of serfdom, the rise of commerce and industry, with a corresponding growth in importance of a money economy which tended to displace the older "natural economy," increase of public order, improvement of roads and construction of bridges, etc. It is not always easy to distinguish between cause and effect in these phenomena, but the general results are incontestable. But in searching for town origins one may not rest satisfied with such general explanations as these, or be content with that vague impulse which has been called "the principle of association." Intelligent understanding of the movement demands more concrete historical realities. Unfortunately the documents are widely scattered and very fragmentary. There are no sustained accounts of town history before the fourteenth century, and the few narrations which have come down to us are of episodes or critical incidents only, as of Cambrai in 997 and Laon in 1111–12. The only large knowledge of the town movement before the thirteenth century which we have is in the case of the Lombard cities in their struggle against Frederick Barbarossa (1162–83). A survey of historial sources both as to place and time would reveal enormous lacunæ in our information. Immense areas of Europe and long sequences of years are veiled as with a curtain of darkness. When the curtain rises the towns are already formed. But how, under what conditions, and when were they formed? From the seventh to the eleventh century there is hardly a document, and in all probability the enormous hiatus will never be bridged.

Like every other great and complex historical manifestation, the roots of the towns go far back into the past, and all towns did not have the same root. The multiple origins of the town movement and the variety of sources are baffling. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulty, an endeavor must be made to understand. Leaving aside the old theory that the germ plasm of the towns is to be found in the mutilated survival of the ancient Roman *municipia*—a theory which no historian believes today—we still have historical hypotheses, each of more or less plausibility or actuality:

(1) The theory that the medieval town developed out of the ancient

free German village community, or *Mark*. For a century this has been a favorite explanation among German historians, and it is still widely advocated in Germany, although many modern historians consider the theory to be as dead as the Roman municipal theory. For whether the ancient German village community originally was ever free, and whether, if so, it preserved its freedom through the depth of the feudal age except in isolated regions like mountainous Switzerland and marshy Frisia are mooted questions.

(2) The theory that the medieval town emerged out of the manor by the conversion of manorial institutions into town institutions and that the community was of servile, not free, origin. The dependent petty administrative officials (*ministeriales*) and skilled artisans of the manor, it is argued, were the nucleus of the later town community, and from them the administrative officials were first chosen when town government emerged. In support of this theory great significance is attached to the world *métier* or craft, which is most certainly derived from the old manorial term, *ministerium*. But how could a town of such origin become a jurisdictional unit, a district which had its own court? As Maitland has said:

> No mere accumulation of economic facts will enable us to answer that question. We are in search of a legal principle. . . . The village often had a manorial court. The lord grants a charter and lightens the pressure of seigniorial power. Thus the village might grow into a burghal community. But this process and this explanation will not suffice for all instances. . . . If there are still any among us who would start from village courts as from primitive data, they can indeed, afford to disregard a great deal of . . . controversy, but I cannot think that in other respects their lot is enviable.[3]

(3) The market-law theory, according to which the "peace" which presided over markets created a protected area detached from local feudal tribunals, and thus gave rise to a protected group, principally of artisans and merchants. The market cross in the case of clerically controlled markets, and the "Roland" or *Weichbild*, a statue of Roland, the paladin of Charlemagne, in markets under secular jurisdiction, were the emblems of this authority. The nucleus of the future town group thus was these early merchants and artisans, and out of the administrative system of the market (*Marktrecht*) grew the administration of the town. This theory is popular in Germany, where the numerous so-called "Ottonian privileges" are pointed to in evidence. But even in Germany there is skepticism concerning this explanation, and elsewhere it is regarded as "a beautiful dogma." The market was not the origin of the

[3] *English Historical Review*, XI, 14.

town community, nor market-law the source of urban law. The importance of the Ottonian privileges and the *Marktrecht* theory is discounted when we reflect that these early medieval markets in the ninth and tenth centuries were annual or seasonal affairs, and therefore in the nature of things could not induce any permanent augmentation of the local population. Moreover, very many such markets pertained to the clergy of the cathedral towns, and were not an actual municipal institution; and their foundation and organization were anterior to the rise of the towns. It is not tenable that markets were the generative cause of the towns. These markets were owned by the bishops or the canons of the church, who derived large profits from them, and for this reason they were timed to fall on popular saints' days, when many pilgrims and visitors might be expected. The conversion of many of these annual markets into monthly or fortnightly markets in the twelfth century owing to great increase of population does not help the argument that the source of town origins is to be found in the market. For the legal nature of the market could not be altered merely by increasing the frequency of the institution. That there is a close connection between the "town" when it appeared and the special peace which prevailed in it is undeniable. But what the nexus was, is not easy to determine. Whence did this special peace emanate? And how did this originally temporary peace become permanent and continuous? It is difficult to follow those who contend that the *Marktrecht* was the primitive source of burghal law, and those who so argue seem to be putting effect for cause.

(4) The immunity theory. This is advocated especially of episcopal towns, and again is a German theory, for it was in medieval Germany that the bishops enjoyed to the largest degree exemption or immunity from all other jurisdiction save that of the king. This immunity, it is argued, extended over not merely the group of people within the walls of the bishop's *civitas,* but also over neighboring villages, and thus a borough was constituted, whose inhabitants finally cast off the bishop's authority and established self-government. Naturally such a place, even when its inhabitants were still of serf condition, attracted merchants and craftsmen, who in time became fused with the original population. But this theory, like the market-law theory, is a tenuous one. The area of "immunity" was much greater than the circle of a mere market, and the franchise of immunity was a far different thing from a market franchise. Within an immunity there was no need for special *Marktrecht,* for it was implied in the grant of immunity. But immunity was not implied in a market franchise. Neither theory can be reconciled with the other, and each sounds too dogmatic to be historically acceptable. The immunity theory predicates too much. For such a place was not always a *locus* of economic production. "Its inhabitants lived off the labor of

peasants in surrounding estates; its court, its mint, its market were supported by outsiders." [4]

(5) The garrison theory. This is a favorite thesis in Germany and to some extent in England. In the former country the numerous *Burgwärde* [5] or fortified and garrisoned points erected by Henry the Fowler (919–36) in Thuringia and Saxony as protection against the raids of the Hungarians, and in England the Five Burgs (Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby), erected by Edward the Elder to guard the Midlands against the ravages of the Danes, are pointed to in order to sustain this theory. In France the nearest approach to such erections were the *castella* which Charles the Bald erected to protect the basin of the Seine from the Norsemen, in which we find "watch and ward" instituted, a custom already referred to as *"antiqua consuetudo"* in a capitulary of 864. It is argued that the members of these garrisons had holdings round about the burg, that burghal colonization flowed into these protected places, bringing trade and industry in its wake, and so the nucleus of a future town was formed there, which historically had been free for centuries from feudal authority. The weakness of this hypothesis is that it is too local and too military. At most it will account for only a small category of towns.

(6) The theory that the Carolingian local civil administration survived in a mutilated and obscure form, and that out of the persistence of the ancient *échevins,* or Frankish officials of the "hundred" or township, sprang later the civil magistrates of the towns, when at last the towns emerged. This theory finds remarkable confirmation in Noyon, east of Paris, which seems to have enjoyed an almost cloistral peace through the feudal age under its bishop, and where as late as 1237 the electoral regulations preserved the identical formulas of the Carolingian capitularies. But this case would seem to be almost a unique survival, though traces of local persistence of the *échevinage* can be discovered in northeastern France and Belgium as late as the twelfth century.

(7) Another school of historians seeks to find the source of the towns in the ancient Germanic gilds, or fellowship and drinking associations—for there is no thought that the ancient Roman *collegia* survived.

[4] Stephenson, *American Historical Review,* XXXII, p. 11.

[5] The old German word *Burg* originally meant simply a stronghold, and did not necessarily imply a clustered population, or even any civil population at all. It is a singular fact, that although the word is incontestably German, the first examples of the word *burgus* occur in northern France (in Anjou), whence it spread to Flanders and through Lorraine into Germany. But in France *burgus* never meant a fortress, as in Germany, but signified merely a group protected by a palisade. These burgs were walled communities. The wall became one of the universal characteristics of every town, and distinguished the urban group from the masses in the country. Hence the name of one entire class of the population (*burgenses*) came from that class which dwelt in a fortified enclosure.

But no connection has ever been satisfactorily proved between these crude associations and the later industrial and commercial gilds. We find evidences of these *geldioniæ* (notice that the word "gild" is of Germanic origin) in the legislation of Charlemagne. Both government and Church attempted to suppress them, for they were too heathenish and too riotous to be tolerated. But all mention of them disappears after the ninth century. The medieval gild was post-communal, not ante-communal. In England, in the most important towns such as London, Bristol, York, Exeter, Yarmouth, the gild merchant either never existed at all or very soon disappeared. Similarly, in the most important Flemish towns, as Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, no gild form of commune was entered into.

Even on the estates of the largest monasteries where there were undoubtedly large groups of handicraftsmen, we may question whether any gild-like organization may be discovered. That in many crafts helpers were needed who were likely to be in a subordinate position to the masters of the craft was certain; many trades could not be carried on by an individual without help; but the existence of *"magistri artium"* no more points to an organization of the masters of a single craft than the presence of a butler points to the existence of a gild of butlers. . . . When the needs of their household have been fully satisfied, the servile craftsmen are supposed to have had leave to dispose of their handiwork to their own advantage; their free labor made them able to secure independence and when independent they made effective use, through their autonomous gilds, of the power of union which they had been taught in servitude. Text after text that might be taken to point to gild-like unions on the early monastic or rural estates is quoted by Keutgen, and the baselessness of the interpretation demonstrated.[6]

If the gild theory were valid, then we ought to find many towns springing up on monastic sites. For the great monasteries by their economic importance, by the industrial and commercial activities in which they engaged, by the attraction which celebrated relics exercised in bringing masses of people together, ought to have grown into prominent urban centres. But as a matter of fact, while a few monasteries developed into towns when the servile community around revolted, as St. Vaast in Arras and St. Gall in Switzerland, most of the great abbeys lost their population by emigration to the towns and so sank into poverty and desuetude. Neither Cluny nor Clairvaux nor Fécamp nor Corbie nor Hersfeld, grew into a town; instead, all degenerated into half-deserted rural communities.

As for the theory of early nineteenth century romanticism, that the origin of the medieval towns is to be found in so vague a thing as "the human principle of association" or "the principle of free association"

[6] *English Historical Review*, XIX, 762.

or mere revolution, one need not take space to refute it. The revolt of the *cives* of Cambrai against the bishop between 959 and 962 was not a communal rising, but merely an insurrection of the inhabitants against an unpopular lord-bishop. We find an analogous rising about the same time in Liège. The people of Europe were not yet politically self-conscious enough in the tenth century to dream of forming an independent town government. The word *cives* at this time simply signified the populace in general and did not mean burghers.

We can discern the chief factors in the origin of the towns, but are unable to determine the relative weight and importance of each one of them, or even their relation to each other. But beyond doubt no single germ and no single explanation is sufficient for all cases. The weakness of much historical scholarship hitherto has been that each writer has emphasized his own theory too exclusively, and sometimes national prejudice has warped judgment. According to the way in which these new institutions were formed, various systems had been proposed; each author attaches them to a preceding different institution; but all are conjectures established upon generalization from certain cases. What is true for Germany may not apply in equal degree to Flanders and France and Italy. Local conditions, geographical and historical, must always be given due weight. The elements of town life in Europe differed greatly, both in degree and in kind. Prof. Keutgen has well said: "Any deduction of these theories as to the origin of the institutions of one country should be preceded by a study of the facts of the corresponding part of the history of kindred nations."[7] In the face of so many divergent theories it would seem that this wide difference of opinion represents a real variation in the history of different towns. It is vain to seek to derive the towns from this or that principle of either Roman or German law. The medieval town was the product of economic and social forces.

The people of the early towns were the merchantmen of the Middle Ages, who either sold the products of others—as wine, grain, merchandise of other countries—or, being artisans, sold the products of their own handiwork. Who were those men who sold? Were they outsiders established in the new centre, or were they the former workmen of the *familia* of the feudal lord? This question is much discussed. In France artisans were called by a name which points to the former serfs of a feudal lord; their activities were called *ministeria,* whence the French word *métier.* In any case, however, they had ceased to work for the feudal lord; they were, above all, sellers. In the northern countries *mercatores* were synonymous with *burgenses* and included at the same time artisans and merchants. They sold either in their own houses *super fenestras* (over the windowsill), or in the market-place.

[7] *English Historical Review,* VIII, 120.

It is certain that in the beginning of the town movement a great number of artisans in person brought to the market the articles which they had made and that no distinctions had yet developed between producers and merchants. This brings us to the most satisfactory explanation yet advanced in regard to town origins, the "mercatorial" theory. The true clue to medieval town origins seems to be in the terms *mercatores, burg* and *burgenses.*

But this burg, whence the medieval town was derived, was not the old garrisoned burg, like the erections of Henry I in Thuringia. It was a *new* burg, a palisaded or walled enclosure formed outside of the feudal castle, or, in the case of an ancient Roman *municipium* outside of the old *castrum;* in reality it was a *faubourg* or *Pfahlburg.*

> It is neither an old free (*altfreie*) community which slowly becomes an urban group, nor yet a servile or semi-servile group which gradually struggles into liberty and civic life; but a new community which from the first had been a community of *mercatores* and from the first had enjoyed a kind of land tenure such as was not found in the rustic world. . . . The *mercatores* make their settlement close to the walls of some castle or abbey so that hard by the tract that they occupy there will be homesteads and cottages of the count's or abbot's villeins and serfs, who are living under a *droit domanial* or *Hofrecht.* At a later time, if this new "mercatorial" community is successful it will extend its local limits; it will engulf and absorb the *vieux bourg.*[8]

A striking instance is Bruges, where after 962 Count Baldwin Iron-Arm built a castle in a loop of the little river Lys, outside of which soon arose a new *burg* or *faubourg* inhabited by traders, artisans, and tavern-keepers. The record reads:

> After this castle was built, certain traders began to flock to the place in front of the gate to the bridge of the castle [i.e., the bridge over the river], that is, merchants, tavern-keepers, then other outsiders (*hospitarii*) drifted in for the sake of the food and shelter of those who might have business transactions with the count, who often came there. Houses and inns were erected for their accommodation, since there was not room for them within the château. These habitations increased so rapidly that soon a large ville came into being which is called Brugghe by the people from the word for bridge.

The stones for this castle had had to be brought from the ruins of an ancient Roman town miles away, for around Bruges there was no building stone procurable. The palisade around this new *burg* or faubourg was a wooden palisade until the middle of the twelfth century.

[8] Maitland, "Landholding in Medieval Towns," *English Historical Review,* April, 1890.

Before 1195 the *burg* which had grown up around the old castle of Eu near the Channel coast on the frontier between Normandy and Flanders was still unenclosed. One gate of the ancient town still stands and is known as the Porte d'Empire, a most curious corruption. For it was originally called the *Porta emporii,* or Gate of the Market.[9]

What happened at Bruges is typical of what happened all over Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the far south, in southern France and Italy where Mohammedan corsairs continually threatened, we find these burgs erected outside the *castrum* of old Roman *municipia,* or medieval castles.

> Towns grew up on the Continent where, and only where, trade conditions were favorable. Many Roman cities again became rich and populous, as commerce once more flowed along its ancient channels, but besides them were a host of new centres of distribution developed by new routes. The nucleus of such a town was frequently the mercantile colony that grew up around a princely stronghold. The new burg quickly became *the* burg; and by the end of the eleventh century *burgenses* meant neither soldiers nor servitors of a castle, but burghers. Yet there were always cities, as there were always castles, which remained untouched by the new economic currents and which the thirteenth century found much as they had been in the tenth. For one monastery that became the germ of a town, there were a dozen that did not; nor did every village market give birth to a metropolis.[10]

The origin of the town, therefore, is to be found in a "new" burg, inhabited by merchants and artisans, and not in the *castrum.* The latter was occupied by count or bishop where he dwelt surrounded by guardsmen, knights, *ministeriales* and tenurial serfs. In the eleventh century when commerce began to waken we discover many instances of itinerant merchants and strangers (*advenæ*) settled in a faubourg which in course of time came to be surrounded with walls. The true town was therefore the "new" burg, which was not born before the eleventh century, and not the "old" burg or castle.

This faubourg, or *suburbium,* in numerous instances, was not coeval with the emergence of the merchant group. Examples are to be met with in the ninth and tenth centuries, and even in the eighth. Of twenty-three towns in France whose faubourgs are attested, one of the texts cited is of the eleventh century, four are of the tenth, the rest of the ninth and eighth. It is evident that we have to deal with an ancient thing. As a fact, the faubourg goes back as far as the later Roman Empire, to be specific, to the invasions and brigandage of the third century when the breakdown of military and police power and the decline of popula-

[9] Stapleton, *Rotuli Normaniæ,* I, introd. lxxxiii.

[10] Stephenson, in *American Historical Review,* XXXII, p. 15.

tion made it impossible for a municipality adequately to defend the long line of walls around, so that, instead, within a corner of the city a citadel or *castrum* was erected out of the dismantled old walls and towers. This *castrum* or "old" *burg* was the seat of some local official, while on the outside, the civilian population formed a "new" *burg* or *faubourg,* also walled with the remains of ancient and abandoned municipal edifices. With the restoration of security by the Carolingians these areas became unnecessary, and the local population dwelt more widely scattered. But in the invasions and anarchy of the ninth century the ancient practice was revived, and the old *burg* and *faubourg* acquired new use. Thus in many places two distinct groups dwelt side by side, although sometimes a considerable distance separated them, as at Autun, where we find the ancient Roman *castrum,* or "old" *burg,* and at some distance away the walled *faubourg* (or *forum,* or *emporium,* or *portus,* for all these terms occur),[11] both erections built out of the stones of the ruined Roman city, and a row of wretched houses amid the quarried ruins straggling between the two points and vaguely uniting them. Thus the ancient Roman *faubourg* was sometimes the anterior germ of the later medieval *faubourg.* But the latter had commercial importance, the former had not.

The beginnings of this fecund social process go back to the period of the Norse invasions and the anarchy of the tenth century. The deeper we penetrate into the details of the history of these two centuries the

[11] The word *forum,* being Latin, is common in Romance countries. The word *portus,* however, was current in northern Europe, especially in the Low Countries, where density of population and historical geography conspired to the enormous development of commerce. It was once thought that the word was derived from *porta,* by which was meant the gate of the *castrum,* or citadel, before which the colony of primitive merchants was settled. But this explanation is true neither to philology nor to history. Medieval Latin transferred the word *portus* from the (classical) fourth declension to the second declension, and commonly used the word in the locative sense, "at the port." (Compare the case cited of Bruges.) This usage gives the historical clue to the meaning of the word. The *tonlieu,* or toll, being necessarily collected by the lord in the *portus* or *emporium,* this place naturally became the seat of the first merchants. But the fiscal nature of the *portus* disappeared in its more important mercantile significance. In time the word *portus* (or *poort*) in Flanders and the Netherlands came also to signify the town itself, whose citizens, *i.e.,* those who had burgess rights, were called *poorters.* "These facts," it has been pointedly observed, "are so much more significant in that we find no trace of the *mercatus* in Flemish towns, where the markets which were established there are of relatively recent date and subsequent to the formation of municipal institutions."—Pirenne, "Villes, marchés et marchands," *Revue* Historique, LXVII, 63. "The mediaeval town sprang from a merchant group localized before or near some castle or castrum, in a burg, or forum or emporium or portus (for all these terms occur). We must distinguish two foci, one old and military—the castrum, the other newer and economic and social—the burg. In the end the latter swallowed the former and the two became conjoined into one community."—*English Historical Review,* XVI, 555.

more we discover that this epoch was fertile in social origins, in the adjustment of society to new conditions, in the evolution of new institutions. In the eleventh century a new population given to commerce came to be settled side by side with the old domanial population of servile condition, and in course of time the commercial *faubourg* absorbed the old group and gave the joint population new forms of land title and new customs. The germ plasm of the town is to be found in clusters of merchants, who settled down under the shelter of castle or monastery, and whose protection was gradually extended over the local dependent population, whom they ultimately raised to their own level.

Apparently the Westphalian cities, the Rhenish and Danubian cities, that is to say, most of the German cities situated upon the two chief arteries of commerce, the cities in Flanders and northeastern France, and the cluster of cities in Lombardy and Tuscany owed their origin to groups of *mercatores* who had established themselves under the walls of castle or *civitas*. Municipal life first evolved outside of the walls of the primitive *castrum*, in the *faubourg* or "new" burg, where as early as the tenth century we discover immigrants, or *advenæ*, seeking the shelter of the *castrum* and living not on agriculture but upon the sale of imported or locally manufactured products.

There is a risk, of course, in stressing this mercatorial theory of the origin of the towns too much, but there can hardly be any doubt that the medieval town was primarily an economic and social phenomenon due to the necessity of the promoters of commerce to be protected, in spite of examples of some urban communities apparently existing before local merchant groups are found there. It is a certainty that gild constitutions never were the origin of urban constitutions, but that charters given to merchant groups often were.

And yet although this theory answers to more known facts than any other theory—and in truth is so historically established that it is not an hypothesis—one must not make it too general or too schematic, and must at least give room for the play of other elements. We have practically no evidence as to what the state of the towns was before the appearance of the commune. But one fact stands fast; namely, that the rise of the medieval town was the work of the people. Beyond all doubt the primary forces which gave birth to the towns were of an economic nature. Differences of detail are many, but it is important to observe that "families" of towns are distinguishable, and that these similarities or identities are indifferent to national and linguistic boundaries, and were not ordained by ethnographic or political conditions, which goes to show that the real origins of the towns are to be found in economic and social conditions. Thus Cologne, Mainz, and Worms are closely similar to Rheims, Cambrai, Noyon, and Laon; Lille and Arras, whose population was Romance, are related to Ghent and Bruges, which were Flemish

(German). It is historically wrong to attempt to establish national categories of towns. This renaissance of the twelfth century was not national. In the two extremities of Europe the urban movement manifested itself; in the maritime republics of Italy and the maritime republics along the Baltic and the North Sea.

In the Lombard plain of northern Italy the commercial development was slower than in the maritime cities of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. With allowance for differences in detail the history of the rise of the Lombard cities is part of the general history of the development of urban life throughout Europe in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The growth of town life in Europe, in this epoch, presents certain analogies, whether the locality be northern Italy or northern France, Flanders, or Germany, and is intimately connected with the economic development of city life. In the south of Europe, as in the north, the three elements of medieval town life, trade, burghers, and town government, are closely identified. Everywhere the gradual conquest by the bourgeois of the rights of local public authority dispossessed the older feudal jurisdictions. The functions of the consuls of the Lombard cities hardly differ from those of the magistrates of cities in the north. Everywhere three successive forms of organization develop—the community of the citizens (*universilas civium*), special and temporary administrative commissions, and finally a permanent organization (*collegium*), always political and at the same time representative and administrative: consulate, *échevinage*, or council. The legal capacity of the *boni homines* was always the point of departure of their attributes, the juridical basis of future municipal independence, since everywhere the urban community did not govern itself, but was directed, in opposition to the rural community, not by a single magistrate, but by a corporation which tended to perpetuate itself in an increasingly exclusive and oligarchic form.

The fundamental common principle is that these urban centres were derived from the same generative and active principle, namely, trade. The maritime relations with Byzantium and the Levant, in the case of the cities of Italy, played the same part that the wool trade did in the cities of the Low Countries, like Ghent, or as the Rhine commerce and Hanseatic trade did in the cases of Bruges, Cologne, and Lübeck. The primitive rôle which the *boni homines* had in the economic interests of the cities everywhere justifies us in comparing the urban communities of the south with those of Flanders and Germany, many of which acquired control of a large zone of territory round about the city, of common land, forest, and pasturage. In the hands of this group the city government was vested: bourgeoisie and town are equivalent terms. The origin of this bourgeoisie is the same. In the maritime cities of the south, or in the industrial communities of the north, it was a group of merchants or former merchants become landed possessors. There were no more servile tenures; each owner was free. Wealth determined the burgher

class and gave status. As with the birth, so also with the development of the city, its erection into an autonomous community, the enlargement of the powers of the bourgeois, the formation of an urban law, all proceeded from the growth of the wealth of the community.

This theory that the majority of medieval towns owed their origin as municipalities to local colonies of merchants squares with more of the known facts than any other theory, although opponents of it strenuously deny the existence of a class of men living exclusively on commerce before the end of the twelfth century.

Suppose [writes one critic of this mercatorial theory] that a story of this sort, a story of immigrant merchants, can be proved for this, that, and the other town, dare we make it typical? . . . Without denying the existence of homeless traders who traveled in caravans, we may gravely doubt whether such persons were strong enough in numbers and wealth to obtain land from bishops and counts on peculiarly favorable terms and to found sedentary local communities of a new kind and an abnormally free kind. . . . Still it is an interesting theory, this theory of mercantile colonies.[12]

The words *mercator* and *negotiator,* in the eyes of these critics do not indicate a separate merchant class, but merely vendors of any sort of movable property which they might possess. But this interpretation is too narrow. Doubtless there were many who were vendors on occasion only, and as such may have been called *mercatores* and *negotiatores,* as in comparatively backward and undeveloped towns like Frankfort, which still preserved a semi-agricultural life. But in the case of the important towns the evidence is too ample and too conclusive in the other direction. In the Lombard towns, in Cambrai, Dinant, Cologne, and other places, years before the Crusades, we find men who were merchants pure and simple, and several of these are even named in the chronicles. It is significant, too, that the profession of the merchant is distinguished (*qui de mercimoniis suis vivunt cujuscumque officii*) in a charter of Dinant (1096); Alpert, an eleventh century writer, distinguishes merchants "from others of the community (*ab aliis vicinis*)."

Burgfriede, not *Marktfriede,* town peace, not market-peace, was the first town law. Almost from the first mention of them, these *burgs* were "places of peace," but the peace which prevailed there was very different from that which the texts reveal when the towns finally emerged. For the market-peace was sanctioned by charter derived from a grant by some superior public authority, and infraction of it was punished by a heavy fine, while infraction of "burgher peace" entailed corporal punishment. The latter peace could not have proceeded from the former and possessed this quality. If *Stadtfriede* was identical with *Burgfriede,*

[12] Powicke, in *History,* Jan., 1926 (a review of Pirenne's *Belgian Democracy*).

if from the point of view of penal law the dweller in the *suburbium* was identical with the inhabitant of the *burg,* then we ought to find the word *burgensis* in early medieval times. But this is what we do not find. The documents call them *cives, castrenses, civitatenses, castellani,* but never *burgenses* until late, and then *burgenses* and *mercatores* occur as interchangeable terms. In the charter of St. Omer in 1127 the *burgenses* are sharply opposed to the *milites castrenses.* At St. Omer in 1127 the commercial interest and influence was paramount and the privileges accorded were almost wholly of a commercial nature. In this case the gild of merchants and artisans—for they were not yet separated—seems to have been completely assimilated with the commune. The association is called a *gilda,* it has its *gild-halla,* and the officers of the gild seem also to have been *échevins* of the town. But it is important to observe that the gildhall belonged to the count of Flanders, and that the court of the count also convened in this gildhall. What seems to have happened in 1127 is that a de facto régime was legalized and erected into the local government of St. Omer, the count, however, preserving a reserved authority over the doings of the commune.

An analysis of kinds of property holding in these early towns sheds further light. We find mixed ownership of real property in the towns at the time of their birth. The *cens seigneurial* was a servile quit rent owed by serfs of the lord within the town, who still remained his serfs even after some or most of the population of the former domain had become free and acquired burgher status; they were vestiges of that manorial past out of whch the town arose. On the other hand, the *cens foncier* was a direct tax on real property with no tenurial conditions attached thereto. The latter was the form of holding held by merchants. They were subject to the count's political authority, but not to his manorial jurisdiction. The qualification for senatorial rank in an Italian town during the eleventh century was the possession of real property, which entitled the owner to a voice in the government of the city. We find in this distinction the genesis of urban real property (town lots) as distinguished from domanial tenures.

By the twelfth century, then, merchants appear as a separate class almost everywhere in Europe. There were two kinds of these. One class was composed of more or less local merchants who were stationary, while the other was made up of Italian merchants from the great marts of Venice, Genoa, Siena, and Milan, who were "birds of passage" who came through in the spring and summer with oriental luxuries and returned home again in the autumn.

But merchants and artisans did not form the sole population; there were also agriculturalists, who cultivated the fields surrounding the town; this condition was general, even in Italy. Even in the large towns there were pastures, granaries, regulations for the feeding of swine, etc.

There was no opposition between the *mercator* and the free cultivator, but there was such between the *burgenses* and the *villani*. It was a difference not of occupations, but of condition.

Was there a landed proprietary class living within the town? There were certainly some of this class by the thirteenth century. Were they the sons of merchants who had become rich, or of former proprietors rich enough to let their lands to farm? The reply is doubtful with reference to the northern countries; but in Italy and the southern countries there were certainly some knightly proprietors (*milites*). There was, therefore, a great diversity in the social composition of the towns.

For although essentially composed of merchants and artisans, the town naturally drew to it some knights and some proprietors. These people of various origins had no unity in manner of life, but acquired a unity of legal condition (franchise). Thus a society was formed of a variety of freemen who were not isolated but grouped together, and had somewhat the character of modern society. These classes were politically equal, but not necessarily all equal in a social sense. They were not equal except before the law. From the very beginning there were individuals of a superior condition in the town. In the Italian cities in the thirteenth century there was an aristocracy of wealth, composed of merchants and proprietors, above the artisans. It was a new nobility, a burgher nobility, which gradually absorbed power in the city.

The rise of the towns was evolutionary in process, but revolutionary in result. Long association together and common interests and common experience at last bred in the inhabitants a strong community sense which found expression either in a peaceful demand of the lord, whether baron, bishop, or abbot, for recognition as a self-governing community; or, if refused, in violent rebellion against feudal authority and demand for chartered liberties. For after all

> the commune was only a form necessary, perhaps, as a safeguard against a too powerful lord, but not needed by towns placed in happier circumstances. It may, indeed, be said, that all those medieval cities which attained the greatest and the most lasting independence found that that independence was the better the less its growth was confined within bounds which could not easily be relaxed, though they might have been useful at first as securing the coöperation of those who might otherwise have been its enemies.[13]

Politically speaking, this demand for recognized urban rights and privileges was a demand upon the part of the newly formed bourgeoisie that the principle of contract, for many centuries valid in the feudal world, should be extended to the non-feudal world. The common people

[13] Keutgen, *op. cit.*, 124.

also demanded "rights" and "liberties" to administer their own justice, taxation, coinage, market regulation, etc., as the feudal princes did in their territories, and refused longer to submit to feudal authority in these intimate affairs of local interest. They demanded a place in, and not under, the feudal régime. They did not wholly repudiate the lord's authority and were willing to continue to owe services and to pay taxes, but the nature and degree of these exactions were to be strictly measured and defined. The town would levy them, not the lord. It was to have its own magistrates, its corporate seal, its town hall, its belfry. These were the symbols of its independence. Thus

> the town constitution has a double source, a public and a communal. The public source consists in such ordinances as the government of the land shall have appointed for the towns under its jurisdiction. The communal source consists in the customs of, and the by-laws passed by, the organs of the town community.[14]

History shows that the townsmen would go to any length of violence in order to secure the "rights" which they demanded, one of the keenest demands being for the abolition of the manorial *cens*. Their motto was, "Peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must." In some places the insurgent people formed a sworn association (*conjuratio, communio*); they took an oath to stand together in order to obtain a change of condition. Some such examples, though very rare, are known to us by narrative accounts, as in the cases of Laon, Cambrai, later Vézelay, and the episcopal cities of the Rhine. The case of Laon is notorious. Here was

> "a populace always ready for a fight; bishops always encroaching on the royal rights on the one hand and the liberties of the commune on the other; a great and bloody insurrection, a bloodier revenge of the nobles; a great conflagration; a great massacre—such in abridgment are the annals of Laon. Gaudri, bishop of Laon, bad successor of a line of bad bishops, who swore to observe the charter which he had sold dear to the citizens, violated it as soon as he could, and in every way possible, and was slaughtered for his reward."

When at last secured, the charter was a valuable document. It was kept in the archives of the town hall under three locks and keys. Sometimes even it was graven on the wall of the town hall or upon that of a church. The "Privileges of Speyer," which Henry V granted in 1111, were set in gold letters in the great door of the cathedral. The same was done at Mainz in 1135 with the charter granted by Archbishop Adalbert.

[14] Keutgen, *op. cit.*, 121.

At Montélimar the charter of 1198 was graven upon the town wall. The inhabitants thus became free burghers, whence the term "franchise." By the thirteenth century practically every townsman was a freeman. "Town air makes free," ran the saying of the time.

The rapid development of the towns led to amelioration in the condition of the peasant. Labor became so much in demand in the towns that there was every inducement to flight if the serf were badly treated. Once in the town he got his freedom after a year's stay. In Italy the Guelf cities promoted emancipation, in some cases even providing the peasants with money to purchase their freedom, a practice which the Ghibelline cities could not prevent. The new urban law invariably repudiated antiquated and hateful old feudal processes of law, sometimes in the preamble stigmatizing them as "odious," "unnamable," "bad customs." The warlike attitude of the inhabitants often is shown in legislation forbidding them to fight among themselves. And yet at the same time an almost passionate wish for peace was expressed. The preamble of the charter of Valenciennes contains a veritable hymn in glorification of peace.

The town as a free, self-governing community of burghers was a new political and social organism in medieval Europe, for which the earlier feudal centuries had had no precedent. Yet, important as the town movement was, it is astonishing to see how little early contemporary observers understood it, and all of them, being of the privileged classes, naturally condemned it. The writer of the *History of the Bishops of Cambrai,* writing in the eleventh century, uses the cant phrases of literary tradition derived from the Old Testament, the Greeks and the Romans. In the twelfth century, however, with the teachings of Arnold of Brescia, we find a new and positive burgher political philosophy, a philosophy taught with the passionate earnestness that characterized the teaching of the "rights of man" in the eighteenth century, or social democracy today. Otto of Freising, the deepest historical thinker of that century, although he was hostile to the town movement, nevertheless was capable of looking at it with level eyes. It would tax a modern writer to describe the rise of the Lombard cities better than he has done. Jacques de Vitry, the great French preacher, about 1200, paid a remarkable tribute to the civic spirit prevailing in the cities of Italy. "The citizens," he said, "are prudent in counsel, diligent and studious in public affairs, refusing to be subject to others and defending their liberty against all. They make their own laws and obey them." Sometimes a town would send a commission to other towns to study their government. In 1187 two towns sent a commission to Soissons. Tournai studied the charters and local workings of six different towns. Augsburg in 1386 and Cologne in 1396 sent a commission to visit Basel, Constance, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Ulm, and Strassburg. Ghent's fam-

ous "thirty-nine" commissioners are found at Hamburg, Bremen, Magdeburg, Speyer, and Lübeck. It was this practice which in part accounts for municipal similarities or identities.

In course of time the feudality not only became tolerant of the town movement, but even grew to promote it, not from democratic or proletarian sympathies, but from interest. As commerce and trade increased the nobles discovered that it was profitable to have a commercial centre in their lands; that one way to keep from losing their serfs to other places was to establish towns in which former serfs could earn a livelihood as craftsmen and tradesmen instead of farming; that under the new money economy which was supplanting the old natural economy, it was easier to collect taxes in money than in kind, and to have the towns raise these than to raise the taxes themselves. Emancipation of communities en bloc became profitable. So the lords established *villes neuves*—new towns, sometimes known as *"bastides"*—upon their estates and offered attractive inducements in the form of light and regular taxation, liberal justice, local improvements like roads and bridges "all in," cottage sites, gardens, and market booths. Certain of such liberal charters became so popular that we find them widely imitated. The Laws of Beaumont and the Customs of Breteuil were so famous that more than three hundred examples of each are found. William of Champagne, archbishop of Rheims, and uncle of Philip Augustus, in 1182 gave to the inhabitants of Beaumont a famous charter which had many imitations. The servile class in northeastern France owed much of its liberation to this famous law, which spread, not by force of arms, but by peaceful agreement, and stimulated agriculture, industry, and commerce. The establishment of a "new town" was perpetuated in one of two forms—in a written instrument, or by the erection of a symbolic cross in the place. The latter way was common in northeastern France, where the *Franche Croix* was often to be seen in the little towns. It is also found in Lorraine, Luxemburg, and even in Alsace.

These new towns presented a far different appearance from that of the old towns which had grown up higgledy-piggledy, by agglomeration, with crooked, narrow streets and alleys and often wretched houses without even rudimentary sanitation. Instead they were laid out in geometric form, in squares, hexagons, octagons, with rectangular streets running across them from gate to gate. Everywhere in France we find this new town type, but especially in Languedoc, where the destructive effect of the Albigensian Crusades reduced the land to a *tabula rasa* and made possible the erection of absolutely new towns. So in the colonial lands of Germany east of the Elbe we find towns with straight streets and municipal sanitation. Lübeck had a water system in the thirteenth century, although most towns depended upon wells.

The whole problem of devising administrative institutions and im-

provising a government faced these rude burghers. It is no wonder that they made many mistakes, that there was much tumult within the towns. When we remember that it took feudalsm one hundred and fifty years, in the rough, to work its institutions into a just and effectively working government, we must be charitable of the errors and the violence of these burghers, with whom self-government was a new thing. There was little precedent to be found in feudalism, for the town movement was anti-feudal in its nature.

The modern city is the offspring of the medieval city, and perhaps nothing in medieval civilization was of greater social importance to humanity. Not merely did the tangled mass of moribund survivals have to be unraveled; nascent growths had to be developed and a vast amount of fruitless experimentation had to be done. There were tangles of origin, tangles of class, church tangles which found expression in the new parish organization, industrial and commercial rivalries crystallizing in gild groups of craftsmen and merchants, all of which had to be unravelled and the place and function of each established. Among the dwellers in these places, according to varied conditions, various ties were formed which differed from those which had bound them to the lord. These were ties of caste. Those of knightly rank—if there were such—and the richer bourgeois united against the lower-class population.[15] Capitalistic influence worked along the line of social selection; the *boni homines* displayed an increasing tendency to form an urban aristocracy which governed the affairs of the city, so that the end was a city patriciate resting upon economic power. Thus the city organization often, even usually, terminated in an oligarchic plutocracy.

The local power was organized for the administration of the town. We find executive officers, a legislative body, a court, and lesser civil officials to govern the town. The system is found under very various forms, for it proceeded from an agreement expressed or implied between two powers, the noble and the body of the people, and it resulted from an equilibrium, or agreement between the two.

Every town had administrative institutions which looked to the necessities of public defense and of public order: a militia, a tax, a treasury, a court, a council, etc. There is a great variety of detail and a great number of agents and representatives. The commonest political phenomenon is annual change of magistrates. But it is safe to say that the burghers in the course of a hundred years or more exhausted every governmental device and invented almost every imaginable combination, such as single and plural executive, direct and indirect election, electoral qualification and universal suffrage, class representation, pro-

[15] In Le Mans we find *cujusdam regionis proceres;* in St. Quentin (between 1045 and 1080), *bourgeois, chevaliers, et clers* swore fealty to the commune. Evidently *clerici, milites,* and *mercatores* formed three classes of a single population.

portional representation, long term and short term in office, rotation of offices. The composition of town councils ran the gamut from extreme aristocratic domination by the rich (*otiosi*) to ineligibility or disfranchisement and even exile of the upper classes and complete domination by the masses. The local machinery sometimes became so intricate that the machine jammed and revolution or anarchy ensued, for party feeling ran high in medieval towns. In Avignon, Vienne, and Montpellier the complication once became so great that the magistrates were selected by throwing names in a bag and drawing lots. At Ghent an ingenious system was adopted—a council of the "39" formed three groups of thirteen persons, those actually in charge, those in office the preceding year, and those to be in office the next year.

The highest examples of medieval towns were those free cities which exercised sovereign rights, especially in Italy and in Germany, where we have the episcopal *freie Städte* and the *freie Reichstädte* on the domain of the king. Power rested in the body of notables (*consilium, Rath, credenzia*), which became little by little a sovereign body. It ordained regulations, made law, made war, made peace. In this way were formed the true republics of the Middle Ages, some of which maintained their independence for centuries, as Venice, Florence, Genoa, the Free Cities of Germany and Switzerland. The executive power was entrusted to magistrates called *Bürgermeister, maire, podestà,* the last word designating an Italian official which began to appear in the second half of the twelfth century, the *podestà* generally being a foreigner imported for the government of the city for six months.

A régime analogous in fact but different in law had its origin in some towns which had a lord who left all the power to a group in the town. This was the system that prevailed in France and Flanders, and we find it also applied in some seigniorial towns of Germany. These towns had elective officers, chosen from the bourgeois and the patriciate. They were called consuls in the south of France, *échevins* in the north, and peers or *jurats* in the west. Their number was variable. There were eight consuls at Avignon, twelve in Marseilles, and twenty-four at Toulouse; there were fifty *jurats* at Bordeaux. These officials formed a council of administration controlling the town militia, appointing police, laying taxes, etc. This council was formed of rich burgesses of two classes; proprietors (*otiosi*), whose wealth was in their rents, and merchants (*ditores* or *boni homines*). The dignity was without a doubt hereditary. In spite of opposition the great families retained control of the council. Ordinarily, also, there was a council of notables, perhaps a general assembly of the inhabitants, which probably was without real power and convened only in order to approve the acts of the corporation. Under these two similar forms the magistrates who represented the body of the people had all the power: they declared war, commanded

the militia, were guardians of the town ramparts and town gates; they authorized and levied taxes; they kept the treasury; they rendered justice and established ordinances; in a certain sense we may say that such a body of magistrates was a collective noble, for it possessed all the rights of the former feudal lord as much in the towns of the south as in the communes of Picardy.

In many towns the lord still retained rule over a portion of the town, and his agent, called a bailiff or a provost, exercised a certain authority. This is particularly the case in the towns of West France and in England. This agent of the lord presided over the local court, commanded the militia, and defended the city. Another variation, illustrating the numerous degrees of municipal liberty, was that whereby the noble gave the bourgeois only the freedom and the right to be judged according to their *coûtumes;* they had no power to establish a government of their own; the chief official was the agent of the lord, who exercised all the rights, issued judgments, levied taxes. This form was typical in France. The French kings favored the communal movement in the interior of the great fiefs in order to abridge the power of the high feudatories. But they were intolerant of it within their own domains. However, they made concessions to the rising bourgeois class by granting a great many limited charters of exemption like the famous Customs of Lorris, which curtailed the powers of the royal provosts. They also permitted the provost of Paris and the *échevins* of the city to judge causes in which the issue was of a commercial nature and concerned the Parisian hanse, so that the bourgeois gradually came to have a hand in the government of the city. Thus in the interior of the communes as well as in the *prévôtal* villages a third estate developed which in the fourteenth century acquired a significance of national proportions.

Physically speaking, a medieval town was composed of three parts: (1) the town proper, which was included within the walls; (2) the *faubourgs,* or suburbs outside the walls; and (3) the *banlieue,* or outer zone, so named from the ban-league, *i.e.*, the belt of territory a league wide under the town's law or ban (*bannaleuga*), which might be studded with tiny hamlets under the town's jurisdiction.

The wall conditioned the actual life of the people more than any other object, for it was the town's chief protection. Watch and ward and upkeep and repair of the wall were perpetual. The town sometimes derived an income from renting spaces on the wall or in the moat for gardens and even cottages. The great towers were used for granaries, storehouses, and stables. As population increased, the value of house lots and houses within the walls rose so that the owners of such property, usually the richer merchants of the town, became a wealthy rent-collecting class; and as rents rose the feeling of the lower classes against the rich intensified. The wall also had the effect of superinducing con-

gestion of population, a condition which was met by building the houses very high, at times five and six stories, and also extending the upper stories out over the streets so that the street was converted into a covered arcade. This practice, by cutting off sunlight, often made the streets dark and noisome, so that we find "skyscraper" ordinances limiting the height of buildings and prohibition against building over the streets.

Skyscrapers are not a modern evil. The walled cities of the Middle Ages rendered land valuable for building, and, to secure proper returns, capitalists were forced to erect high structures. On the other hand, the legal authorities were obliged to enact building laws to prevent these buildings being so lofty as to endanger the public safety. The islands on which Venice was built were limited in area and property was very valuable—so much so, in fact, that the council was compelled to pass a building law limiting the height of buildings to 70 feet. In Florence, so long as the city was confined by walls, the limit was 100 feet, in Paris, 60, and in Toledo, 75 feet. Rheims had a curious building law forbidding any structure for residence purposes to be erected higher than the eaves of the cathedral, and it is recorded that whenever a building was going up the archdeacon was enjoined to look out daily from the portholes in the eaves and see that the walls of no structure rose higher than the level of his eyes. The burghers of Amsterdam probably borrowed the idea from the council of Rheims and ordered that no tenement or residence should be higher than the third story of the Rathhaus, this building being the pride of the city, being thus jealously preserved in its preëminence over all others.

The lower classes dwelt outside the walls in the faubourgs, and if they did not labor in their cottages, as many did at "piece work" and "cottage industry," came into the town when the gates were opened at sunrise and went out again at sundown. Gardens and orchards were often found within the town, and the rural hamlets in the *banlieue* supplied the residue of foodstuffs necessary.

We can measure the growth of the medieval city by the successive walls. For between the twelfth and the fourteenth century many a town dismantled its old wall, filled up the old moat and built a new wall which took in the faubourgs. A century later the same thing would be done again, for new faubourgs arose and a new wall was erected to include them. "Pisa already had her new walls by 1081, Piacenza before 1158; Florence was building her Second Circle in 1172–74, Modena in 1188, and Padua in 1195; and the fact implies the existence of important suburbs outside the old walls for some time previously." Careful examination of the ground plan of such old cities will often disclose the fact that there is a ring of streets within the city, a circumstance arising from the fact that they have been laid out upon the sites of the medieval walls. The inner boulevard system of Paris is a striking and clear example. The town tax (*firmitas*) for maintenance of the walls was a

heavy and unpopular one, and because of the difficulty of collecting it in direct form it was frequently converted into an indirect tax, usually upon comestibles. In this form it is still preserved as the local *octroi* in France, Italy, and Germany. A medieval town sometimes owned forest land: Liège sold its valuable timber off to defray the cost of its wall. Towns also rented mill rights and water rights, hunting and fishing rights in the *banlieue*.

No exact figures are possible until relatively late with reference to the growth of cities in the Middle Ages, either the number of them, their population, or their revenues. But there is reason to believe that the number of corporate cities increased tenfold between 1100 and 1300 and that their population sometimes doubled and trebled. A corresponding increase of revenue, of course, followed. Genoa certainly doubled its revenue between 1214 and 1293, and had doubled it again by 1395. During William the Conqueror's last illness, the noise of Rouen becoming insupportable to the sufferer, the king gave orders that he should be conveyed out of the city to the church of St. Gervais standing on a hill to the west. The public square was naturally the centre of the town. Sometimes it was a market square, sometimes the broad area in front of the principal church, sometimes that in front of the town hall. In Italy it was called *piazza,* in Germany, *Platz,* in France, *place.* But in every case the word is derived from the ancient Latin word *platea.* In Narbonne and Nîmes those who owned houses or shops on the public square were known as *"gens de platea," "platerii,"* or *"platearii."*

Before the thirteenth century public improvements, except in Italian towns, were not much advanced. Paris was without a paved thoroughfare until Philip Augustus paved the roadway in front of the Louvre in 1184. In 1131 a son of Louis VI, riding down the Rue St. Jacques in the Latin Quarter, was killed, when a hog which was rooting in the offal in the street charged between his horse's legs and threw him. In the thirteenth century, however, progressive towns like Cologne and Lübeck paved the market-place and adjacent streets. We find instances of expropriation and eminent domain being exercised in order to make improvements. Most towns depended, at the risk of typhoid fever, upon wells. But large and progressive cities had some water supply through conduits. In 1187, at the siege of Alençon, the water supply from the Sarthe River was cut off by cutting the conduit. In 1256 some workmen engaged in cleaning an old sewer in London were overcome by the foul gas in the pipe. Sewers, not merely surface drainage, and latrines are mentioned in the twelfth century in some towns. The former were made of brick or barrels fastened end to end and buried in a ditch. The only street lighting known was an occasional lamp burning before some shrine, except upon festival occasions, when the burghers

used to put candles in the windows. The hazard of fire was great in a medieval city owing to the large number of wooden houses, so that the rich built stone houses and even the lower classes in some towns were required by law to have tile roofs instead of thatch. By 1400 medieval towns were very largely built of stone or of timber and cement-work. Houses inside the walls, as said, were high. But the houses of the poor in the faubourgs were small and squalid cottages. Congestion was great in the heart of a town owing to lack of space and high rents, as many as ten to sixteen living in three rooms. Sometimes we find a large house coöperatively owned, each owner possessing a floor or more often a few rooms in it, the title being fractions of the whole, as a quarter, an eighth, a sixteenth, and even a thirty-second portion of the fee and the building.

Like the town, the gilds of the Middle Ages had a complex origin, which is much in dispute. Various theories are current. The theory popular early in the nineteenth century that the gilds were derived from the Roman *collegia* and *sodalitates* has few advocates today, for the reason that the survival and continuity of those ancient associations is no more demonstrable than the survival of Roman municipal institutions.

Another theory, a favorite among the same German historians who seek to derive the town from the old German *Mark,* finds the origin of the gilds in one of several primitive Germanic associations, as the ancient German drinking clubs (*convivia*) or kindred-and-clan groups organized for self-protection (*frith-gilds*).

A third class of historians, in whose thought economic and social forces are of greater importance than racial institutions, finds "in the economic microcosm of the manor the embryo of the gild." This class is divided, however, into two groups. One group seeks the origin of the gild in the crafts of the manor, in the unfree artisans of the manor who, it is contended, gradually split up into groups composed of workers of the same type, as cobblers, saddlers, wood-turners, weavers, fullers, and iron-workers. The allocation of these craftsmen in quarters upon great manors, like St. Riquier, is pointed to as proof of this argument. The second group considers that the gilds emanated from the officialdom of the manor (*magisterium*)—that is to say, from the "masters" or "superintendents" of the artisans and craftsmen of the manor, who, though themselves of servile condition, yet formed a higher and better trained class of workmen, and who also possessed experience and qualifications for management and control of industry.

But no one of these theories solves the important question whether these workers were gilded when still in serfdom; or whether the gild was formed after they came up out of serfdom. Even if we admit any one of them, it remains yet to prove that the primitive association—the nucleus of the gild—was gilded when the members of the associa-

tion were still serfs. Every one of these theories seems to cover too much, or not to cover enough, or else to strain the evidence which we have. They are too narrow or too broad and do not make sufficient allowance for local deviations or variations due to racial group survivals, difference of historical tradition, influence of local economic or social conditions. Moreover, are merchant gilds as referable to any one of these sources as craft gilds? It is comparatively easy to understand how pressure of population and development of technique gradually brought about a division of labor in the crafts, and also how the skilled artisan might become a peddler of the products of his handicraft in market or fair or town, and thus a class of *negotiatores* distinct from craftsmen might arise. But in contravention of this hypothesis that both craft and merchant gilds originated in the trades of the manor (many lords finding it necessary to make some of their men traders in order to supply home needs), we find evidence of quite another class of merchants (*mercatores*), who seem never to have been unfree *negotiatores* ministering to the outside wants of abbey and manor, but always to have been merchants. Not all merchants in a burg were former "men" of the lord. Were these latter those itinerant or caravan merchants who first settled the burg of the towns? Or were those earliest "burghers" manorial serfs engaged in merchandising, who finally became wholly detached from the manor? Were the traders of the manor gilded when still incompletely differentiated from craftsmen? or were they gilded after they became full-fledged merchants? And when were the caravan merchants gilded? Could a gild be legally self-organized? or were both merchant and craft gilds created in virtue of a legal act by some political authority, as a market was established by law? There is no clear answer to these questions. But it would seem that chartered rights of the gilds, like the charters of the towns, were either formal grants of political authority, or confirmation by the reigning lord of rules and regulations formulated by the group and presented to the lord for confirmation.

Another group of historians would find the origin of the gild in the various kinds of parish confraternities or brotherhoods of the Church, which existed as charity associations for the relief of the poor, the care of the sick, and the burial of the dead. But this theory lacks substantial support. The argument advanced that all gilds invariably had patron saints is inept for the reason that it has been shown that the practice of the gilds in adopting patron saints was late, and not early in their history. Moreover, the names of these patron saints are different from those of the confraternities, being names like St. Crispin, the martyr-cobbler, and St. Nicholas, the martyr-merchant, etc. Finally, a very few writers have thought to discover the germ of the gild in those local associations created by the Peace of God or the Truce of God, but this theory, too, is unsubstantial.

There is a double hazard in this search for gild origins: first, of using the term in a sense much wider than is warranted by historical evidence; and second, of too rigidly insisting upon exact definition of the term and so losing sight of the motives lying behind the institution. Without reposing confidence in so vague a concept as "the principle of association," we may freely admit that the lowly society of the early medieval world everywhere felt the necessity of some sort of combination into groups. We may concur with Keutgen's cautious judgment:

> The one fact . . . is that the spirit of free association and organization for a lasting, practical, and reasonable object was rife among our forefathers at an early age, and for this no further derivation need be sought. It needed no foreign example, but arose as soon as the general state of their civilization allowed and required it, and took very various shapes, such as the frith gild, the religious gild, the gild merchant, the *summum convivium*, the commune, according to the circumstances and the end in view. . . . The towns were peopled to a great extent by immigrants from the country round. Those people were by their change of abode separated from their kindred, and therefore from those who were legally bound to act with them in the law courts and who were their natural support in the manifold contingencies of life. It was their kindred's place which the gild in some measure undertook to supply.[16]

The historical importance of the gilds is not in their political, but in their commercial and industrial activities. They were the medieval solution of the problem of business and labor in that time. They controlled capital and regulated labor; they governed production and distribution; they fixed prices and wages. But there was a social influence in their formation, too. The purpose was partly social and partly for mutual protection. Merchant gilds were almost, if not quite as early as craft gilds. Mutual protection and guaranties, at home and abroad, was a large factor in the purpose of their organization. The gilds, especially those of the crafts, were distinctly democratic in spirit in the beginning; the path from apprenticeship to mastership was open to all who fulfilled the requirements. But later, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the gilds became as oligarchic in organization as the towns. The same exclusive phenomenon is reflected in each.

The gild was a corporation. As such all the members lived in the same quarter in the town. All independent labor was eliminated. Everybody who plied his art had to belong to a special gild. They judged and fined the members of the corporation. Within the corporation there existed the "hierarchy of the workshop," the gradual rise from apprentice to "companion," to master. The relation between the master and the apprentice was patriarchal. The apprentice was treated as a member of the master's family and his moral education was looked to as well as his

[16] *English Historical Review*, VIII, p. 125.

technical. He might not be married, might not sleep outside of the master's home. The apprentice paid a fee in money and received board and clothes, but no wages. Apprenticeship lasted from two to five or even to seven years. The journeyman, or "companion," worked for small wages. The master was a craftsman of superior excellence, who had produced his *chef d'œuvre*. The instruction of the workman was always verbal or by example. For this reason very little is known of the inner workings of gild education. From the whole Middle Ages there is but one written document of this nature, the *Album* of Villard de Honnecourt.

From their inception the gilds manifested great eagerness to acquire privileges and to establish monopolies. While jealous of internal competition and savagely repressive of it, they encouraged their members to kill outside competition and "to sell in the foreign," which might be the next county or town or parish, at what price they could get.

In the gilds, which were at first democratic within, a cleavage soon developed, which, by the end of the thirteenth century, became fixed. The masters grew into an aristocracy within the membership of the gild, and later shut out the common working class, thus converting the gild into a close, capitalistic corporation, membership in which passed from father to son among the rich families which now formed the gild. Thus the conflict between capital and labor was staged in the later Middle Ages. The ordinary workman became like a factory hand—although there were no factories—the workman procuring raw material from the gild master and working it up in his home; he became a wage-worker, "striking" against a reduction in wages, or for higher wages, subject to the hazard of unemployment and "hard times," derided as a "blue-nail" by the *"otiosi"* or rich employers, who profited by their possession of the hoard of the gild and their manipulation of prices and wages, and who added to these gains the rents derived from owning property in the town.

The working classes formed an unorganized industrial rabble in which the only cleavage was one of technique, as carders, weavers, fullers, tanners, dyers, and saddlers; while the employers were grouped together in great mercantile or craft companies. More often, however, the criterion of distinction was not of kind of business, but of capital at command of the various gilds. Thus, in Florence we find the *arti maggiori,* or greater gilds, and the *arti minori* or lesser gilds. The number of the former was seven, and at their head stood the richest citizens in the chief lines of business in the city. Between these two classes, the master workmen who were superintendents or "bosses," had an intermediate rank. The men who did the heavy work labored by the week and dwelt in miserable faubourgs, in unsanitary lodgings; their hours of labor were fixed; they were ruled by the town clock, and their working

day was very long. They lived from hand to mouth and their situation was analogous to that of lower-class workmen today. They were subjected to the patrons or employers, who appointed inspectors to supervise their work and to fix the rate of wages. As to the lowest stratum of the laboring population, the raw worker without training who had nothing but his brawn, we know nothing. History is silent regarding the ungilded, casual labor class known as "tensers."

In Florence the great gilds were: (1) notaries, because of their knowledge of the law; (2) the Calimala, whose business was importing foreign cloths and dyeing and dressing them anew into richer forms; (3) bankers and money-changers; (4) drapers—the woolen gild was the richest in Florence, and the manufacture of woolen cloth the staple industry; (5) doctors and druggists; (6) mercers, or silk merchants; (7) furriers. The usual number of Florentine minor gilds was sixteen: butchers, shoemakers, iron workers, leather workers, stone masons, wine dealers, bakers, oil dealers, pork butchers (a specialty apart from general butchering), linen drapers, locksmiths, armorers, harness makers and saddlers, carpenters, innkeepers.

This list may be regarded as a representative one, though, of course, variation in number and kind of gilds is to be found from city to city. The difference would be due to local economic conditions: for instance, to the large, readily available supply of some raw material, as iron; or, say, to the commercial advantage of a special geographical situation, as in the cases of Venice, Genoa, Cologne, Bruges.

Thus it will be perceived that in the thirteenth century both an economic and a social revolution had taken place in the gilds, and in the towns too. Everywhere the wealthy classes controlled the local town government and local trade and industry, and passed statutes in support of their interests, like privileges and monopolies, or expressive of their contempt for the masses. Thus, in Bruges in 1241 the law associated counterfeiters, thieves, and artisans together. Strikes and riots in the densely populated industrial regions of Europe, as Lombardy, Tuscany, and Flanders, are common from the middle of the thirteenth century onward. In 1244 there was a riot of the workingmen in Douai; in 1248 revolt broke out in a general fashion in Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, and Douai. The violence of rural life in the heyday of private war was matched by the violence and brutality in the towns in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. History shows no improvement in manners and morals in this matter. The violence simply shifted from country to town. So far was coercion carried that we find legislation to extradite fugitive workmen, just as we find legislation in the manorial age to return runaway serfs.

This state of things led to a new form of association—namely, leagues of the great gildsmen in all the cities of a province or region

—and to attempts on the part of the working classes to form unions in their own midst and even to knit together such combinations in adjacent towns. But all such efforts were abortive in the Middle Ages, except in Florence, and then only successful for a short season. The trade union is of modern origin; it was not a medieval institution.

Thus, to sum up: the settlement of the old economic and social problems of the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the gradual revolution which then took place, settled nothing absolutely. For the new conditions, however much they may have been an improvement or amelioration of the past, gave rise to new problems as acute as the former ones, to new grievances, to new injustices. Until about 1200 the social-economic problems of Europe were in the country. After that time they were in the towns, where the very congestion of population made them more acute than they had been before. Under the manorial régime the peasant, whatever he may have suffered from, did not suffer from unemployment; he usually had enough to eat, the wherewithal to clothe himself, and firewood to keep himself warm; he did not suffer from crowded conditions of living; his income, though meagre, was not subject to the constant fluctuation of the wages of the workingman, and after customary services were commuted into fixed money payments, the peasant prospered greatly owing to the fact that foodstuffs, which he supplied, increased in price, while neither his rent nor his taxes were increased in the same proportion. The purchasing power of money declined and prices rose, but neither movement hit the peasant heavily.

On the other hand, in the towns, the lower working classes paid high rents; they lived in mean cottages and under congested conditions in the faubourgs, the most unimproved and least sanitary quarters of the town; their wages were subject to a sliding scale depending partly upon the market, partly upon the action of the employers; they suffered from long spells of unemployment; they might hunger for lack of money to purchase food when the market stalls were heaped with it; they might lack pence to buy fuel in winter. In a word, the later Middle Ages—from 1300 onward—created the problem of the proletariat, the problem of poverty, the problem of housing conditions, the problem of capital and labor. It will not do for the modern student of the history of society to throw stones at the feudal age, for he is living in a glass house.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The profound difference which separates the civilization of the tenth and eleventh centuries from that of the twelfth and thirteenth must be emphasized. For the thirteenth century saw a revolutionary change in Europe. Partly owing to the Crusades, partly owing to forces independent of them, a New Europe had come into being, a Europe still preserving much that was medieval, but also characterized by much that was modern in its nature. So true is this that if the thirteenth century may be called the end of the Middle Ages, it was no less the forecourt of Modern Times.

One of the most apparent changes which transpired was the breakdown of feudal government. Kings took advantage of the absence of their vassals in the East to strengthen themselves in many ways. The nobility was weakened. Towns bought their independence of their feudal lords who wished to go on a Crusade. Fiefs were consolidated, bringing vassals into closer connection with their overlords; serfs became free farmers or artisans in the towns; the old military and financial system was revolutionized; feudal law began to give way to the revived Roman law. Government incomes from feudal incidents and accidents were supplanted by fixed revenues derived from land taxes, and taxes upon commerce. New methods of assessment and new forms of collection obtained. The gradually growing practice of commuting military service into money payments (*scutage*) is a striking evidence of this change. The Saladin Tithe of Henry II, the procedure instituted for the collection of the ransom of Richard I, and that later for the release of St. Louis, when taken captive in Egypt, are other reflections of this change, and established administrative precedents. The extraordinary revenues of government vastly increased the volume of resources available. Indirect taxes became more common because they were more lucrative. The growth of an industrious population—for the great progress in public security made in the thirteenth century is notable—in town and country, multiplied these incomes. "If rents were inelastic, loans, tallages, and fines were capable of vast extension."

This new life transformed the practical conditions of government. Since it put more money into circulation, it enabled the sovereigns to hire mercenary armies; and hence it created the permanent necessity for money which is characteristic of the modern state, conditions which have grown to such enormous extent in our modern standing armies

and our modern public debts. Finally, the new régime, by creating new wealth and new tastes, multiplied the number and the kind of taxes.

The cessation of internal destructive wars, and the emergence of capable government, both central and local, furthered production. Society was at once more stable and more fluid. Communication was easier than in time past. The competition between the new money economy and the older natural economy, prosperity and good prices, stimulated both forms of production.

The double prosperity of Europe was without setback, except locally (and notably in Languedoc), from the inception of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth. In England it dates from the Norman Conquest (1066), in France and Flanders from the beginning of the Crusades (1095), in Germany from the middle of Henry IV's reign (ca. 1085), in northern Italy from about 1000, in southern Italy and Sicily from the Norman Conquest there (1016–90). In the Christian states of Spain this term did not arrive until the union of Castile and Leon in 1230 and the reigns of Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1236–84) and James I of Aragon (1213–76).

The new condition of Europe, as universal as it was variegated, was attended everywhere by the fall of the old feudal government, old economy, old society. The tradition of the fief, the manor, the parish decayed. The old permanent links and associations, the old mutualism of interest, old behaviorism, old neighborhood fellowships, old local relations of person and of property gave way before a rapid succession of new changes, new contacts, new conditions, a new state of mind.

Every age, if not every people, has its own ideas with reference to person, property, and conduct. Such conventions are largely the effect of conditions. Change the conditions and the conventions change. This is what happened in the thirteenth century. Medieval serfdom declined rapidly and broadly, even if it did not wholly disappear; medieval government and forms of economy faded, even if they did not wholly vanish away; the texture of medieval society was transformed, so to speak, by insertion of new threads woven according to a different pattern; the immobile capital formerly locked up in landed wealth was displaced by the mobile capital of trade and commerce; that capitalistic enterprise which had maintained itself across the centuries in Byzantium was carried into the West during the Crusades by the Italian cities, notably by Venice and Genoa, where it combined with that new wealth created in the West independently of the influence of the Crusades; money economy and the cash nexus began to prevail where a natural economy had reigned for centuries. It was a revolution both of person and of property. New kinds of property came into being, new changes ensued in the form and the degree of possession. A new class of possessors was developed.

These alterations in social and economic condition were so manifold and so complex in their relation, one to another, that they worked a profound transformation, and induced what may be described as molecular social and economic changes. These changes were accelerated by the influence of the Crusades, but many of them were not originated by them, and would have developed independently of the Crusades. Like all such forces, they were intricately interwoven, and cannot be dissociated historically, although logically they are distinguishable.

One of the foremost of the factors was the increase of population in Europe during the feudal age. We know little of the early Middle Ages with reference to mass or density of population, the weight of taxation, the amount of revenues of governments and the Church, of the incomes from domains, beyond general expressions. But from the twelfth century onward we have evidence which, though far from being full, is nevertheless capable of some positive interpretation, even if it is not "statistics" in the modern acceptance of that term.

The population of Europe began to decline in the second century of the Roman Empire, and seems steadily to have fallen until the eighth. There may have been a slight increment in the time of Charlemagne, but it was arrested by the civil wars and invasions from without of the ninth and tenth centuries. There is a perceptible increase later in the tenth century, notably in Germany. From 1000 onward until 1349, when the Black Death scourged Europe, the increment of population was steady and large, so much so that it more than canceled the drain made by the Crusades. Fortunately, during these centuries, the increase of means of subsistence kept pace with this increase of population. The most thorough study of the increment of population during the feudal period is that made by the German historian Lamprecht. It applies only to the valley of the Moselle, but perhaps may be taken as a fair index of the growth in many places in Europe. The figures are as follows:

Year	Villages	Population	Year	Villages	Population
800	100	20,000	1150	810	140,000
900	250	60,000	1200	990	220,000
1000	350	80,000	1237	1180	250,000
1100	590	100,000			

This increase of population is manifested in the progress made in public improvements, like diking rivers and seaboards, draining marshes, leveling forests; in the enormous numbers of new and better edifices, religious and secular, erected in these centuries, for the previous generations could not have endured the cost of them or provided the labor for them; in the constant overflow of surplus populations into more sparsely populated regions—the northern French and Flemings over-

flowing into England, the southern French into Spain, the Germans into the Slav lands beyond the Elbe, and all Europe during the Crusades into the Levant; in the growth of towns, and the drift of the rural population into them; in the more intensive cultivation of the fields, the break-up of ancient commons, the enclosure of heaths and waste, the clearing of forest tracts, the conversion of pasture lands into villages, and the increase in number of villages.

In the feudal age, that is to say, before the rise of the towns, perhaps 90 to 95 per cent of the population of Europe dwelt in the country, as against 40 to 50 per cent in modern Europe, except in England, where the town population is proportionally even greater. Certain regions of Europe, notably Lombardy, the Moselle valley, and Flanders, by 1100 show high density alike in the economic and in the geographic sense,[1] and it is by data from these regions that we can estimate what was taking place elsewhere. As early as 1127 Flanders is described as *terra valde populosa,* a densely populated land. In the Moselle land the population nearly doubled between 900 and 1000; by 1250 it had quadrupled. The result was an increase in land values, especially around the towns, due to the necessity of feeding denser population in them. It has been held by many economists that the primary source of human improvement is to be found in increase of population and increasing pressure upon subsistence, and it would seem that the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries bears out the statement. It certainly seems that the many and intricate phenomena of change which mark this period may be ultimately referable to this fact.

The landed proprietary class became deeply compromised by the changes which ensued. For centuries feudal government, feudal society, had rested upon landed monopoly. Landed possession conferred wealth, determined aristocratic status, supported government, maintained serfdom. As far back as the fifth century the Burgundian Code forbade the sale of land to persons who did not already possess land. By abridging right of ownership to land, by forbidding access to cheap land by removal or emigration, in a word by maintaining serfdom, by putting a high value upon land beyond what the laborer could pay for its purchase, the feudal aristocracy had managed to keep its supremacy.

But the steady increase of population first relaxed and then broke this grip. The boldest element among the servile population, as pressure upon subsistence increased, refused longer to be bound by servile ties, and emigrated to new parts. When the towns began to rise the

[1] In considering any question of population, distinction must be made between "economic density" and "geographic density." By the former is meant the pressure of population upon subsistence measured by the production of foodstuffs and natural resources; by the latter, the numerical relationship between population and area of occupation.

rural population drifted into them. The result was that the least progressive element of the working population was left upon the manors; hence the economic efficiency of the manor declined. In order to prevent further depopulation of their lands, the lords were forced to hold out inducements to the peasants to make them stay, in amelioration of conditions, commutation of services into fixed payments, and finally even emancipation. It is evident that from late in the twelfth century onward into the fourteenth, the landed proprietor in medieval Europe found difficulty in securing sufficient heavy labor to work his lands. Some writers have rashly assumed, without sufficient knowledge of conditions, that wars at home and abroad, combined with a mortality far greater than today, reduced the numbers of the working population, and accordingly, with so much land available, the lord was compelled to hold out inducements in order to keep his serfs. But this explanation is belied by the facts, for the evidence is overwhelming that population greatly increased in Europe in these centuries. The economic embarassment of the proprietary class was due to quite different conditions.

This economic distress of the nobles is perhaps one of the chief reasons why so many of them at first multiplied the manorial impositions like the *cens* and the *champart*. In these days a land-owner can augment the productive capacity of his land by developing a higher technique, by introducing farm machinery, by adopting more intensive methods of farming, by varying his crops. But in the Middle Ages he was too much bound by prevailing economic conditions. Even yet farming conditions are the last and the least to be reformed. And so when the expedient of coercion of the tenantry failed, the lords, if they possessed the right to coin money, resorted to the practice of manipulating and even debasing the coinage, profiting by the seigniorage derived from each successive new issue. They capitalized their prerogative, much as the Church capitalized its authority. The popular distress and inconvenience to trade arising from such practice was a factor in the decline of the baronage and the growth of the power of the king, who gradually supplanted local and provincial feudal authority by royal government and suppressed local circulation of money in favor of the royal currency.

When this expedient failed, the proprietors began to emancipate their serfs, to promote free villein tenures, to introduce *hospites*, cotters, crofters (free but low laborers) in the effort to provide themselves with a sufficient and stable labor. And when even this resort failed of entire success owing to the fact that the cost of living mounted faster than revenues increased, the proprietors went frankly over to a rental system. The fall of feudal economy was inherent in this transition from services to rents, whose rapid growth is a feature of the twelfth century.

The former villein services and "renders," having failed to supply an adequate income to the lord even before the introduction of the rent system, the lord took care to have the rent made adequate when this transition came. Dues were insensibly transmuted into fixed rent charges. As payments formerly made in kind became transmuted into money payments and the nature and extent of both servile and villein services became fixed and customary, the condition was eased. But in virtue of the immense weight attached to tradition, when once established, these rates remained unalterable. Once taxes and rents were fixed, it was not customary to change them. A property might be sold a dozen times, but neither the assessment nor the rent of the land could be changed. The only change was in the rent of the house and the tax on the dwelling. The terms of these conditions usually were preserved by tradition from generation to generation. A well-known document, alluding to the "husbandmen now worn out with years, whose memory on these matters is hoary," says they "have learned from their fathers and know perfectly well how much they are bound to pay." It is significant of this change that the word *coustumier* by the thirteenth century is commonly employed to describe this new class of peasantry. These "customs" might be more or less onerous, but the fixity of their form and the unalterable nature of their incidence were in themselves guarantees of a better condition of things. The peasant was protected against new taxes or increase of the old. And it is an established principle of economists that the best taxes are those which have long been familiar to the people, and which are collectible without difficulty or protest. To understand the great advance made in taxation of the peasantry and the value of fixed custom as over against arbitrary imposition, we have only to contrast this condition with the grievances of the Irish peasantry so late as the last century against the evils of "rack-rent." Nothing so abominable as that practice existed in any but the most backward parts of Europe by the end of the thirteenth century.

By 1300 the serfs, or at least several millions of them, had ascended to freedom, or if they still were called serfs, it was a legal fiction owing to the attachment of certain old conditions to certain lands which they might own or rent. *Cens, lots,* and other obsolete terms which once had meant real services and real burdens were now become simple words, vestigial survivals of empty prerogatives like the curious conditions one sometimes sees attached to property today, which revert for their origin to some remote testator. If the peasants had not become freeholders, at least they were a free tenantry. The former manorial village had become a village of free farmers and a sort of rustic magistracy had taken the place of the government of the former lord of the manor.

The economic revolution in Europe had forced emancipation. It is absurd to think that a sentiment of humanitarianism played any large

part in this process. If idealism had motivated the movement, Church serfs ought to have been the first to be emancipated, whereas they were the last. The clergy lagged behind secular proprietors in this. The charitable formulas, "for the love of God," "for the welfare of my soul," etc., are conventional, stereotyped phrases.

But the lord had made the mistake of permitting the term of rent to be a long one, following the precedent of manorial custom in which the amount and kind of services, once agreed upon, remained fixed. He failed to read the future and to reckon upon the steady rise in prices, the steady increase of cost of living, which mounted from the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth. The result was that in course of time, as the cost of living went up and rents remained fixed, the lord still found himself in economic distress.

In reality the peasant gained much more than the lord. Just because money-rents displaced the plowings and reapings very gradually, they assumed the most important characteristic of the latter—their customary uniformity; tradition kept them at a certain level which it was very difficult to disturb, even when the interests of the lord and the conditions of the time had altered a great deal. Prices fluctuate and rise gradually, the buying strength of money gets lowered little by little, but customary rents remain much the same as they were before. Thus in process of time the balance gets altered for the benefit of the rentpayer. . . . [In England] one of the chief reasons for holding the Glastonbury inquest of 1189 was the wish to ascertain whether the rents actually corresponded to the value of the plots, and to make the necessary modifications. But such assessments were very rare, it was difficult to carry them into practice, and the general tendency was distinctly towards a stability of customary rents.[2]

The Church, as the heaviest land-owner, and notably the monasteries were hit especially hard by these changes. For the monasteries were eminently rural foundations, while the seats of the bishops were in the towns.

The landed aristocracy, when it did not disappear, was reduced, both in numbers and in influence. In creating new species of wealth the revolution created new elements in society. In addition to the bourgeoisie of the towns, a new parvenu noblesse sprang up whose titles were derived from royal favor instead of birth, whose wealth was in the form of government stipends, pensions, and offices, instead of land. The old feudal families survived as an antiquated, proud, but often poor aristocracy.

We have some curious illustrations of this growing penury of the old feudality. For example, since the cost of becoming a knight was very great—for the new knight had to be provided with a charger and re-

[2] Vinogradoff, *Villeinage in England,* 181–182.

serve horse, armor, gay attire, varlets, to which the expense of the initiation ceremony and festive entertainment must be added—one observes a tendency to defer *adoubement*. In the early days of chivalry one might be made a knight at fifteen years of age; then it was delayed until the eighteenth year; later still, to the twenty-first. If the would-be knight were a scion of a conspicuous family, it was considered a social disgrace for at least the eldest son not to be knighted when he reached his majority. The result was that many a family fell into the clutches of Jew money-lenders in the endeavor to keep up their social prestige on falling revenues. The same phenomenon also is found with reference to dowries. The marriage of the daughters was delayed, and if the eldest daughter got married, her sisters were practically certain to have to wait until the family could recoup its fortune by a lucky stroke, or by careful saving.

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As rents did not rise in proportion to the rise in the cost of living, the nobles grew more and more impoverished. They were compelled to mortgage their estates, and when the interest was defaulted, the mortgage was foreclosed and their lands were lost to them. Twelfth century Europe experienced in less acute degree what the world has experienced since 1918; namely, the distress of those living upon fixed income. The income of the merchant, the artisan, the free farmer, was flexible and, if he was industrious, likely to increase rather than decrease. But not so was the case of the landlord living on fixed rents drawn in terms of long leases. He got poorer year by year as the cost of living mounted. This process of decay of the feudal aristocracy was most marked in Italy, but prevailed everywhere in greater or less degree. In 1250 the last of the lords of Tintinnano, one of the high nobles of Tuscany, thus had lost his ancestral lands and died a beggar in the streets of Siena, dependent upon charity.

But if poorer, the old nobility had better manners than their forbears. The days of the earlier, brutal feudal society, when the greatest of barons were ignorant and illiterate, were past in the thirteenth century. Yet this new refinement had its dross. The pride of the aristocracy—and French pride especially was proverbial—too often hardened into arrogance. While the Crusades were influential in spreading the ideas of chivalry, those ideas lost their earlier humane quality and class ideals. Chivalry became an international corporation, an international caste. The rough brutality of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was succeeded by a refined cruelty, which was worse. The result was that one discerns in the literature of the thirteenth century an ominous note of prejudice against the bourgeoisie and the free peasantry and free villeins, and an unwholesome scorn of these classes by some, though not all, of the aristocracy.

Of course it must not be assumed that all feudal nobles were un-

fortunate. Those who were wise enough to retain some portion of their lands in their own hands, not to put it out to rent but to farm it themselves, hiring labor when needed, and dismissing it when the work was over, managed to pull through. If the nobles and the proprietary class had worked their own lands as the peasantry did, their situation would have been different. But this they would not and could not do, nor could they afford to pay the new scale of wages which free farm labor exacted. The noble found difficulty in working his acres, for the peasants would either quit him for the town, or demand too high wages. But as a whole, the nobles had little aptitude for business and little or nothing in the traditions and practices of the manorial régime had educated them to understand the new conditions. Land had become a commercial asset, an object of purchase and sale, a commodity—a thing unheard of in the feudal age. The truth is that the proprietary class between 1150 and 1250 was caught between shrinkage of income, whether due to inability to work their lands profitably or due to the impossibility of raising rents, and the increase in the cost of living and high prices. For the period was marked by a price and wages revolution.

An exact history of prices for the Middle Ages is not possible on account of the variety of money current, its fluctuations, and especially the impossibility of ascertaining what the purchasing power was at any given time and in any given country or province. But, speaking broadly, there is no doubt that there was a great rise in prices and wages in the late feudal period. The rise in wages, since it kept a rough parity with the increase in prices, compensated the workingman and the farmer who produced food supplies; but the man who lived upon rents and investments suffered. In other words, the nobility and the Church suffered most. But the latter could always make up the difference by petitioning gifts, and, as we have seen, capitalized its spiritual authority to vast fiscal advantage, while the nobility could make no such appeal nor adopt such practices.

The influence of the towns, in which urban rents were increasingly devoted to the promotion of commerce, upon the passing of feudal economy, and their relation to the disappearance of manorialism and the formation of a free peasantry, is another feature of the revolution of the thirteenth century. Certainly a primary factor in the betterment of the peasantry was the activity of the towns that were large enough to carry on an external trade.

It was the interest of these towns to advocate freedom in order that they might get access to raw material. Then the growth of capital in the towns led to the wish on the part of the citizens to invest capital in land. The feudal system with its serfs bound to the soil on an hereditary tenure was a hindrance to the free investment of land, and was another cause why the towns were hostile to serfdom. Hence the towns of central Italy initiated

the freeing of serfs en masse, not in order to give the land to the peasants, but in order that the towns might be able to invest in land when it became a marketable commodity.

Especially in Tuscany and Lombardy is this rôle of the towns in breaking up the old manorial system of cultivation of striking effect, by which both personal status and form of land tenure were altered.

In Brescia in 1303 there was a special post created to assist the enclosing of land and the abolition of common fields. Indeed, there soon arose a considerable market for land, and there was a considerable demand for it in the thirteenth century in Italy. Much the same revolution was in fact going on in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as occurred in England in the sixteenth; namely, the substitution of the town bourgeoisie for the nobles as land-owners, the substitution of the short lease and share system for hereditary tenure, the division of land into compact holdings, the rise of the wage-earning agricultural laborer, and a great improvement in the methods of agriculture.[3]

The new nobility and rich bourgeois were the chief purchasers of land. Even many former serfs, now become freemen, who were ambitious to own their own farms, also bought land in the thirteenth century. Land values around towns, where increased population made truck-farming profitable, or where wealthy merchants wished to possess country seats, increased most.

The rise in the standard of living and high prices hit the upper classes more heavily than the lower classes. For, as Adam Smith long ago pointed out, "the prices of necessaries do not rise as wealth increases in a country, or falls as it diminishes, as the prices of superfluities do." The relation is a variable one, not a constant one, and the advantage of the market is on the side of the common man. Or, as one has expressed it: "It was the desire for superfluities, merging into the desire for money, which acted as the solvent that ended the old and produced a new order of things . . . and villeinage disappeared from the face of the earth." [4]

By 1300 the old manorial régime in Europe was reduced to a mere framework, a shell, a skeleton of what it once was. New economic and social forces had worn away the substance of it as the forces of the atmosphere weather away a building. Where the manor persisted, it was a new and different economic unit, having a new and different economy, a new and different social texture.

The medieval peasant, by 1300, had traveled a long way from his condition in 850, although, of course, there were still backward regions.

[3] These two citations are from the *Economic Journal,* XXI, 438 (a review of Kovalevsky).

[4] Carlile, *History of Money,* 257.

The truth is, European society had been in a constant state of flux and change since the ninth century. "Serfdom existed in 1300 and in 1100, but a great gulf lies between the meanings of the term at the earlier and the later date. . . . Time is on the side of the serf." [5]

The oft alleged lateness of the appearance of a money economy in medieval Europe is an economic inference based on too superficial inspection of evidence. Exactly when was the medieval manor a self-sufficing unit, which needed and knew no money economy? Such generalizations need scrutiny. As far as ministerial accounts are concerned, we find no trace in the thirteenth century of that specific revolution which substituted a money for a natural economy in the manor. The rise of a money economy was apparent before the Crusades began. Much evidence points to the early appearance of a money economy in medieval Europe, although, in the words of the late Professor Vinogradoff, "the struggle between natural husbandry and cash nexus in medieval times cannot be circumscribed by exact chronological distinction."

One may say of many other questions of medieval economic history that they do not admit of fixed dates or simple solution. Purchasing power of money, prices of staple products, amount of wages and salaries, weight of taxation, are very difficult matters to determine in terms of such things today. The purchasing power of money, of course, was greater in the Middle Ages than now. But how much? If, for purposes of comparison, we let one represent the purchasing power of money in 1914 (before the Great War), then the purchasing power *may* have been nine times as great in 850, and four and one-half times as great in 1200. But the really important matter is the *then* relation of purchasing power to price of standard commodities. It is certain that there was a steady fall in the value of money from the ninth century forward to 1300.

The Levantine countries would take nothing but gold in payment of their importations, except in the case of a few commodities like cloth: consequently what gold western Europe had was constantly drawn off. On the other hand, when the Crusades began, immense quantities of hoarded silver were thrown on the West, in addition to which much silver plate and ingot metal was melted down and coined into money. Richard I's ransom was mainly obtained from the plate of the religious houses. The result was a glut of silver in the West, the ratio of which to gold constantly fluctuated and slowly declined. In the time of the First Crusade this unstable relation between gold and silver is manifest, and repeated alteration of the coinage is to be found. Thus in 1103 an old chronicle records: *"In hoc anno fuit magna tribulatio et nummi argentei pro auris mutati et facti sunt*—In this year there was great tribulation and silver money was changed in its relation to gold

[5] Coopland, *The Abbey of St. Bertin*, 95, 147.

and made over." Nine years later, in 1112, we read, *"Iterum nummi mutati sunt et cum granis alii facti*—Again the coins were changed and others made of new grain," *i.e.*, of new relation to gold. And for a third time, in 1120, is the record: *"Mense Novembre mutati sunt nummi*—In the month of November the money was changed." Thus in the course of seventeen years there were three different depreciations. Mean rulers like Philip I of France tried to indemnify themselves by cheating the people by alloying their silver coinage with copper, "so that through this practice" writes Guibert of Nogent, "many were reduced to poverty and the ruin of many hastened." [6]

The remedy lay, of course, in the establishing of the gold standard in the West. But this was impracticable before the latter half of the thirteenth century, when Norman Italy, Venice, Genoa, Florence, and then France introduced a gold coinage. The intricacies of new finance, the subtle operations of credit, the problem of new forms of taxation, were perplexing to those generations, and European governments had yet to learn the elementary principles thereof.

The burden of depreciated silver, the immense amount of it in circulation in the West, and the immense amount required, when exigency demanded, to pay an obligation in silver whose value was estimated in gold, is illustrated by the ransom of St. Louis in 1250, after his capture at the battle of Mansurah. "There was sent to him as much money in talents, sterling coin, and approved money of Cologne [not

[6] "The currency employed was that of the silver penny, and the pound was a term of account meaning 240 of these pennies. The reckoning was based on weight, what we now call troy weight; 20 pennyweights make an ounce; 12 ounces make a pound. But in money the values of the intermediate stages, as they became finally settled, were inverted, so that in the twelfth century, as now, 12 pennies make a shilling and 20 shillings make a pound. But the idea of weight was not forgotten. . . . 8 ounces make a "mark." But there were no coins corresponding to any of these denominations [*i.e.*, neither mark, shilling, nor pound]. . . . The ratio of gold to silver . . . being 9:1 [in the twelfth century], the ounce of gold equaled 15 shillings and the mark of gold 6 pounds. But neither the pound nor the mark nor the ounce was a coin. . . . The Norman name for the English silver penny was 'esterlin.' It is found as early as about 1100. It was necessary to use a distinctive term because the English penny was worth two pennies of Le Mans and four pennies of Rouen, Angers, and Tours. The meaning of the name is unknown, but it certainly has nothing to do with the Easterlings or German merchants, as most books tell us. The word appears in Latin as 'sterlingus' or 'sterlingo' and down to the latter part of the thirteenth century meant an English penny. . . . The obolus was a half-penny. . . . Occasionally a foreign gold coin, the bezant, was used. . . . The bezant (or aureus) is generally said to be the Byzantine 'solidus' brought into the West through the dealings of merchants. It was sometimes called rhetorically a talent. But it is possible that the word indicates also the ducat, which was first coined by Roger II of Sicily in 1140 and derived its name from the legend on it, which read 'dux Apuliæ.' "—Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, p. 83.

the *base* money of the Parisians or of Tours] as eleven wagons could be loaded with, to each of which were four strong horses, by which it was carried to the seacoast, where it was received on board a Genoese ship to be transported to the king. Each wagon carried two large iron hooped casks prepared for the purpose and filled with the aforesaid money." When this great volume of money arrived at Damietta, the French king apologized for it, saying, "We of the West do not so much abound in gold as you people of the East."

The difference between the old and the new condition of medieval Europe is reflected in the difference in land values. When we compare the value of freehold or rent-land on long leases with manorial land, we find the latter worth much less than the former. Some figures for Germany seem to indicate that this depreciation was as much as 33 per cent in the twelfth century, and twice that in the thirteenth century; or, to put it the other way, freehold or rent-land was worth from 33 to 66 per cent more than manorial land.

The mobility of rural labor in the thirteenth century strikingly contrasts with the fixed condition of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The constant movement of knights and nobles, pilgrims and Crusaders, wandering peddlers and groups of merchants had long been a familiar sight. But it was new to see bands of free peasants in harvest time traveling from manor to manor, and paid by the day and even "striking" for higher wages in the midst of the harvest time, taking advantage of the necessity of the land-owner to get his crop in when it was ripe at almost any cost, or losing much of it. Most astonishing of all, we find town laborers going into the country in harvest time.

While this improvement in the condition of the rural classes was due to the influence of many economic and social forces—the fall of the old feudal economy, fixed rents and other changes, a rising market for farm produce owing to increase of population and the prosperity of the new bourgeoisie which formed a large consumer class—it must not be lost sight of that the improvement of agriculture did not keep pace with improvement in other activities, and that the farmer's profits were derived more from high prices than from better farming methods. Yet it would be an error to think that there was no improvement in farming methods. The use of cattle dung and marl as fertilizers increased—on the seashore rotted seaweed was used—bare fallowing was more and more abandoned, the three-field system was extended and the two-field system less and less obtained, rotation of crops was more general, consolidation of holdings slowly began to displace the old manorial condition of scattered properties. Least progress was made in new and better tools. But this remained true until the modern age. As to soil exhaustion, it is an allegation which cannot be proved. The in-

direct evidence available—direct comparative evidence fails us—will not sustain the proposition of progressive soil exhaustion. "If men found it harder to get food because of the exhaustion of the soil, how can we explain the expansion of industries and commerce which did not increase the food supply? And why did wages rise?" And how explain the steady growth of population if agricultural conditions were so adverse?

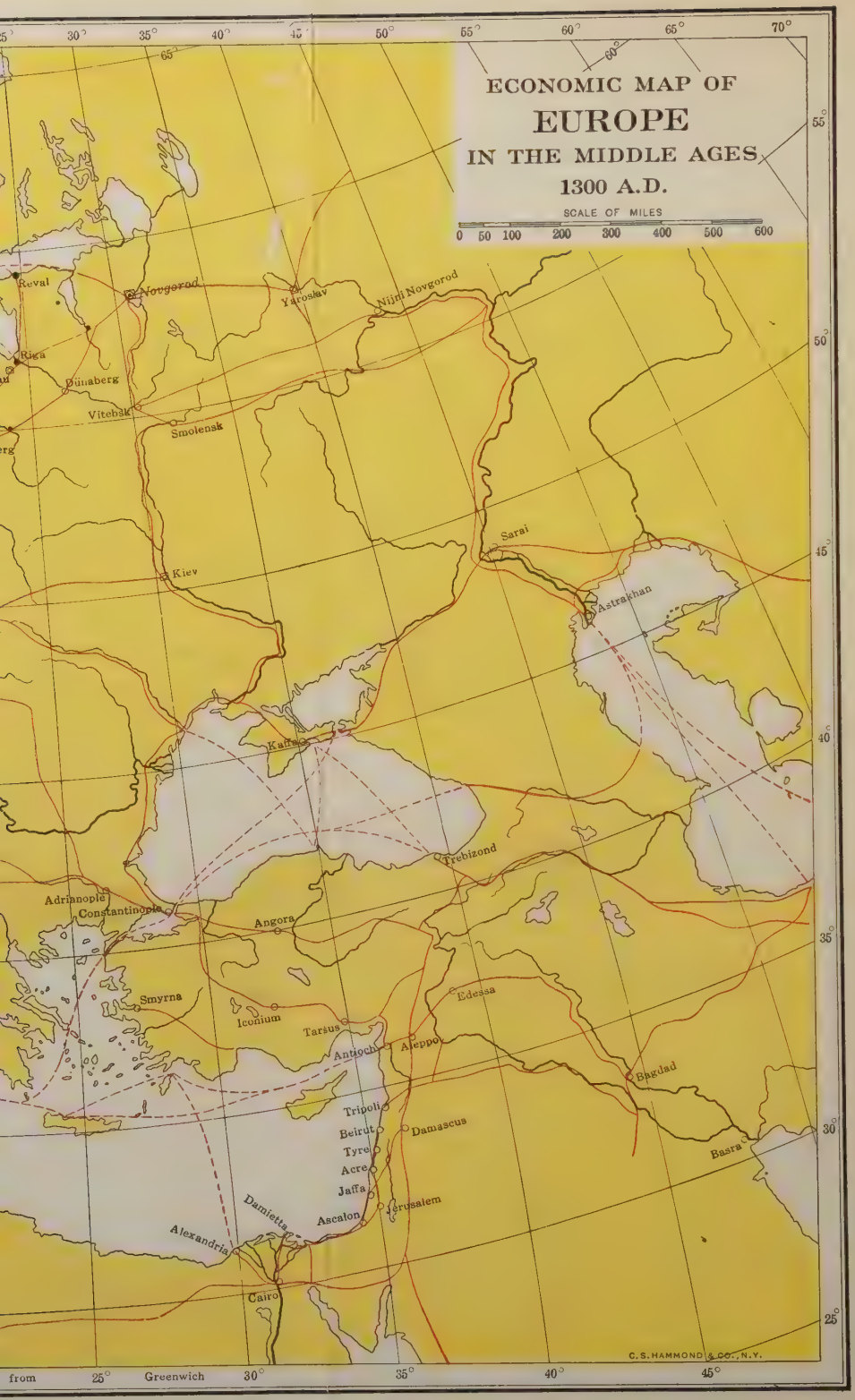
The profound transformations and changes through which Europe went in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could not fail to interest thinking men, and it is interesting to observe that the ablest writers, like Guibert of Nogent, Otto of Freising, William of Newburgh in the twelfth century, and Roger Bacon, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Robert Grosseteste in the thirteenth, were aware of them. Even speculative philosophy took cognizance of them. There is an obvious decline of interest in Augustinian philosophy and obsolete theological theories, and a desire for a more practical and concrete thinking. Men had become impatient of the eschatological point of view and the apocalyptic motif, and demanded something more practical and concrete, something more capable of terrestrial application. Live thinkers were interested in society and the changes taking place in it. We find evidence of an increasing boldness of criticism of government, of protest against privilege in economics, authority in religion, and in thought. Just as there is a close affiliation to be found between logic and the experimental sciences in the thirteenth century, so an affiliation is to be found between philosophy and the social organism. Even St. Thomas Aquinas, magnificent metaphysician though he was and harmonizer of Augustinian theology with Aristotelian philosophy, yet was observant enough of the rise of the towns to comment upon the proper site for a town and the relative advantages of agriculture and commerce as sources of municipal wealth. Hugo of St. Victor, reckoned the supreme mystic of the twelfth century, formulated a theory of the progressive evolution of humanity not only spiritually, but in material civilization, and emphasized economics, government, and history in his teaching. Living in the time when the free artisan, the free craftsman, was coming up out of serfdom, when gilds were forming, these new activities and associations interested him exceedingly and he went so far as to classify the mechanical arts after the manner of the seven liberal arts, the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the schools. Thus he distinguishes earth-culture, food-science, and medicine in the former, and costuming, armor-making, architecture, and—mark the significance of it—business (*mercatura*) in the second. If we pause to reflect, such social thinking in and for its time is as intelligent and as cogent as modern thought in its time.

The roots of modern society run deep down into medieval history.

Medieval history is the heritage of the modern age. It ought not to be alien to us. Its civilization in many ways has entered into our civilization. It is as Goethe has said:

> What you the spirit of the ages call
> Is nothing but the spirit of you all
> Wherein the ages are reflected.

Bergen
York
Boston
Lynn
Stourbridge
Smithfield
Bristol
London
Dordrecht
Winchester
Portsmouth
Calais
Cambray
Amiens
Rouen
St. Malo
St. Denys
Lagny
Laon
Rheims
Paris
Orleans
Troyes
Bar-sur-Aube
Tours
Dijon
Angoulême
Limoges
Bordeaux
Lyons
Geneva
Basle
St. Gall
Strassburg
Ratisbon
Nuremburg
Frankfort-on-Main
Cologne
Soest
Dortmund
Gosar
Magdeburg
Leipsic
Prague
Breslau
Brunswick
Minster
Bremen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Wismar
Rostock
Stralsund
Greifswald
Danzig
Stettin
Thorn
Vienna
Buda
Milan
Padua
Verona
Venice
Piacenza
Genoa
Ferrara
Bologna
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
Sienna
Viterbo
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Bari
Brindisi
Ragusa
Belgrade
Nimes
Montpellier
Arles
Beaucaire
Marseilles
Bayonne
Toulouse
Pamplona
Barcelona
Lisbon
Toledo
Valencia
Seville
Cadiz
Granada
Almeria
Messina
Palermo
Tunis
Tripoli
Member-towns of the Hanseatic League
Foreign Stations
Other places connected with the League, but not named
Towns of Commercial importance
Fairs
Trade-routes
On land
On the seas
N.B.– Coast-wise shipping, both legitimate and piratical, existed along all of the coast line. Only the chief lines of established commerce are here indicated. Likewise it is to be understood that practically all navigable rivers served as commercial highways.
The trade-routes shown on this map were not all constantly in use. Invasions, notably in Russia, and wars temporarily closed some of these, but economic advantage quickly reestablished them.
Longitude 5° West 0° 5° 10° Longitude 15° East
60°
55°
50°
45°
40°
35°
30°
25°
30° 25° 20° 15° 10° 5° 0° 5° 10° 15°
65°


ECONOMIC MAP OF
EUROPE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES
1300 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
Reval
Novgorod
Yaroslav
Nijni Novgorod
Riga
Dünaberg
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Kiev
Sarai
Astrakhan
Kaffa
Trebizond
Adrianople
Constantinople
Angora
Smyrna
Iconium
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Edessa
Bagdad
Tripoli
Beirut
Tyre
Acre
Jaffa
Damascus
Basra
Damietta
Ascalon
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
C.S. HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.
from Greenwich
25°
30°
35°
40°
45°
50°
55°
60°
65°
70°

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CHAPTER I

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THE EXPANSION OF THE NORSEMEN

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CHAPTER XXVI

FEUDAL SOCIETY

It is impossible to pretend to give a bibliography upon this subject, for it touches every angle of medieval economic and social history. Much of the literature cited upon Germany, France, Italy, the Church, Monasticism, the Manor, the Towns, is pertinent to this chapter also. Without repeating the matter in them, a short list of references is here given. Luchaire's *Manuel des institutions françaises,* pt. ii, is the best work upon the subject. It has copious bibliographies.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE MEDIEVAL MANOR: LIFE OF THE PEASANTRY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The literature upon the Manor is enormous, and much of it is controversial and technical. Unfortunately a large part of the literature in English deals with England, where conditions often widely differed from those on the Continent. A long bibliography may be found in MOORE, M. F., *Two Select Bibliographies of Medieval Historical Study,* 71–167 (1912). The beginning of understanding of the subject is to be found in:

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CHAPTER XXVIII

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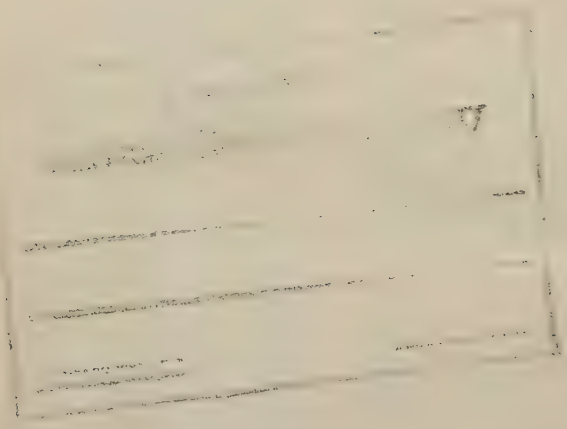

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